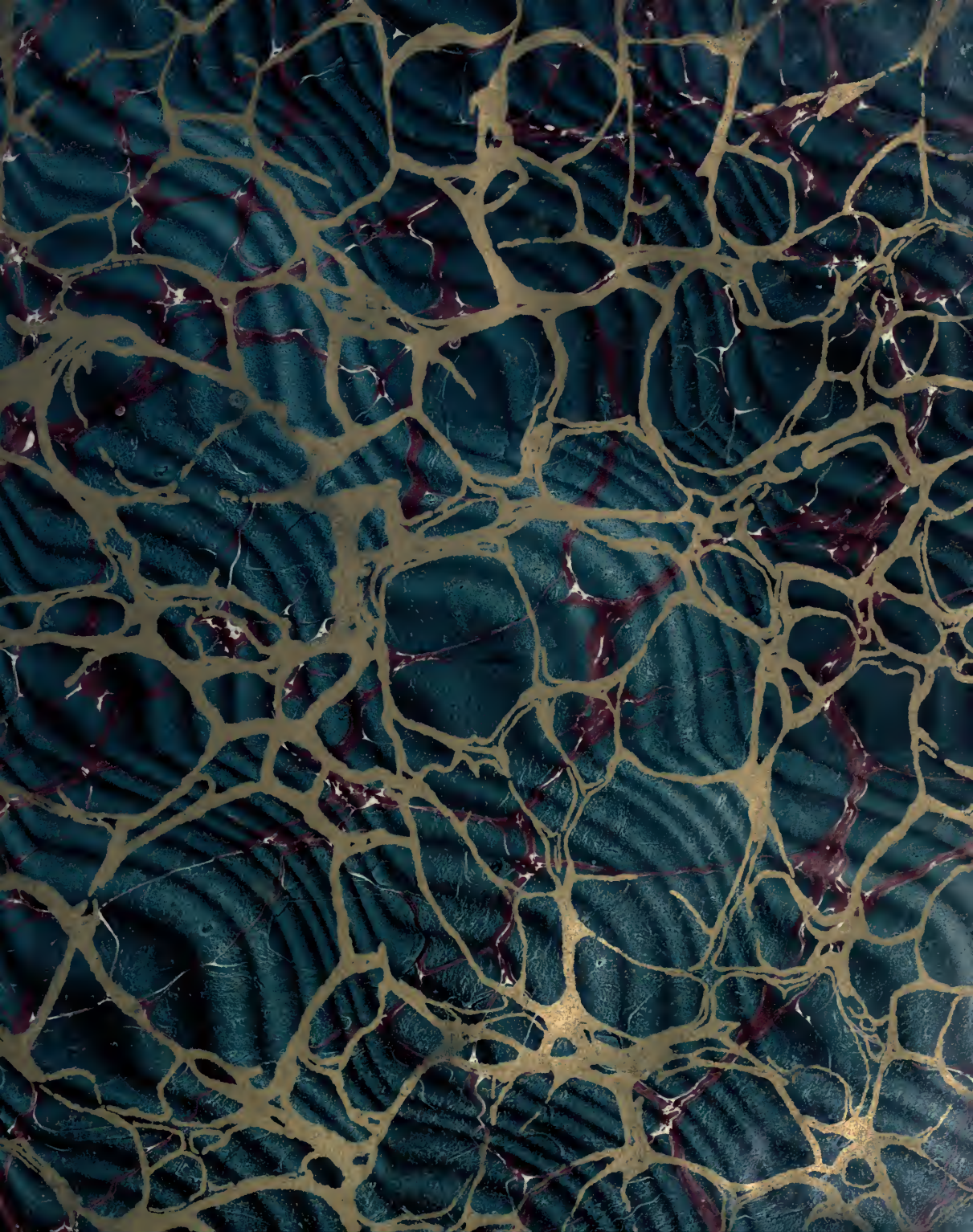
THE GETTY CENTER LIBRARY

WM. MULLAN & SO
BOOKSELLERS
4, DONEGALL PLAC
BELFAST.



P J PALEY

CASTLE HACKET

1960

The ULSTER JOURNAL OF Archæology.

VOL. 5.

BELFAST,
ARCHER & SONS,
1857.

DUBLIN.
HODGES & SMITH.

LONDON.
J. RUSSELL SMITH.

The Conductors of this Journal think it right to intimate that, while exercising all due discrimination in the selection of papers for publication, they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements or opinions advanced by the respective authors.

All communications for the Journal are to be addressed to Robert MacAdam, Esq., 18, College-Square East. Belfast.

CONTENTS OF VOL. 5.

	Page.
The Bruces in Ireland.	1
The Shamrock,	12
The Hamilton Manuscripts—continued. *(Illustrated.)*	21
Ancient Roman Intercourse with Ireland.	32
Irish Brehons and their Laws.	37
Inquiry into the Origin of the Name of Ireland.	52
Saint Patrick's Purgatory—concluded. *(Illustrated.)*	61
Brazen Cauldrons. *(Illustrated.)*	82
Antiquarian Notes and Queries.	91
Spinning and Weaving: their influence on popular Language and Literature.	93
The Round Towers of Ulster—continued. *(Illustrated.)*	110
Relative Antiquity of Stone and Bronze Weapons. *(Illustrated.)*	122
The Bruces in Ireland—continued.	128
A Conjecture as to the Origin of the Name of Carrickfergus.	137
Lough Foyle in 1601.	139
Reminiscences of Belfast.—No. 2.	144
Letters on Irish Antiquities, by a Cornish-man. Letters 1 and 2.	150
Antiquarian Notes and Queries. *(Illustrated.)*	155
Historical Notices of Spinning and Weaving. *(Illustrated.)*	169
Letters on Irish Antiquities, by a Cornish-man. Letter 3.	185
The "Overthrow" of Sir John Chichester, at Carrickfergus, in 1597.	188
The Pillar-Towers of Scotland. *(Illustrated.)*	210

Page.

Inauguration of Irish Chiefs. 217

Tullaghog. *(Illustrated.)*... 235

Present Extent of the Irish Language. 243

African and Irish Fibulæ. *(Illustrated.)* 246

Antiquarian Notes and Queries. *(Illustrated.)* 249

Original Letters in the Irish and Latin Languages, by Shane O'Neill, Prince of Tyrone; and Proclamation of High Treason against him by Queen Elizabeth. 259

Richard Talbot, Earl and Duke of Tyrconnell. *(Illustrated.)* 274

Vestiges of Keltic Occupancy in Central Europe. 286

Sir Henry Sidney's Memoir of his Government in Ireland—continued. 299

Surnames in the County of Antrim. *(Illustrated.)* 323

Leters on Irish Antiquities, by a Cornish-man. Letter 4. *(Illustrated.)* 336

Old Belfast. *(Illustrated.)* 343

Antiquarian Notes and Queries. *(Illustrated.)* 345

ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOL. 5.

Page.

Monument to the Rev. Hans Hamilton, Vicar of Dunlop, and Janet his wife. 22

Descriptio Purgatorii S. Patricii. [Map of Island in Lough Derg.] 72

Remains of ancient Cross, at St. Patrick's Purgatory. 81

Brazen Cauldron, found in the County of Down. 82

Brazen Cauldron, found in the County of Tyrone. 90

Round Tower and Ruins of the Abbey of Drumlane (County of Cavan). 112

Door of the Round Tower of Drumlane. 113

Sections of the Round Tower of Drumlane. 115

Stone Club found in the River Bann. 127

Bronze Pin, found near Ballymoney (County of Antrim). 157

Page.

Ancient Loom found in the Ferro Islands. 179

Brechin Cathedral and Pillar-Tower. 212

Door-way of Brechin Pillar-Tower. 215

Fort of Tullaghog. 235

Plan and Section of the Hill and Fort of Tullaghog. 236

The Tynwald Hill, Isle of Man. 240

African and Irish Fibulæ. 246

Silver Fibulæ, with inscription, found at Carrickfergus. 249

Portrait of Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnell. 274

Map of the County of Antrim, showing the present distribution of the Population by their Surnames. 323

Typical outlines of Irish and Flint Arrow-heads, &c., in Ireland. 340

South Perspective View of Belfast, in 1789, and Plan of the town. 344

Bronze Fibulæ, found in the North of Ireland. 347

THE BRUCES IN IRELAND.

Visits of men to Ireland whose names are renowned in European history have been indeed "few and far between." In reviewing the whole period from the advent of Henry Fitz-Empress to Oliver Cromwell's conquest, the arrival of William the Third, and the landing of George the Fourth, no name assuredly excites a warmer admiration than that of Robert Bruce, the liberator of Scotland. Traces of the footsteps of such a man on the soil of our native land must hallow each spot in the eyes of Irish archæologists.. Although they leave it to the poet and historian to dwell with graphic eloquence on events which derive a glow of romance from the halo surrounding the name of Bruce, they do not fail to sympathise with their vivid descriptions of the stirring drama, and to enjoy with them the retrospective pleasure of peopling the scenes once more with living characters. It was no mean addition to the picturesque scenery of Leixlip, in the mind of him who wedded the melodies of Ireland to immortal verse, and flung the rich mantle of his genius over her obscure annals, to know that Robert Bruce and his companions in arms, the warriors of Bannockburn, had once stood beside that waterfall, and wandered in its green glen![a] It is now our wish to point to other places in Ireland which have been honoured by the same presence. In researches like these the antiquary is too often made to feel that, after all, he can only, like the astronomer, obtain a glance of distant objects through a misty glass. He can do little more than collect a few meagre and scattered details of information, and must be satisfied if he can elicit some glimmerings of truth amid the general darkness.

Our journal, dedicated to the archæologic service of Ulster, is so naturally the recipient of all that bears on the history of the province, that its pages welcome everything that illustrates the career of Edward Bruce, during his three years' expeditionary war in Ireland, the larger portion of which was fought in the North; and, also, that may throw light on the brief but more interesting visit of his regal brother. Minuteness and prolixity are privileges peculiar to antiquaries; who, therefore, need not offer an apology for exercising their prerogatives. Thus fortified, we proceed to make copious transcripts of all that bears on our theme in Archdeacon Barbour's metrical poem called "*The Bruce*;" a valuable, because nearly contemporary, narrative of the exploits of the hero and his adventurous brother. As this antique "History of Robert I. King of Scotland" appears to have been written so early as the year 1375, its archaic diction has prevented it from being known generally. From the ample account it gives of the campaigns and military proceedings of the Scots throughout Ireland, we have principally extracted the passages relating to Ulster, which are de-

[a] History of Ireland, by Thomas Moore.

serving of notice, as throwing light on the early history of the province; for, though the foreign poet is not to be relied on in many points, (and on these we have referred to other authorities,) his verses contain some lively descriptions of the Gaelic mode of warfare, and several details illustrative of the mediæval state of the North. Having already given the paragraphs which bear on the local history of Carrickfergus, the episode of Bruce's siege of its castle may be passed over.

Eastern Ulster is described by Edmond Spenser as having been, previous to the Scottish invasion, a well-inhabited and prosperous English district; "having in the midst Knockfergus, Belfast, Armagh, and Carlingford," "which are now," says he, "the most out bounds and abandoned places *in the English pale*." "Robert de Bruce," wrote our author, "sent over his brother Edward with a power of Scots and Redshanks into Ireland, where, by means of the Lacies, and of the Irish, with whom they combined, they got footing, and, gathering unto him all the scatterlings and outlaws out of all the woods and mountains in which they had long lurked," despoiled and burnt the properties of the inhabitants, sacked and razed all the towns, and rooted all the Englishry out of the Ardes. This signal act of destruction, and the ravaging expeditions into the centre of Ireland, revenged the far greater havoc committed in Scotland under Edward I. and his successor, to whom, as Spenser observes, Robert Bruce's object was to do "all the scathe he could." The principal design of the King of Scotland was probably, however, less that of carrying war into the enemy's country than of directing the energies of his brother to the conquest of Ireland; for Edward Bruce, who was of a high courageous spirit, chivalrously ambitious of fame in fight, and aspiring to dominion, had fought abreast with his brother in establishing him on the throne of Scotland; on which he was scarcely firmly placed, when Edward demanded to be admitted to an equal share in his authority.[b] In vain did the King confer his own hereditary earldom of Carrick upon his younger brother. Half the kingdom would not have suffiecd; for, as Barbour declares in the opening verses of the expedition:—

"The Erle of Carick, Schyr Eduward,[c]
That stoutar wes than a libbard,
And had na will to be in pess,
Thoucht that Scotland to litill wes
Till hys broder and hym alsua;
Tharfor to purpose he gan ta
That he of Irland wuld be King."

The patriotic efforts made in Scotland to expel English invaders had been eagerly observed by the Gael of Ireland; and when that great national struggle was crowned with success, Donnell O'Neill, one of the principal Irish chieftains, and head of the great northern clan which was constantly foremost in resistance to foreign domination, came boldly forward to secure the aid of the heroic brothers,

[b] Leland, quoting Fordun.

[c] "Iste Edwardus erat homo ferox, et magni cordis valde, nec voluit cohabitare fratri suo in pace, nisi dimidium regni solus haberet; *et hac de causa mota fuit guerra in Hibernia.*"—*Fordun*, in Moore.

by whose exertions Scotland was now once more an independent kingdom; and, despatching envoys to Robert Bruce, solicited his assistance, and besought that if he could not come himself he would send his brother Edward to be king over the Gael of Ireland, and not suffer a kindred race to be oppressed any longer under the intolerable bondage of English rule.[d] O'Neill may be said to have led this political movement, because his name heads the remonstrance addressed to Pope John by two-and-twenty of the native kings. In this remarkable appeal, they spoke as patriarchal representatives of their clans, and on behalf of all the Irish people; they described in bitter terms the heavy and repeated wrongs sustained from the Saxon invaders, and aggravated the long and grievous list by declaring they were driven to live among rocks, and in woods and morasses, and that the possession even of these barren wastes was disputed, so that there was no longer a spot that the arrogance of the strangers would allow them to call their own. They stated it to be the belief of all the laity among the Englishry, and of many of the churchmen, that there was no more sin in killing an Irishman than a dog. "Their monks," says this document, which was of course drawn up by Gaelic clerks, "boldly assert that, for having killed a man of our nation (which too often happens) they would not abstain one single day from saying mass. As a proof of this, the monks of the order of Citeaux, established at Granard, in the diocese of Armagh, and those of the same order at Ynes, in Ulster, daily attack in arms, wound, and kill the Irish, and yet regularly say mass. Brother Simon, of the order of Minorites, a relation of the Bishop of Connor, has publicly declared from the pulpit that there is not the slightest sin in killing or robbing an Irishman." They lamented that they were without a head to govern and lead them; for they felt that their want of a monarch made them powerless against a feudal foe; and, having determined to supply this cardinal deficiency, concluded by announcing that, for the purpose of working out their deliverance from a state of cruel subjection, they had called to their aid the illustrious Earl of Carrick, Edward de Bruce, a lord descended from the same ancestors as themselves; and had made over to him all the rights, which they themselves as rightful heirs of the kingdom possessed, thereby electing him King of Ireland.

The Irish chieftain, in thus offering sovereignty over his countrymen to De Bruce, may reasonably have expected that they might obey a renowned foreigner more unanimously than they would submit to his own claim to govern them. He was not himself without the ambition of being *Ard Righ* of Erin; since, in this celebrated address to the Pontiff, he styled himself lawful heir to the kingdom. Yet he, perhaps, more than most men, must have been aware that the cause which had rendered the Irish clans powerless to combine in defending their country from invaders, namely, their want of the federal bond of an hereditary feudal monarchy, was certain to neutralize their efforts against the common enemy, and to preclude them from agreeing to lay their independence at the foot of any man, so as to have that which in a political light they needed most, a strong government. O'Neill, thus ambitious, yet with little real hope either of being elected as *Ard Righ*, or of the permanent success of a powerful foreigner, will appear in the sequel to have been checked in his exertions

[d] Buchanan.

by a prophetic consciousness of their futility; to have acted less as an enthusiastic encourager of the too sanguine Edward Bruce, than as a cautious and timorous counsellor; and to have led him to trust little to the "Hyrsery of Irland:"—

"That in their leawté tuk on hand
Of all Irland to mak hym king,
With thy that he with hard fychting
Mycht ourcum the Inglismen,
That in the land war wonnand then."

The Irish were "to help" their intended liberator "with all thair mycht." History, however, usually supplies instances in which those who have assisted the endeavours of a subjected people to recover their freedom, have at last turned against men who had not the courage and unanimity to trust in their own swords.

A cotemporary Gaelic writer,[e] who observed that the *Eoghanachs* (that is the O'Neills and the rest of the Kinel-Eoghan) were the foremost to side with the Scots, blamed the Milesians generally for joining the "*Albanach* foreigners," in imitation of the Eoghanachs, "who first dealt treacherously by their own lords," on the occasion of the invasion, hereby implying that the O'Neills were vassals of the Earls of Ulster; and he declared it was unjust in the Irish chiefs to side with the foreigners who were "less noble," said he, "than our own foreigners;" an opinion he enforced by the following remarkable statement and reason;—"For," wrote he, "the old chieftains of Erin prospered under those princely English lords, who were our chief rulers;" and he declared that they had (with the well known proneness of the Normans to assimilation,) changed from foreign *hauteur* into displaying the popular national quality of a good-humoured and hospitable disposition. The general defection of the Irish is declared by this native penman, in oriental and expressive phraseology, to have made "Erin one trembling surface of commotion." Whether Donnell O'Neill owed allegiance either to the Earl of Ulster or the crown of England is uncertain. But his bold act of inviting Edward Bruce had the effect of emancipating himself and his successors from the Saxon yoke for three centuries.

Among the "Inglismen" who were to be "ourcum," were many either concealed or open abettors of the projected usurpation in the persons of such barons of Ulster and Meath as desired to free themselves from service to their suzerains, De Burgh and Mortimer, and from the regulated order of feudal lords, that they might revel in the rough license of Brehon usages. The first avowed traitor was John, Lord Bissett, who went over to Scotland, returned with the invading fleet, and led it to anchor in Glendun, a haven in the Bissett barony of the "Glynns." His posterity (for probably he was progenitor of the Anglo-Celtic chiefs styled Mac-Eoin, i.e. sons of John) so thoroughly discarded feudality that they reduced themselves to the insignificance of broken and pauperised septs. Another rebel of his name, Sir Hugh, also a baron of the realm, was either at first or last in league with the invaders, and, for that reason, forfeited his manor of Glenarm, and hereditaments in the isle of

[e] Tribes and Custome of Hy-Many, p. 136.

"Ratherin" or Rathlin. This rugged and solitary island had afforded shelter to Robert Bruce, in the year 1306, when he was yet but Earl of Carrick, and when his patriotic resistance to the English in Scotland had made him a proscribed man; so that Hugh Bissett, lord of the island, might, at the time

"The rebellious Scottish crew,
Who to Rath-Erin's shelter drew,
With Carrick's outlawed chief,[f]

were under his protection, have inspired their leader with the design of attempting the conquest of Ireland. The wished-for opportunity occurred when his brother, utterly discontented with the paternal earldom of Carrick, and finding many of the Scottish chivalry, who were flushed with their recent victories over the English and eager to win rich earldoms in a new land, asked, and easily obtained, the consent of the king "to gadre hym men of gret bounté," and lead them into Ireland. The famous Randolph, Earl of Murray, who had commanded the left wing of the army at Bannockburn, "the gude Sir Philip Mowbray, that sycker was in hard assay," Sirs John Soulis and Stewart, "the Ramsay of Ouchtre house," that was "wycht and chewalrouss," and Sir Fergus of Ardrossan, were the most distinguished of the nobles and "knychts many ane" who joined in the enterprise. These leaders, with 6,000 men, embarked in 300 gallies, sailed from Ayr on the 25th May, 1315, and, having landed in Wokings-fryth,[g] "arywyt sauffly," sent their vessels home, determined, like the Greeks under the walls of Troy, to leave no means of retreat; for "a gret thing haff they undretane." With so inconsiderable a force did these adventurous knights undertake "to werray all Ireland."

"And forowt dredc or affray,
In twa battaills tuk thair way
Towart Cragfergus, it to se.
Bot the lords off that countrè,
Mandweill,[h] Besat,[i] and Loganc,[j]
Thair men asaemblyt cuirilkane.
The Sawages[k] war alsua thar.
And quhen thai assemblyt war,
Thar war well ner twenty thowsand."

The first encounter of the invaders was thus, according to the archdeacon, with an armed muster of the Englishry of the country, numbering nearly twenty thousand men. But our unmilitary bard has evidently, from a natural desire to aggrandise his heroes, greatly exaggerated the enemy's force in this and other instances; a failing that, with other errors, renders his narrative unreliable. In following his romance, therefore, for the sake of its many agreeable and lively touches, we have

---

f Lord of the Isles.

g The Scandinavian and Scotic name for Larne Lough, probably meaning the *Vik*, or *Wick*, *ings* firth.

h Sir Thomas, Lord Mandeville, of "Mandeville's castle," who was slain by Edward Bruce in Carrickfergus.

i Besides the traitor Bissetts, there were other peers of the name, who may have taken the loyal side.

j Lord Logan was executed by Edward Bruce in Carrickfergus.

k The family of Lord Savage was perhaps the most powerful of the Englishry. Some writers fancied this term "Savages" was given to the native Irish themselves.

corrected his story by such lights as our own chroniclers cast on this invasive expedition, an event which must be regarded as a remarkable and highly interesting episode in the life of the illustrious Bruce. Recurring to the antique poet's account, an engagement took place in which :—

"Mycht men se a gret mellé :
For Erle Thomas, ('Randolph,') and hys menye,
Dang on thair fayis sa douchtely,
That in schort tyme men mycht se ly
An hundre that all blody war,
For hobynys, that war stykyt thar,
Relyt, and flang, and gret rowme mad."

"Hobynys" were war-horses, or chargers; strong steeds that doubtless kicked and flung about when pierced with arrows and arblast bolts. Barbour, in most of his descriptions of battles, delights in representing the confusion caused by wounded horses. In this action, although the odds were "four for one" against the veterans of Bannockburn, they so bore themselves that—"In that battail was tane or slane all hale the flur of Ullyster." With this "full fayr beginnyng," the conquerors took possession of Carrickfergus, the largest town in the North, and important on account of its wealth, houses, walls, and facility of communication with Scotland. After the first truce was agreed upon between Bruce and the brave garrison of the castle, his men "plundered all Ulster,"[1] (a name which then merely denoted the districts east of the Bann,) and soon began to suffer the effects of importing a large force into a half cultivated country, and of endeavouring to obtain supplies by rapine. The indispensable support that must have been expected from the native clans was also wanting. Every chieftain, being independent, was as unprepared to obey Edward Bruce as Edward Plantagenet. Moreover, commissariat, the grand difficulty in modern war, was an insuperable obstacle to combination. Upon the victory over the Englishry of Ulster, some ten or twelve Irish "kings of that countre" came to the camp of their new monarch. But the sequel tends to show that it was not the Gaels in general who either invited Bruce over, or were to be depended on for assistance; for, as the archdeacon, after stating that these chiefs made promises of fealty, remarks:—

"Thai held hym schort quhill their fay."

Edward Bruce, unable to maintain even his own men in a country they were compelled to ravage, was quickly deserted by the native leaders. Forced by necessity to quit his desolated quarters rather than impelled by hopes of conquest, he determined to ride (in the words of the romance) forth farther into the land, in order to lead his troops into the unplundered Pale. Two of these faithless "kings" were the first to oppose their new liege in his march, by waylaying him with four thousand spearmen and archers in a forest pass near Newry, the key to the rich southern plains. Let us quote the verses relating to this act of these impeding chiefs :—

——"Ane Makgullane,
And ane other hat Makartane,
Withset a pass intill hys way,

[1] Grace.

Quhar hym behowyt ned away
With twa thousand of men with spers,
And als mony of thair archers,
And all the catell of the land
War drawyn thyddar to warrand,
Men callys that place Innvermullane:
In all Irland straytar is nane."

Invermullane had doubtless some ford in its water through which a passage could be made when marching through dangerous straits. In the year 1343, M°Artan beset Sir Ralph Ufford, justiciary of Ireland, and husband of a widowed Countess of Ulster, in the straits of "Emerdullam," and, having slain some of his men, despoiled him of all valuables. This river passage seems to have been one of the hardest to force of all in the knot of easily-defended positions in the vicinity of Newry. One of these, in "Fedom," or the *fiodha*, (i.e. forest,) is significantly marked on an old map as "the Pass." Moyry Pass is stated in *Gough's Camden* to be "one of the most difficult passes in Ireland, formed by the influx of eight rivers, besides rivulets." Yet it is hardly credible that Maquillin of northern Antrim, and even M°Artan of Kinelarty, should bring their clansmen so far south as the lower border of Louth to prevent the *Albanach* from invading the *Sassenach*. The poetic archdeacon of Aberdeen wrote from hearsay, and may have confounded the engagement at Invermullane with a previous encounter with these chieftains at some place nearer Carrickfergus, and within M°Artan's country, on some occasion when they were defending their property from the necessitous invaders.

The valiant Randolph, who "put him fyrst ay till assayis," alighting, with his knights, from horseback, forced the perilous passage on foot, and drove out the enemy; whose herds of cattle, brought thither for safety, became a welcome booty; yet only lasted the Scottish host a week. Thus, so far from receiving aid, Edward Bruce had to fight his way through men he had reckoned on as allies; and was compelled to seize their principal wealth. After this long march and hard won passage, Bruce rested his men at a place on the southern border of Armagh:—

"At Kilsagart King Edward lay."

According to an interesting paper on Kilnasaggart, in the first volume of this Journal, the place is situated on the famous old road anciently called Miodhluachra, and near the junction of the present counties of Armagh and Louth. *Coill-na-sagart* signifies the priests' wood. The Englishry of the country which Bruce had now reached were gathered in force within the walls of Dundalk, and the Scots, marching on, drew up in array against the town, "with banners all displayit." A reconnoitering party sent out by the inhabitants returned, and declared to their great comfort that the Scots would be but "half a dinner" to them. But the assault was so vigorous that the "rewys," (*rues*, or streets,) flowed with the blood of dead defenders, and were soon cleared of all living by the assailants, who then made good cheer, having found "profusion of wictaill and great abundance of wine." Elated with this first success in the English Pale, the triumphant warriors crowned their leader King of Ireland

on a hill near the town, in the simple national form in which his brother had been inaugurated at Scone. Dundalk was stormed on the 29th June, 1315;[m] and the Scots, perhaps hearing that the viceroy was about to march against them, quitted walls for woods, and, moving westward, reached a "gret forest:"—

"Kylrose it hat, as Ik hard say."

This forest must have been the *Coill* or wood of "Castle-Ross," marked on old maps as lying on the southern bank of Lough Ross, in Monaghan. The poet gives a truthful sketch of Randolph's march to this wild place:—

"The Erle Thomas wes forouth ay,
And, as thai raid throw the eountrê,
Thai myeht upon the hyllis se
Swa mony men, it wes ferly.
And quhen the Erle wold sturdely
Dress hym to theim with hys baner,
Thai wold fley all that then war:
Swa that in fyeht not ane abaid."

In this forest the Scots took "herbery" (or harboured themselves) as a central position where they might be joined by such of the Gaelic race as were ready to follow the patriotic example of the chieftain of Tyrone; who, with his clan, probably numbering some 3,000 fighting men, was already with them, and was Bruce's best ally and counsellor. An inactive month was spent in this expectation. Whilst still in the sheltering wood, a large army was seen moving past, led, as the scouts reported, by a former enemy, Richard De Burgh, the Red Earl of Ulster, who was seeking "Schyr Edward and his men." This puissant nobleman and able general had commanded the large contingent of Norman-Irish chivalry and troops that had served under Edward I. in Scotland; but, in 1302, Robert Bruce married a daughter of the earl, who, in 1309, aided in effecting a truce between his royal son-in-law and Edward II., the violation of which gave rise to the memorable war that resulted in Scottish independence. De Burgh, thus related to the King of Scotland, regarded the invasion in the light of a private quarrel; for the plundered vassals of Ulster were his: and, instantly taking arms to repel the invaders, he directed his first burst of rage on the chief instigator, O'Neill, whose territory, and the entire region from the Shannon to the Foyle, and from the Bann side to Coleraine,[n] he laid waste along the course of his march; perhaps expecting that the puny band of Scots would scarcely venture southwards, and hoping by such desolation to prevent them from seeking refuge from his vengeance in the fastnesses of the central North. Though marching in search of the invaders, he passed by without perceiving them; and, on approaching Ardee, was met by the Justiciary, Sir Edmond Butler, at the head of a well appointed army, the sight of which, according to the old annals, sorely angered him; and the veteran earl, whose proud spirit had not been chastened by age, in his interview with the viceregent, whom he had been accustomed to treat as

[m] Grace.

[n] Annals, Clonmaenoise.

his inferior, haughtily declared that he and his men were sufficient to drive the Scots out, and undertook to deliver up their leader either alive or dead.[o] The viceroy then withdrew, his real motive in retreating having probably been either that it was impossible to maintain two armies in the wasted North, or that he under-estimated the energy and valour of the Scots; as did the earl, whose vaunting promises proved signally futile. Bruce, acting under the counsel of his Gaelic associate, retreated rapidly, in order to draw the enemy into the defiles of Tyrone; and, "with his *Albanachs* and the *Eoghanachs*," arrived at Inishkeen on the day the two Anglo-Irish hosts met near Ardee. On the following day the Red Earl, pushing in pursuit, reached Louth, and sent his cavalry forward, "on steedys trappit weill some all in iron and stele,"—led by his brother, a distinguished leader; when, on Bruce obtaining some advantage of position, a skirmish took place, magnified by the partial bard into a general engagement, in which his countrymen came off conquerors, and then (wrote he) returned to their forest harbourage; which, however, they would not have done, nor have gone into devastated countries, had they defeated the Red Earl.

Our metrical narrator now interposes the incident of "ane Irsche King," hight "Odymsy," inviting the martial new-comers "to see his land," where he undertook "na victaill" nor ought that might serve them should be wanting;—but on their arrival he inveigled them into bivouacking in a position in which he endeavoured to overwhelm them by breaking down a river-dam constructed for his treacherous purpose, so as to let the pent-up flood burst on them; a watery snare from which they narrowly escaped, some only by casting off their armour, and swimming for their lives. It was not, however, in the arid month of July, 1315, but in the ensuing rainy February, that they were in this inhospitable region, where, though water was abundantly dispensed, they suffered so severely from want of food that many perished.[p] This anachronism corrected, let us follow Edward Bruce in retreat, and the Red Earl in hot pursuit. Thinned by war, and famishing with hunger, the Scottish band traversed the length of central Ulster, and reached Coleraine, directed thither in the hope of obtaining succour from their own country. On the approach of the earl, they broke down the bridge over the Bann, to prevent him from effecting a junction with his vassals on the eastern side of the broad river. But their design was frustrated; for De Burgh, an able and experienced general, who was apparently unprepared to assail them, and well knew that famine was the severest weapon in war, contrived to cross the river, and carried havoc into his own earldom; "holding on," wrote our native annalists, "the course of spoiling and destroying all places where he came; leaving neither field of corn undestroyed, nor town unransacked." To provide for his troops, however, he preserved much provisions, and stored them in the town of Connor; which immediately became the object of attack to the Scots, who now found themselves hemmed up by their own act:—

"In great distress, thar war thai stad,
For great default of mete thai had."

"Ane arm of the se," the wide river Bann, was betwixt them, their foes, and sustenance. At

[o] Annals, Clonmacnoise.

[p] Grace, 69.

length, "a scowmar of the see," a famous pirate, named Thomas of Down,[q] "multarum navium depredator, subversor, et pirata crudelis de parte Scotorum," a countryman of their own, sailed in with four ships he had recently captured, and "set thaim" across. "And quhen thai com in biggit land," (that is where there were buildings), and into a district that had escaped devastation, they found ample provision:—

"And in a wood thaim herberyt thai;
Nane of the land wyst quhar thai lay."

De Burgh's army, also harbouring "in a forest syde," were supplied with provisions brought daily under escort from head-quarters, from whence they lay distant ten miles. Randolph, ever good at adventure, now surprised the enemy by a notable stratagem. Having intercepted both victual-bearers and escort, he dismounted and stripped them, put their clothes on his men, and advanced at dusk with his cavalry, preceded by his disguised soldiers and the pennon of the escort, towards the earl's army. A large party of these Englishry came forward to meet the victual-bearers, and were soon startled by shouts of the Scottish battle-cry from Randolph and his cavalry, who rushed upon them, and, chasing them back to the main body, strewed the field with more than a thousand slain. To prevent such loss for the future, De Burgh withdrew his troops into the town, taking the precaution to move in the night. This indicates some inferiority in numbers: yet, according to the poet, the earl's army included "all the chivalry of Ireland," namely, "the Butler, and Erls twa, off Desmond and Kildare," sons-in-law to the general, "Brynrame" (Bermingham), "Weddan," (Verdon), "and Fyze Waryne; and Schyr Paschall off Florentyne, that wes a knycht off Loambardy, and wes full off chewalry;" with the Mandevilles, Bissetts, Logans, Savages, and "Schyr Nycholl off Kylkenane." These lords commanded a force five to one more numerous than Bruce's, if the poet were to be believed; but he was in all likelihood as ignorant of the numbers of the enemy as of the names of their leaders. Certainly Sir Edmond Butler was not among them; nor probably either of the Geraldine lords. Some lords of Munster, however, were present; namely, Power, baron of Donisle, who "bore himself bravely, but lost nearly all his baggage;" and (Sir) George (Lord) Roche, and (Sir) Roger Holywood, of the county Meath, were wounded.[r] The earl, perhaps on receiving a reinforcement, soon afterwards marched out to attack Bruce's position. The Scots, leaving their banners flying in the camp to decoy the enemy onwards, placed themselves in ambush, and fell suddenly on the flank of the advancing column. The confusion that ensued from this simple *ruse de guerre* resulted in victory to the wily strategists. Bruce and his gallant men then entered the town;—"that nycht thai war blyth and joly," and on the morrow bore off vast stores of corn, flour, wax, and wine, to Carrickfergus, which thenceforth became their head quarters. This battle was fought on the 10th September, 1315. The discomfited Earl of Ulster retired into Connaught, and was powerless to take arms again. His defeat filled all the Gael of the North with

[q] Thomas Don was soon afterwards taken at sea by Sir John de Athy, with forty of his piratic crew, and their heads were sent to Dublin. Sir John was afterwards constable of Carrickfergus castle, and admiral of the fleet in the Irish seas.—*Grace*, 88-9; *Clyn*, 13.

[r] Grace.

exultation and hope; and they proclaimed the successful warrior their sovereign. Barbour states, in the "Argument" to "Buke XV.," that after this "ferd battle" the triumphant Bruce was "declarit King off Ireland." The poet also observes in a verse in the same "buke," that "Schyr Eduward" was usually spoken of and addressed by his followers by his regal title. This was whilst Bruce lay in Carrickfergus, which agrees with the statement of Hailes, who dates the coronation on the 2d May, 1316, when the pseudo-king was in this town. There are discrepancies as to when and where he was first invested with majesty. Archdall, in his peerage book,[s] says Bruce was crowned by the Irish, and that the ceremony took place at Knocknemelan, within half a mile of Dundalk. The annalist, Grace, says the Scottish invader was crowned by his men, without naming the place, yet mentioning the day as the 1st May, but making an obvious error as to the year. The probability is, that, after the first burst into the Pale, and the victory over the Saxonry at Dundalk, the *Albanach* and *Erinach*, in their ardour of triumph, inaugurated Bruce in their national manner on a hill near the town.

No sooner had Edward Bruce some prospect of winning the throne of Ireland than a still brighter vista opened to him. When intelligence of his repeated successes reached the Welsh, then rebelling against their recently-imposed yoke, they sympathetically rejoiced in the belief that independence was being achieved for their Gaelic kinsmen, the *Erenach*, by the younger Bruce; as they had exulted when it had been secured for the *Albanach* by his heroic brother; and the principal chieftain of the *Branach* (Welsh) then in arms, eager to obtain the aid of one of these great champions of national freedom, invited Edward Bruce to join them, in order (wrote he) that by the united strength of the Albanian Scots and the native Britons, the usurping *Sassenach* might be driven out of England, the times of Brutus restored, and the whole land divided between the Britons and the Scots! The enterprising Sir Edward, whose successes had inflamed his ambition, accepted this proposition, as it promised him the sovereignty as soon as the projected conquest should be complete. He at once stipulated for as full authority over his future British subjects as their own princes had exercised. Brilliant visions these for the younger son of an Earl of Carrick! He might succeed to the throne of Scotland; half Ireland was already his, by Anglo-Irish treason and Gaelic will; and now the diadem of England awaited his grasp! Yet, though many of the Gael of Scotland were under his banner, and they of Ulster called him their king, and though they of Wales now asked his martial assistance, all three would assuredly have proved as impatient of the Norman and feudal Edward de Bruce as they had been of the "Hammer" of the Scottish nation.

Immediately after the victory of Connor the gallant Earl of Moray was despatched to Edinburgh, charged with earnest entreaty to King Robert from his brother, to join him in Ireland:—

"For, war thai both in to that land,
Thai suld fynd nane suld thaim withstand."

Young Randolph thus commissioned, sailed with four ships laden with spoils, and carried with

[s] Vol. III., p. 33, quoting Lodge's Collections.

him a distinguished hostage, Sir William De Burgh, uncle to the queen of Scotland. He was "gladsumely" welcomed on his arrival at court by the King Robert, whose nephew he was, and to whom he had been a right arm in placing him on the throne, as he was now engaged in valiantly endeavouring to raise Edward to another. When he had told all the story of the campaign in Ireland, the lion-hearted king declared he would go "blythely" to see "the affair of that countre and of thair war;" a promise, however, the exigencies of his kingdom precluded him for a whole year from fulfilling. Moray returned with a reinforcement of but 500 men, and landed at Dundalk, where he was met by his chief; who, with his forces, had quitted Carrickfergus on St. Nicholas's day, the 6th of December, leaving some troops to carry on the siege of the bravely-contested citadel: and, pushing forward into the centre of the country, kept Christmas in Ballymore-Loughsuedy, an island-fastness surrounded by the lakes and morasses of Westmeath.

(To be continued.)

THE SHAMROCK.

It is now many years since my attention was attracted by a passage in Herodotus [I. 132,] relating to the sacrifices of the ancient Persians. His account, indeed, is not very consistent; for he says that in sacrificing they used no fire, and yet he proceeds to speak of their cooking the flesh of the victim; which, he adds, they then placed on the softest herbs, "*but particularly the trefoil;*" μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τρίφυλλον. This word τρίφυλλον is evidently applicable to any of the numerous plants which have triple or ternate leaves. It is not to be limited to those particular plants which farmers and seedsmen commonly designate as *trefoils*.[a] Now, this incidental mention by Herodotus of the trefoil led me to think if there could be any more remote origin than is commonly supposed for the regard paid in Ireland to the Shamrock. The common persuasion is, that St. Patrick, in preaching the doctrine of the Trinity to the pagan natives, employed the shamrock as a symbol or illustration of that mystery.

[a] Dioscorides mentions five plants, at least, to which the name *Triphyllon* or *Trifolium* was applied. We annex the short description he gives of each, from which it will be seen that none of them agree with our Trefoil. [EDIT.]

"*Triphyllon*, which some call *Oxyphyllon*, others *Menyanthes*, *Asphaltion*, and *Cnicion*, and which the Romans call *Trifolium acutum odoratum*, is a shrub more than a cubit high, having slender black branches, and leaves like the Lotus, three springing from each bud. The smell of these when young resembles that of Rue, but, when full grown, that of bitumen. The flowers are purple." [Lib. 3, cap. 113.] The commentator, Sprengel, determines this plant to be the *Psoralea bituminosa*. Lin.

"*Satyrion*, which some also call *Triphyllon*, because it usually has ternate leaves, bent back towards the ground. It has a naked stalk, a white liliaceous flower &c." [Lib. 3, cap. 123.]

"*Medion*, which some call *Medica*, others *Triphyllon*, *Clemation*, &c. and the Romans, *Trifolium odoratum*, grows in shady and rocky places. It has leaves like the *Seris*, a stem three cubits long, purplish flowers, large and round, &c." [Lib. 4, cap. 18.]

"The cultivated *Lotus*, which some call *Triphyllon*, *Tripodion*, and *Tribolion*, grows in gardens." [Lib. 4, cap. 109.] The Commentator determines this plant to be a species of *Melilotus*.

"The wild *Lotus*, which is also called *Libyon*, and *Lesser Triphyllon*, has a stem two cubits long, or more, its leaves resembling those of the three leaved *Lotus* which grows in meadows." [Lib. 4, cap. 110.]

To suppose that he used it as an *argument*, would be derogatory to his reputation for orthodoxy and wisdom. How indeed could the shape of a leaf be accepted as proof of anything in the Divine nature? This is not the place for theological discussion, or it would be easy to show that no one rightly instructed respecting the Holy Trinity could admit any material resemblance whatsoever as an adequate or suitable representation of the Trinity in Unity. I should, therefore, think very meanly of St. Patrick, as a Christian missionary, if I suspected him of resorting to such a poor attempt at argument or illustration. But if we suppose a trefoil to have been already venerated by the native Irish, we may easily imagine that, on hearing of Three Persons in One Undivided Godhead, they may have supposed some fitness in their favourite emblem to shadow forth the newly-revealed mysterious doctrine. Now, this hint from "the father of history" suggested to me what seems a sufficient explanation of how "the triple grass" may have been accounted sacred in our island before the first preaching of Christianity.

Every one knows the reasons which have been alleged for believing that the Pagans here of old were fire-worshippers. I need hardly dwell on the lighting of fires on St. John's Eve, or the Irish name for that festival, Beal Teiné, so plausibly interpreted, "Fires of Baal." Assuming, then, the oriental origin of Celtic-Pagan worship, we at once receive as appropriate any observation taken from the practices of the Persian fire-worshippers. Next, considering the greatness and renown of that people, we might naturally expect to find traces of the same notions among other ancient and neighbouring nations. Now, in Bonomi's *Nineveh and its Palaces*, [London, 1852.] p. 155, is a figure of a priest holding in his left hand what is said to be "a branch of a tree, *terminating in three pomegranates.*" A somewhat similar figure occurs in p. 206, having in the hand a branch terminating in a lotus flower, with two leaves at the sides. This combination nearly approaches that of the three leaves. In the same work, p. 198, I find "*fleurs-de-lis*" mentioned as ornaments on a throne; and the common figure of the *fleur-de-lis* might certainly better stand for a trefoil than a lily.

I may here introduce the notice of a medal, figured in *Rosini Antiquitates Romanæ*, p. 136, (Lugd. Bat. 1663.) It bears "Spes" holding a *triple branch*, each part of which *ends in a triple leaf*.

Passing now to Greek authorities, I find in Homer, *Hymn. in Mercurium*, l. 526,

Σ῎λβου καὶ πλούτου δώσω περικαλλέα ῥ᾽αβδον
Χρυσείην, τριπέτηλον, ἀκήριον, ἥ σε φυλάξει.

["Of riches and of wealth I will give a most beautiful rod,
Golden, three-leafed, immortal, which shall protect you."]

Also Callimachus. *Hymn. in Dianam*, l. 164,

Η῎ρης ἐκ λειμῶνος ἀμησάμεναι φορέουσιν
᾽Ωκυθοον τριπέτηλον ὅ καὶ Διὸς ἵπποι ἔδουσιν.

["From Juno's meadow having mown they bring
The swift-springing trefoil, which also Jove's horses eat."]

Pliny [Nat. Hist., Lib. xxi., Cap. 21,] has the following—"Trifolium scio credi prævalere contar serpentium ictus et scorpionum," * * * * "serpentesque nunquam in trifolio aspici. Præterea, celebratis auctoribus, contra omnia venena pro antidoto sufficere." ["I know that the trefoil is believed to prevail against the stings of serpents and scorpions, * * * * and that serpents are never seen upon trefoil; moreover, on famous authorities, that it is a sufficient antidote against all poisons."] Does not this remind one of St. Patrick and the serpents?

I have not at hand any documents to show whether or not any trifoliate devices were in use in Ireland before the introduction of Christianity. In Worsaae's *Primæval Antiquities of Denmark*, [London, 1849,] certain ornaments are figured, which he positively refers "to the last period of Paganism, because they are frequently found in graves in Iceland, which country was first peopled by pagan Norwegians, at the close of the ninth century. In connection with these oval ornaments, some other clasps called the *trefoil-shaped* clasps were occasionally deposited." There are, in Dr. Petrie's work on the Irish Round Towers, different curious instances of triquetrous figures occurring on old sculptures. But there seems to be no proof that any of these are of pagan origin. The same may be said of devices resembling the *fleur-de-lis* on ancient Irish ornaments, which I understand are not uncommon. I may observe here, that it would be an interesting subject of inquiry, for those who possess facilities for such an investigation, to ascertain how or when the *fleur-de-lis* began to be used in the royal arms of France and of Scotland.

If we assume that some trifoliate plant was held in honour among the Celtic nations in pagan times, we need not take any pains to conjecture why it obtained this veneration. The Pythagorean notions about the sanctity of the number three were borrowed from the Egyptians, and sufficiently account for the employment of such emblems.

Connected with this subject is the question—what plant it was that the ancient Irish so revered, under the name of Shamrock, or Seamar-óg? Until lately there seems to have been but one opinion,—that it was the *Trifolium repens*, white clover or Dutch clover. This grows abundantly all over Ireland; and its sprigs (especially in the small state of its leaves, when growing on roadsides and other poor ground) are always worn on Patrick's Day as the national symbol. It is well known what magical virtues are attributed by the Irish peasantry to four-leaved specimens of this plant; which are very rare indeed. About forty years ago, however, Mr. Drummond discovered, in the west of the County of Cork, a variety with a brown spot in the centre of each leaflet, and having most of its leaves fourfold. Hence he pronounced this to be "*the real Irish Shamrock.*" But its extreme *rarity*, and the *abundance* of three-leaved specimens, are sufficient proofs that he was mistaken. Of late years some persons have fancied that the pretty little *Medicago Lupulina*, (Black Medick, or None-such,) is the true shamrock. But it is by no means common in many parts of Ireland: and the old Irish-speaking people have never, in any instance that I know of, given it the disputed pre-eminence. They invariably recognise the small white clover as the shamrock. The Irish dictionaries, as well as *Armstrong's Gaelic Dictionary*, are unanimous in the same interpreta-

tion. It is true that the Irish name of Shamrogue [*Seamrog*] is applied to any plant whose leaves resemble those of the clover. Thus the *Laburnum* is popularly called in the South the Shamrogue Tree; as another species of *Cytisus* is called by nurserymen here in the North, "the Shamrock Tree." So, also, the Wood-sorrel *(Oxalis acetosella)* is called by children in the South "Three-cocked-hat Shamrock."

This brings me to the latest candidate for the honour of being the true national emblem. It was left for Mr. Bicheno, an English visitor, to discover, (what no native had ever thought of,) that the real shamrock was the *Wood-sorrel.* His ground for this novel idea was, that mention is made in old authors of the Irish people *eating* shamrocks. But this was only in times of extreme famine, when they were driven to eat grass also. Besides—however pleasant the taste of wood-sorrel may be as a relish—a hungry person would, I think, be less apt to resort to it as food, than to the common clover. The discussion of Mr. Bicheno's opinion, however, cannot be better given than in the words of the annexed extract:—

"When I was in Ireland, some years ago, I was shown, by an amateur, a plant of the spotted trefoil *(Medicago maculata)* which had been brought from a great distance, and kept in a garden pot with much care, as the *genuine* Irish Shamrock; in the same way as I have frequently seen the cotton-thistle *(Onopordum Acanthium)* cultivated in gardens in Scotland as the *genuine* Scotch thistle. It appears to me that it is no less vain to hunt after the actual botanical representatives of these national floral emblems, than after the griffins, dragons, and blue lions of heraldry. Yet, if readers are not satisfied with this, I think that some very common species ought to be fixed upon rather than one which is rare. If we take the practice of the Irish in selecting a sprig of shamrock to decorate their hats on the 17th of March for our guidance as to the species, I should be more inclined to say that the white clover *(Trifolium repens)* is the genuine shamrock, than a plant of such confined locality as the one alluded to above. The Irish themselves, indeed, seem not to make any discrimination between the various species of trefoil; and if we go to the traditional origin of the emblem—St. Patrick's selecting the leaf to indicate the holy Trinity—we may well conclude that he picked up the first trifoliated leaf which came to hand. From these considerations, I am not inclined to agree with Mr. Bicheno, that the wood-sorrel *(Oxalis acetosella)* is the true Irish Shamrock. The flower, for one thing, has nothing to do with the emblem; and even if it had, it would be as hard to find a wood-sorrel as a white clover in flower so soon as St. Patrick's Day, since it does not blow before April. Besides, the *Oxalis* is not a very common Irish plant; for although I have seen it in Derry, and in Antrim, and in the woods of Blarney, near Cork, there are extensive districts where it does not occur at all. It may be well, however, to give some of Mr. Bicheno's reasoning in his own words.—"The term 'Shamrock,'" he says, "seems a general appellation for the trefoils or three-leaved plants. Gerard says the meadow trefoils are called in Ireland Shamrocks, and I find the name so applied in other authors. The Irish names for *Trifolium repens* are *Seamarog, Shamrog,* and *Shamrock.* In [Scottish] Gaelic the name *Seamrag* is applied by Lightfoot to the

Trifolium repens; while in the *Gaelic Dictionary* published by the Highland Society, under the word *Seamrag* many plants are mentioned, to which this word is prefixed as a generic term; as *Seamrag-chapuill*, purple clover; *Seamrag chré*, male Speedwell; *Seamrag Mhuire*, pimpernel. I conclude from this that *Shamrock* is a generic word common to the [Scottish] Gaelic and the Irish languages, and consequently not limited to the *Trifolium repens*." He infers, from the following notice in Fynes Moryson, so late as 1598, that the shamrock was a spring plant:—"Yea, the wilde Irish, in time of greatest peace, impute covetousness and base birth to him that hath any corn after Christmas, as if it were a point of nobility to consume all within those festivall days. They willingly eat the herbe *Shamrocke*, being of a sharp taste, which, as they run and are chased to and fro, they snatch like beastes out of the ditches." This, however, would rather seem to mean "water-cresses" than wood-sorrel, which certainly does not grow in ditches. Again he says:—"Nor is it difficult to account for the substitution of one plant for the other. Cultivation, which brought in the trefoil, drove out the wood-sorrel. The latter, though now not common, was doubtless an abundant plant as long as the woods remained; but these being cut down, partly by the natives to supply their wants, and partly, also, by the government to prevent their enemies from taking refuge in them in the wars, the commonest plant became the scarcest, and it was more easy to obtain that which was cultivated. Upon the whole view of the case, I apprehend it can hardly be doubted that the *Oxalis acetosella* is the original Shamrock of Ireland." For the reasons above given, I certainly *do* doubt Mr. Bicheno's conclusion.—[*Rennie's Notes of a Naturalist, in Time's Telescope for* 1832, *page* 20.]

It strikes me that Fynes Morrison, not having been an Irishman, was no very good authority about a point of Irish antiquity; and that Mr. Bicheno made an egregious blunder in saying that "cultivation brought in the trefoil." The white clover is most unquestionably indigenous all over Ireland. In conclusion, I shall merely remark that, if Mr. Bicheno's view be the true one, it is very strange that no one ever saw or heard of the *Oxalis* being worn by any Irishman on Patrick's Day. It is curious, however, that this beautiful little plant should be called by the French *Alleluia*, implying some peculiar sanctity. Perhaps, too, there may be some connection with the holiness of the trefoil in the French name *Saintfoin* [*fœnum sanctum,*] applied to a kindred plant cultivated for fodder in England and on the Continent. The Saintfoin, it is true, has not ternate leaves, but pinnate. But, it may well be questioned, if what now goes by that name is the same with that to which it was originally applied. Old herbals might, perhaps, show that Saintfoin was formerly the name of a three-leaved herb.

It has been observed, also, that the "club" on playing-cards is plainly a trefoil, and is so called in French; [*trèfle;*] but until the antiquity of cards is better established, and their history thoroughly investigated, nothing can be inferred from this circumstance.

Ballymully Glebe, Tullaghogue, County of Tyrone. THOMAS H. PORTER, D.D., M.R.I.A.

[In Dr. Jacob Grimm's second Treatise on the *Formulas of Marcellus* (Berlin, 1855), from which we lately gave extracts,[b] there are some ingenious speculations on the origin of the name "Shamrock," which will be new to our Irish scholars. As it is interesting to see an Irish subject examined from a German point of view, we translate the passage entire, adding a few observations.

"Among the names of plants mentioned in the work of Marcellus, page 435 commences with the remarkable one *uisumarus* for the clover or trefoil. This is the word now found in the Irish language in the form *seamar, seamrog*, pronounced in English *shamrock;* while on the other hand it is unknown in the Welsh and Armoric dialects. The Seamrog has continued to be a national emblem to the present day, and is always worn by the Irish in their hats. The origin of the name of this sacred plant has been long unknown; but its meaning seems to me to be elucidated by the more complete ancient form of the word. The Irish *samh* signifies "the sun" as well as "the summer," i.e. the time of the warm sun: and our modern German *sommer*, Old High German *sumar*, Anglo-Saxon, *sumar*, Old Norse *sumar*, correspond in sound with this word *seamar*, "the trefoil." *Sum* and *seam* must have been equivalent in the old language; and we meet also with other words showing the transition of the short *u* into *a*, or the corrupted *ea;* for example, *mug*, "a boy," "a servant," seems to be connected with the Gothic *magus* and the Irish *mac;* *dula*, a leaf, becomes, in the Welsh language, *dâl;* *druith*, a druid, occurs at a later period as *draoi*. We meet with this transition from *u* to *a* still oftener in our German language, where, for instance, the Gothic *tunthus*, "a tooth," becomes, in the Old High German, *zand*."

"In the prefixed syllable, *ui*, of *uisumarus*, I recognise the modern Irish *ua* or *o*, a "child," "son," "descendant," which goes before so many proper names, (such as O'Brien, O'Reilly, O'Donovan, O'Neill), as is also the case with *mac* "a son." This *ua* is an anomalous substantive, and forms its genitive and vocative singular and nominative plural (*ui*) by taking the vowel *i*. It would appear, however, that a nominative singular, *ui*, also existed in the older language, (in the same way as we find, besides *cno*, "a nut," the other nominatives *cnu*, and *cnui*); and we might compare it with the Greek *ὑϊός*, especially in its aspirated form *hui*, or *hi*. *Uisumar* (or, with the Latin termination, *uisumarus*) would therefore signify child, offspring of the sun, of the summer; a striking expression for that summer delight of which our mediæval German poets so often sing." [Grimm here gives a number of examples from old poets, introducing the *klee* or clover, in connection with summer.] "If now-a-days, as of old, the finding of four-leaved clover is looked upon as a sign of good luck; if in Swedish provinces the clover is called *solgras* ("sun-grass"), and when it folds together its leaves people can tell, even in clouded skies, the approach of sun-set; it might well have been considered by the Celts as a plant peculiarly sacred, the especial flower of spring or summer, and thus may have become personified, as it is in the lines above quoted from the old German poems."

"Again, in Sweden and Norway the name *smære*, and in Iceland, *smâri*, occurs for the clover: this can be explained only by the Celtic *seamar*, and it affords a new evidence of the ancient connection between Scandinavia and Ireland."

[b] *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iv., p. 265.

"In the form *seamrag, seamrog*, the suffix *ag* or *og* may be merely the common diminutive termination; thus expressing precisely what is contained in the prefix *ui;* for *ua* or *o* is "child," "offspring," and *og*, "a youth," "a boy."

"I should be greatly tempted also to connect the equally obscure Slavonic word for the trefoil,—in Russian *djatlina*, Servian *djetelina*, Polish *dziecielina*, Bohemian *gêtelina*,—with the Russian word *ditja*, "a child" (Servian *dijete*, Polish *dzieci*, Bohemian *djte*,) only that the finer relations of sound do not agree fully, and all reference to the sun or the summer is wanting. But while in Irish the word *o*, "child" has disappeared, in Slavonic the word for "child" has remained, and the word for "sun" may have vanished."

At the conclusion of the essay he makes some further observations on the same subject.

"As I have still some space left, I revert once more to the interesting word *uisumar*. The interpretation just now obtained, or rather proposed, would be quite confirmed if there ever occurred in Irish documents such a proper name as *O'Sumar*, *O'Seamar*, or *Mac Seamar;* or if Irish tradition had handed down to us any evidences of the connection of the trefoil with the Spring. In the Irish coat-of-arms this plant has not found its way merely by accident; and at all events, its three leaves might appropriately symbolise the union of the three Britannic kingdoms; though, in that case, it ought to be current in England and Scotland as well, which is not the fact.—After all, we might be disposed to doubt whether, by the word *seamar*, we are really to understand the *trifolium* (Welsh *tairdalen*, i.e. three leaves) or another ornamental spring-flower, the *Caltha*. [May-flower.] Might it not even be possible that our hitherto unexplained German word *klee* [clover] is immediately and literally connected with *Caltha?* at least the Gloss in Graff [4,540] places *chléo* at *Calta, Caltha,* (*Calendula officinalis*, Linn,) and likewise the Gloss in Haupt [6,341] gives *rótiz, Cleo, Calta*. This *Caltha*, has other names, as *dotter-blume, gold-blume, ringel-blume, butter-blume;* but especially in the Italian form "*sposa del sole*," "bride of the sun," it reminds us of our interpretation "child of the sun,' "descendant of the sun." The Finlanders call the clover *apilas*, and *martokukku*, "milk-flower," just as in Sweden the *Caltha*, is called *tremjolksgras*-(three-milk-grass) because in May the cows are milked three times a day; and the Anglo-Saxon *thrimilei*, might conveniently personify the Spring. Our German peasants at the present day say that the pasture of the *butter-blume* [butter-cup] for cattle gives rich and fat milk. So in the old Norse *Landnamabok*, speaking of a fat and fruitful soil, it is said that on this land butter flows from every stem. What *apilas* signifies I do not know: it is the Lettish, *ahbolites, dahboli*, Lithuanian, *dobilas, dobilates;* probably also the Swedish *väpling*. The Slavonic names have been mentioned already."

"If the *ui* in *uisumar* be not considered to stand for the old nominative singular, it might even be taken as the plural collective—"the sons of summer," "the flowers," "the trefoils:" still I prefer the singular."—

We can supply, from the Irish Annals, an old surname such as Dr. Grimm considers necessary to complete his argument. Although it is not exactly the simple *Mac Seamar* which he asks for, it

approaches perhaps near enough to it to show that the two words were used in conjunction. We allude to *Mac Somhairle* (also written *Mac Samhairle),* which is mentioned in the *Annals of the Four Masters* at the years 1211, 1247, 1258, and 1259. This surname still exists in Ulster, in the contracted form *Mac Sorley.* The name *Somhairle* is originally Norwegian or Danish, and appears in the old Northern Chronicles under the form *Somerled.* For instance, we read of a *Somerled Sigurdson* in 1015, and a *Somerled* killed in 1230. Sir Walter Scott, in his *Lord of the Isles,* (Canto 2,) alludes to a prince of this name who ruled in the Hebrides:—

"Fill me the mighty cup, he said,
Erst own'd by royal Somerled."

With regard to the word "shamrock," as used in English, this is merely an adaptation of the Irish word to English spelling. The Irish letter *s* always sounds before *e* and *i* as *sh,* (German *sch,* French *ch),* so that *seamrog* becomes *shamrock* in English letters. The word, however, is not English, nor is it ever applied in England to the trefoil except by the Irish resident there. The Scottish Gaelic form *seamrag* is to be heard in various parts of Ulster. In the dialect of the Isle of Man, however, it takes the form *samark,* which approaches more nearly the Scandinavian; and this is accounted for by the long occupation of that island by the Norse Vikings.

The Irish word for "summer," *samhradh,* has been derived by O'Connor and O'Brien from *samh,* an old word for "the sun," and *ratha,* "a season." O'Donovan objects to the word *ratha,* and suggests the Irish word *re,* "time;" but Pictet has pointed out a Zend word, *ratu,* "season, time," which agrees with the latter part of the compound. If Grimm's analogies be correct, the original word for "sun" would be *samar* or *samr,* and this would still agree with the derivations proposed, the compound being then *samr-ratha,* or *samr-re,* according as we adopt one or other of the suggestions offered.

It might be objected that, if our *summer* originally meant "the sun," we ought to find some additional word used along with it to complete the sense, when it is intended to express the season of the year so called. And such, in fact, is the case. *Summer* would seem to be an abbreviation for *summer-time,* (anciently *summer-tide,*) that is, "the sunny season;" and, to the present hour, we find this compound word always used by the lower classes wherever English is spoken. In like manner they say the *spring-time,* the *harvest-time;* and in these expressions it is evident that, strictly speaking, the second word is absolutely required to complete the sense intended. There appears to be, in most modern languages, a tendency to use abbreviated forms of speech; and it is well known that the old and uncontracted forms are longest preserved among uneducated people. There can be little doubt that an abbreviation, precisely similar to the English one, will be found to have taken place in the German and all the other languages of the Teutonic stock; *sommer* being an ellipsis for *sommer-zeit.*

But further, it is deserving of notice that the word for "the sun" in Arabic and Hebrew is *shams.* Let us see whether a connection may not be established between this and the word under consider-

ation. It is well known that the letters *r* and *s* are found continually interchanging in different languages, especially at the end of words. Thus, the plural termination of nouns in Icelandic, *r*, becomes *s* in English, French, and Spanish. In Latin we see a constant tendency to use *r* and *s* indiscriminately. Thus we have words like *arbor* having a second form of the nominative in *arbos*; and a multitude of other words, like *mos, moris; mus, muris; aes, aeris; pulvis, pulveris*, &c., which show, by the re-appearance of the *r* in the oblique cases, that a nominative in *r* must once have existed, though now disused. Again, in English, we meet with examples of words ending in *s*, while in German the same words end in *r*, as, *houses, häuser; ghosts, geister; I was, Ich war*; and instances of the reverse occur in the middle of other words, as *hare, hase; iron, eisen.* Such examples could be greatly multiplied from other languages: and if, finally, we refer to the Sanscrit, supposed to be the earliest form of the Indo-European family of languages, we find the interchanges of *r* and *s*, at the end of words, actually reduced to regular rules, and comprehended under a special name—Visarga.

It is, therefore, by no means improbable, that the Semitic word *shams*, the sun, is identical with the Irish *shamr (seamr)* and Scandinavian *samr*; and a further corroboration of this is found in the curious fact that we have actually in Ireland another form of the word *seamrog*, applied as the name of a different three-leafed plant, and which, in place of the *r* has the *s*; namely, *seamsog (shamsog)*, the wood-sorrel. *(Oxalis acetosella.)* Here we have precisely the Arabic and Hebrew form *shams*; and we thus find both forms of the word *(shamr* and *shams)* existing together in the same language.

It is further remarkable that there are three Arabic names of plants which are almost identical in form with our Irish ones, though not applied to the trefoil, viz., *Shammâr*, the fennel; *shamr*, the dill; and *shamraeh*, "a branch of the palm tree or of the vine, bearing unripe fruit."—[Kasimirski, *Dict. Arab.*] This last recalls to us immediately the branch of a tree bearing fruit, figured in Bonomi's *Nineveh*, to which Dr. Porter has directed attention in the preceding part of the present article. (p. 13.)

Finally, if, on examination, the whole chain of striking resemblances now brought together be admitted by philologists as proofs of original identity, the interesting result is arrived at, that we here possess a word which must, undoubtedly, have formed a part of the language spoken in Asia thousands of years ago, before the separation of the two great human families, the Semitic and the Indo-European; and that the last links of the chain of evidence are found in an ancient language still lingering among the Irish mountains, in the extreme west of Europe. This word would, therefore, serve as one proof of the very remote period at which the ancestors of the Irish race separated from the parent stock in Asia; and would show how the old language of this country may assist in establishing remarkable results by evidence not to be found elsewhere. EDIT.]

THE HAMILTON MANUSCRIPTS.

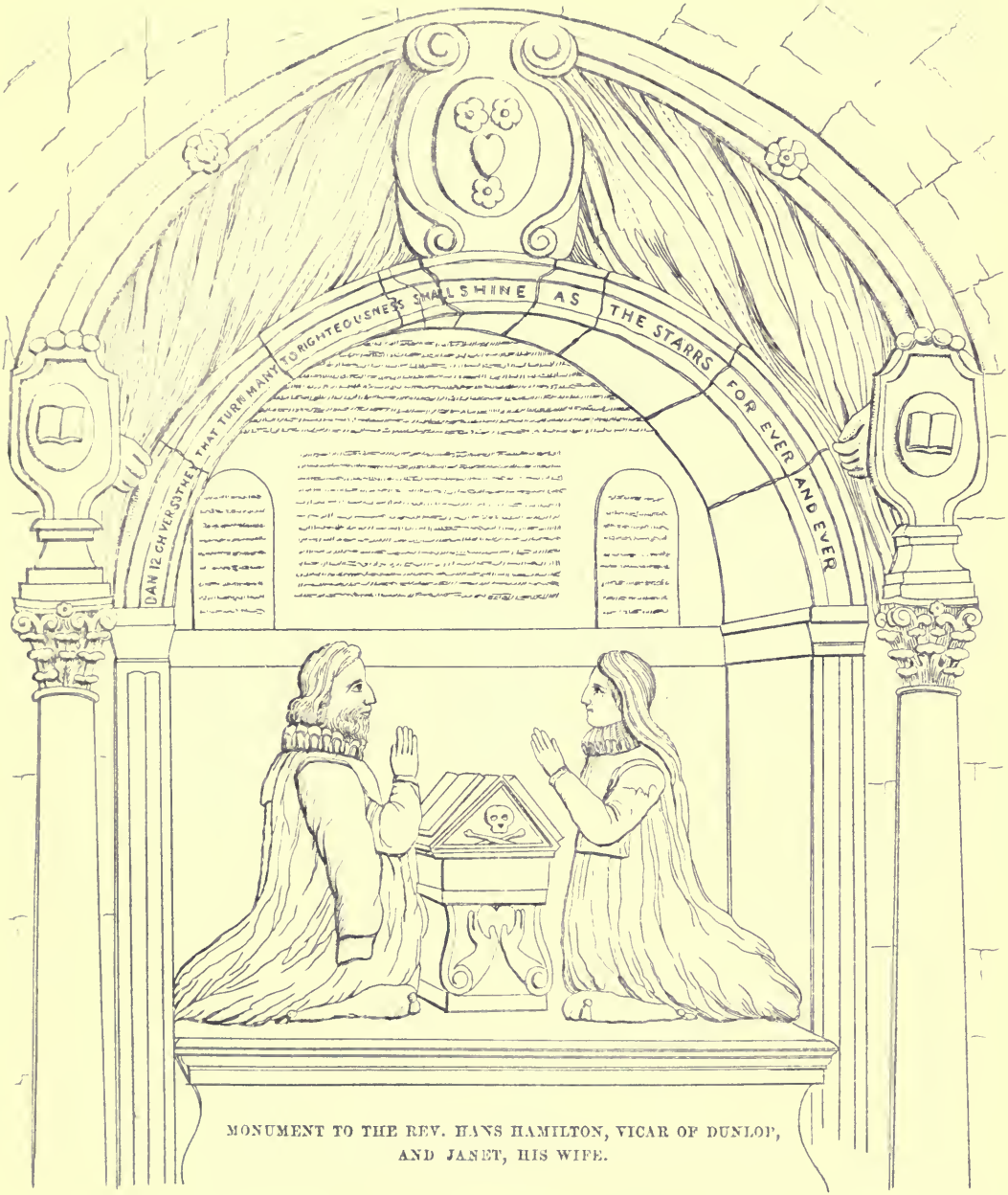
(CONTINUED.)

(Will of Sir James Hamilton.—Concluded.)

I do appoint that my mother have the profitts of the towne of Portavoe during her lyf, yearly, sent to her in season, at two tymes in the year; and that John, my brother, be the receaver of it from my wif, and sender of it to her, and that if she do owe any debts at her death, the same be payed out of my rents or goods; and for other kyndnesses I leave her to Jean, and to her grandchild, to send to her what Jean shall think that she wanteth.[a]

And whereas I have made and perfeeted some deeds to some of my tenents in the Ards, and receeived the counterparts of them, I will that those deeds be truelie kept, as my deed to John Maxwell; but whereas I made up other draughts or formes of Deeds, and signed and sealed them at Dublin, for sundrie other of my tenents of the Ards, as for William Wallace, Edward Maxwell, Michael Craig, and others, but for that the heads or minutes of our agreement was not then at Dublin, and that I was then going to sea, and therefore willing to leave some sorte of seeuritie to be perfected to these tenents, and did therefore then deliver them all to my then steward, Francis Maynard, to be by him all of them delivered to my brother, William Hamilton, by him to be examined severally, and being found agreeing with our minutes and counterparts, being made up from the tenents respectively to me, then to be delivered by my said brother William to every of them so respectively as my deeds, of which deeds and writings the said William to receave a counterpart from the tenents respectively for me, and so to be my deeds and not otherwise; now in respeet the said Francis Maynard, either out of want, indigence, or out of some other collateral respeet, hath underhand sold several of those ingrossed wrytings, (contrarie to the direetion given to him before sundrie persones at the deliverie of them to him, and contrarie to a letter of attorney, or a power sent by him the said Maynard from me to the said William under my hand) to several of the persones to whome they were to have been delivered in manner as aforesaid by my brother, and that neither examination hath been used by my brother, nor counterpart by him thereof receaved for me, nor deliverie made as was directed, and that therfor the same ar no deeds, and the tenants only deeeaved thereby, I do therefor also appoint, that if they who have so bought sueh supposed deeds, shall give up the same cheerfully and readilie, and do also confesse their oversight in underhand buying of them so indirectly, then I do appoint that they shall have new deeds aceording to the minutes and agreements between us duly perfected, they satisfying all arreares of rent and other dueties due heretofore out of the lands thereby intended to them; or, if they shall refuse so to do, and stand to take benefitt by the supposed deeds which they have so cantelouslie bought, I doe appoint, in respect the writings are not perfected, and that they have noe state in the land, that the lands which they seek of myn by those deeds be entered upon and disposed of as lands yett to be lett, and that all my tithes and the viear's third part of tithes be taken of them, and all other advantages, profits, and perquisits that are fallen due to me by any wayes. And for all other minutes which any of my tenants have under my hand intending an agreement for lives or years, my will is that the same be perfected to them respeetively, honestlie, and justlie, aceording to the purport of the minute which they have under my hand; and, for sueh of my tenants as have no note or minutes of me, specially such as are of the poorer sort, and have long

[a] His mother was at this date a widow, his father, the Rev. Hans Hamilton, having died on the 30th of May, 1608 He, however, survived her, and in 1641 caused to be erected in the parish church-yard of Dunlop a massive stone chapel or mausoleum, and within it a handsome marble monument to the memory of his parents, whose sculptured figures are there represented kneeling face to face on a sarcophagus:—



MONUMENT TO THE REV. HANS HAMILTON, VICAR OF DUNLOP,
AND JANET, HIS WIFE.

dwelt under me, I will that they be favourablie agreed withall in such sort as I have agreed with other tenants of their qualitie. But when I have given license to some men to dwell upon my land during pleasure, paying little or no rent for townes or lands of good value, such as are old James O'Dornan, Manus O'Hammell, and such, my will

---

The following is the inscription on the monument:—"Herc lye the bodies of Hanis Hamilton, sonne of Archibald Hamilton of Raploch, servant to King James the Fift, and of Janet Denham his wife, daughter of James Denham, laird of West-shielde. They lived maryid together 45 years, during which tyme the said Hanis served the cure at this church. They were much beloved of all who knew them, and especially of the parishioners. They had six sonnes, James, Archibald, Gavin, John, William, and Patrick; and one daughter, Jean, mary'ed to William Mure, of Glanderstoune." On a stone of the floor of the chapel is this inscription:—"Heir-lyes the bodye of Hanis Hamiltoune Vicar of Dunlope, quha deceisit ye 30 of Maii 1608, ye aige 72 yeirs; and of Janet Denham his spous." Over the door of the chapel is the date 1641; also on the school-house attached, with this inscription:—"This school was erected and endowed by James Viscount Clandboyes, in love to his parish, in which his father Hans Hamilton was pastor 45 yeirs, in King James the sixt his raigne."

"I V C."

The cyphers, which are also visible on the door of the chapel, stand for James Viscount Clandeboye.

Attached to the chapel is a school-house erected by the Viscount at the same time, and bestowed by him on his native parish. In the following letter to his brother-in-law of Glanderstone, dated Killileagh, 12th April, 1642, allusion is made to these buildings, and to money transmitted for defraying the cost of their erection:—

"Good Brother,—I have sent you by this gentleman, Mr. Hogg, a Bond for yor hundred and thirty-two pound, and a Note for some money whiche you layd out about the chappell. I have sent you alsoc a counterbond for your security for the Masquetes all wche are pfitted, and wche you will receive from him. I have written alsoe to my Lord Chancellor, that, in regard of our troubles heere wch disables us for soe speedy paymt as the Bond imports, I may have a longer time upon consideration for the forbearance. I heard by Tweedy that some foollish lying reporte of my death put you and my sister and yor family in great anguish. Though I thank God I be readie for Death at all times, yet I do not love to have my friends put in greife with the lying reports wch some well affected to us are ready to broach without any ground. I heare Robt. Ross was a speciall venter of it there, as a thing certaine, and certainly receaved from his man and his sonne heere; who hath been upon some practices to draw in Sr James Montgomerie upon my Lands with his Regiment, and to trouble the rest of the people, and hath been very slow to pay me my Rent wch is very needful in this time, but were not slow to give to others gratis. I desired a curtesie at Robert Rosse, wch I well deserved, and wch hee to avoid raised up the lye. He might have refused it in a fairer fashion. It is like enough his sonnes will have cause to repent their ill carriage to me; for himselfe I will say nothing, but that I merited better at his hands. I shall not need to write anything of our estate heere, knowing that this bearer and your sonne's letters will ease me in all that. To which for the present I must refer you. Yor sonne James is a Captaine of my Regemt, and in truth deservedly both for valor and understanding. Hee hath chosen all his officers of his owne name. My Regmt is like to be drawne out into the ffeilde shortly, and will require collors for the several captains, wch must be as other collors are, of red and white. I pray you send me ffortie ells of Taffata sarsenet, such as will not run and scatter in the threads for thinnes, nor will not frett by stiffness.

Four ells of it should be altogither white; and the other six and thirty, the one halfe of it white, and the other halfe red. Let it be handsomly wrapt up and delivered to Robt. Tweedie's boy to bring unto me, unless you find a surer carryer, or that Robt. Tweedie's brother-in-lawe send over a man. The Barque with the Armes touched upon the shoare heere, and by contrary winds was driven back againe. I pray God send her safe hither; we wonderfully want her. Further I will not trouble you with at this present, but only to entreat my sister that shee will not be troubled with any foolish lyes she shall heare of my death, or of any disaster unto us; for I thank God I never better brooked my health, and God hath been pleased to favor us with much successe against the Rebell.

"God Almightie have all you and us in keeping.

"Yor Verie loving Brother,

"J. Claneboys.

"Killileagh, 12 Aprill, 1642."

The following is a copy of the Bond relative to the arms referred to in the foregoing letter, and at page 249 of vol. 3, *ante*.:—

"At Edenburghe the twentie sexte of Januar, M.D.C. fourtie twa yieres. In presence of ye Lordis and utheris comissioneris appoyntit for the comoun burdingis of this kingdome comperied Mr. James Baird, advocat pror for Williame Muire, of Glanderstoun, and Robert Twedie, servitor to ye Vicount of Clandebuyes, in Ircland, and gave in the Bond underwritten, desiring ye same to be insert and registrat in ye said comissioneris yair buikes, to have the strenth of ane decreit with lettres and execution to be decreit yrupon in maner yrin contained. The whilk desire the sadis comissioneris thought ressonable, and thairfor hes ordained and ordaines: The said Bond to be insert and registrat in yair saidis buikis, decernes ye same to have ye strenth of yr decreit, and ordaines lettres and execution to be direct yrupoun in manner specifeit yrintill wrof the tennir followis:—Be it kend till all men be yir pnt lettres, We Williame Mure, of Glanderstoun, and Robert Twedy, servitor to ye Vicount of Clandebuyes, in Ireland: Forsameikle as by order and warrand from ye comissioneris we have resavit from Colonell Alexander Hamiltoun, generall of ye artaiziacry furth of ye comoun magazine of ye said kingdome the number of four hundreth muskets, with yair bandeleires at ten punds yr piece, to be payit at Witsunday next Thairfor we be yir pnts Bonds and obleis us our aires exrs and successores conjunctlie and severally to mak thankfull payment of ye forsaid sowme of ten pundis as ye liquidat pryce agried upon be us for ilk ane of ye saidis four hundreth musketts, with yair bandeleirs, extending in all to four thowsand pundis

is, that they, careing themselves well, honestlie, and truely, shall be permitted to dwell still so long as my wif and sone shall find them duetifull servants to them; but, upon either of their deathes or ill caring, that that land be taken in and disposed for the best advantag to Scottishmen, or other such tenants. Owen Omulcreve his towne is requisit for seafaring men and fishers at Gilgroomes port [b] and may be lett at avery good rate, but then the poor man

---

Scotis money. To ye saidis comissioneris for ye comoun burdeengs, and to yare receiveris in yair names, or any utheris haveing yair warrand for yat effect; and yat within ye burghe of Edinburghe betwixt ye dait heirof and ye * * * and * * * of Witsunday next, but langer delay; Togither with ye sowme of four hundreth punds of liquidat expenses in caise of failzie, Together with ye wrent and profeit of ye said principall sowme conforme to ye act of parliament sua lang as ye samyn shall remayine unpayit after ye terme of payment above written. Provydeing, yat if betwixt the last day of Marche next we cane really deliver back again to ye said magazine at Edr. or Leith the saidis four hundreth muskets with yair bandeleirs in als gude caise as we have now resavit the same: In yat caise we and our forsaids to be frie of ye payment of ye pryces yrof abovewritten, and of yis present Bond, and of all yat may follow yrupon. And for the mair securitie we are content and consent thir pnts be insert and registrat in ye saids comissioneris yair buiks to ye strenth of ane decreit. That lettres and execution of horneing on ten dayes and nyts necessr. may pas heirupon informe as effeires. And constitutes Mr. James Baird advocat our procurator, for remitting deerate. In witness qrof we have subscryvit thir presentis with our hands, written be William Merschell, servitor, and Robert Hepburne, advocat clerk to ye said comissioneris at Edinburghe, ye twentie sixt day of Januar, M.D.C. fourtie twa yeires, Befor their witness, Gavin Blair, of Halylie, Captaine Robert Blare, his sone, and ye said Williame Merschell, and his subt. Wm. Muire, Robert Twedie, Gavin Blair, witness, Rt. Blair, witness, W. Merschell, witness. Extractum de libris actorum dict. comissionariorum per me, Rt. Hepburne."

In an introductory memoir to the *Caldwell Papers*, printed at Glasgow, in 1854, from which the foregoing statement is extracted, it is added, that—

"The friendly connection between the Glanderstone family and the Irish Hamiltons was maintained down to the commencement of the ensuing century, both by correspondence and marriage. In the Caldwell repositories are several bundles of letters and miscellaneous papers, which once formed part of the collection of 'Secretary Hamilton,' and appear to have been consigned or bequeathed by him to his Glanderstone relatives. Such portions of them as seemed to possess interest have been printed in the volume. During several generations it was customary for the heads of various families connected with the venerable vicar of Dunlop, or his spouse, the Hamilton's of Clanboyes and Killileagh, the Denhams of Westshields, and the Mures of Glanderstone, to subscribe each a small sum from time to time for the repairs of their ancestor's tomb. But from the following letters in the correspondence of the laird of Caldwell and Glanderstone it would appear that funds were no longer procured from Irish sources; and the care of the monument has now devolved exclusively on the Caldwell family. It is still in good preservation, and was put in thorough repair a few years ago.":—

"Wo. Cusine,—The uncertaintie of ane sure hand made me delay the sending of the inelosed, until the bearer, ane old serveant of my sister Mure's came in my way. It was written at Carmichael, where you was kindly remembered, and your health drunk by that kind lord Mr. Carstairs, the Principal of Glasgow, with diverse other friends, who long for your hasteing over. It will be your interest. What is written by my lord Haleraig I know is to that effecte, and will have more influence with you than I can; although none would be better satisfied to see you fixed in some post suitable to your meritte than yrs most sincerely,

"to serve you
"Wm. Mure.

"Glanderstoun, June 5, 1699.

"See iff ye can procure any thing from Westshields towards the Repairing of our Tomb, that if ye make any stay here, ye shall be witnesse to the agreement for it. Take no less than a ginea, which was what he promised me.

"For
"Mr. William Hamilton,
"att Lieutenant Gavin Hamilton's,
"att Lisrene, in Ireland.
"Glanderstoun, Nov. 2, 1704"

"Dr. Cos.,—Having sent over my nephew Willm. to transact and end my Lord Halcraig's affair and mine with Lady Tullymore, I must recommend him to your best advice in what occurs in that affair. I have likewise sent with him Claneboys' note I spoke to you of to give you the first offer of it. There is nothing yet done in the repairing of ye burial-place at Dunlop, your directions being wanted about it, in respect you did not name what you allowed for yrself as weel from whom it should be had. Besides its hard you should solely be at the expenses while Westshields and your relations in Ireland are equally related. What you can procure send wth the bearer, with what you order yourself, to be given to the minister of the place, who will see the thing applyed, together with a line to Westshields for his proportion; wherein also I shall concur, and shall not be wanting in what comes to my share. If it be longer neglected it will be so spoiled that it will be in vain to do any thing in it. My service to Captn. Stevensone, and all my Cos with you. Quherein I can be capable to serve you command me. Your most Obliged Cos., and humble Servt.,

"Wil Mure."

"For
"Mr. William Hamilton,
"of Killileagh, Esqr.,
"Ireland."

[b] Now Groomsport. See at page 139, vol. 3, *ante*, a copy of a patent of 19 Jac. I., which Sir James Hamilton had obtained, making Bangor a sea-port, and the roads or creeks of Gilligroomes and Hollywood, members of the port of Bangor.

should be elswher provyded for with favour ; the lyk is also of Towl Og Ogilmore for his part of Ballesallagh who is to be lykwise provyded for, and may be better in some other place, and these townes with far greater advantag, and far better service to his Majestie lett to Scottishmen. Thomas Kelso hath had during pleasure, from year to year, without any minut, a great towne of me for sundrie yeares past, and two quarters of land, besydes the two quarters which my brother William hath. He hath hitherto payed me only four pounds. I would make no agreement with him, because I was still of purpose to tak it in, or a great part of it, to the plaines of Belfast. A great part of it may well be taken in, and can not be wanting from that town. The rest may either be lett to him for a reasonable rent and services of his facultie, with condition to forfeit it if he doe not perform the same faithfully, or otherwyse he may be elswher provyded of some parcell of land and that land be lett for a very great rent.[c]

[c] By lease dated 15th Oct, 1644, from the Right Honourable James Viscount Claneboy to William Kelsoe, merchant and burgess of Ayre, in the realm of Scotland, after reciting that, by agreement bearing date the 3d of April, 1624, made between the late Lord Viscount Claneboye, deceased, on the one part, and Richard and Harry Whiteshead on the other part, the said Richard and Harry Whiteshead had in lease the Townland of Ballymacarrett, as it then was possest for twentie-one years, from All-Hallow-tide then next ensuing, under the exceptions, conditions, reservations, yearly rents, and other things therein mentioned, the said Lord Viscount Claneboy, as well for and in consideration of the yearly rents, duties, services, covenants, and conditions thereinafter specified, expressed, and reserved, as also for divers other good causes and considerations him thercunto moving, demised, granted, set, and to farm let, unto the said William Kelsoe, his executors and assigns, the said Towne of Ballymacarrett, with the appurtenances thereunto belonging (excepting and reserving thereout unto the said Lord Viscount, his heirs and assigns, all and all manner of royalties, tithes, heryots, fines, amerciaments, woods, underwoods, suits, services, customs, anchorages, fishings, and fishery places, with the parcel of land already set off for the ferry, and held and enjoyed with the same, being by estimation six acres, Lordes-fishes, and tithe-fishes, mills, mill-steads, mill-draughts, millponds, waters, and water-courses, with two acres of land to the same, deducting therefor proportionably of the rent as was answered out of the whole premises, with full liberty of ingress, egress, and regress into and from the premises, at all times and upon all occasions whatsoever). To have and to hold all and singular the said Townland of Ballymacarrett (except as before excepted) unto the said William Kellsoe, his executors, administrators, and assigns, unto the full end, and for and during all the term of twentie and one years, to begin from and upon the feast day of All-saints, commonly called All-hallow-day, which should be in the yeare of our Lord God 1650, fully to be compleat and ended; Yielding and paying therefore yearlie, during the said terme, unto the said Lord Viscount, his heirs and assigns, the yearly rent or sum of £32 sterling, current and lawful money of and in England, with six days' work of a man and horse, upon the feast days therein mentioned, and subject to the covenant therein contained. Upon this lease the following memorandum is endorsed:—" That, before the signing, sealing, and delivery hereof, it is covenanted, concluded, and agreed, by and between the within-mentioned persons to these presents, that if it shall soe fall out that Richard Pierson (who hath a lease of the said townland for seven years, to and at All-saints, 1650) his executors, administrators, or assignes, shall quit the lease of the said land, and shall leave the same before the expiration thereof, that then the within specified 21 years thereof to the said William Kellsoe, his executors, adminstrators, and assigns, shall be and begin, from and immediately after the next tearme day, either of May or All-saints, that he, the said Richard Pierson, shall soe give up the said land to the said Lord Viscount, his heirs and assignes, or remove themselves therefrom. Signed, sealed, and delivered, in the presence of Hans Hamilton, Alexander Sloane, Isaiah Forest, Alexander Smith."—A further lease, dated 16th Sept., 1669, from the Right Honble. Henry Earl of Clanbrassil to John Kelso of Ballymacarrett, gent., witnessed that the said Earl, for and in consideration of the yearly rents, duties, and services, thereinafter expressed and reserved, and especially for, and in consideration of, the sum of £300 sterling, current and lawful money of and in England, thereby set, and to farm let, unto the said John Kelso, All and whole the townland commonly called and known by the name of Ballymacarrett, aforesaid, lying and being within the Barony of Castlereagh and county of Down, aforesaid, with the appurtenances. (Excepting and always reserving out of the said demised premises, unto the said Earl, his heirs or assigns, the mill of Oyn O'Cork, with six acres of land to the said mill,) TO HOLD all and singular the above townland, with liberty of the ferry-boat, with all the benefit and profit that could be had thereby, or that should grow due out of the same, together with all the houses, meares, and marshes of the said townland, as it was then meared and bounded, with their and every of their appurtenances, for and during the full term, time, and space of three score and one years, to be and begin from the 1st of Nov. then next: Yielding and paying therefore, unto the said Earl, his heirs and assigns, the just and full sum of £12 sterling, yearly, during the first two years, to begin from the 1st of Nov. then next, and also paying yearly thereafter, during the said Earl detaining the said sum of £300 sterling in his or their hands, the just and full sum of £25 yearly, at May and All-saints, by even and equal portions; and when the said £300 should be repaid in one entire sum unto the said John Kelso, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, premonition or warning thereof being given to them six months before the payment of the said sum so to be made, and that he or they were truly satisfied and paid, then paying thereafter the sum of £55 yearly, at

I do wish him to be more regarded for his wive and children's sake, who are honest and poor and my kinsfolk, than for his self, being given to too mueh forgettlng of his duetie to himself and me. And that all other lands be aceord-

the terms formerly mentioned ; and the said John Kelso did, thereby, amongst other things, eovenant to do suit and service to the Courts Leet and Courts Baron of the said Earl, his heirs or assigns, to be held for the Manor of Hollywood, and to be ruled by the Steward of the said Courts for the time being. Upon this leaso there is also endorsed the following memorandum :—

"Before the signing and sealing of the within demise, I, the within-named Henry, Earl of Clanbrassil, do, for me, my heirs and assigns, during the years within mentioned, convey and make over to him, the said John Kelso, his exeeutors and assigns, All the fishing that of right doth belong to me, and that formerly the tenants of Ballymaearrett were possessed of.—Signed, sealed, and delivered, in presence of John Swadlin and William Riehardson."

A Fee farm Grant of 24th July, 1672, from the Right Honourable Henry, Earl of Clanbrassill, to Thomas Pottinger of Belfast, in the County of Antrim, merehant, witnessed that the said Earl, in consideration of £300, granted, bargained, sold, released, and confirmed, unto the said Thomas Pottinger, his heirs and assigns, for ever, the Townland of Ballymaearrett, alias, Balinacrett, in the Parish of Knoek, in the Barony of Castlereagh and County of Down, and then in the tenure and occupation of John Kelso, and Captain James McGill, their undertenants and cottyers, together with all and singular the eastles, &c.; loughs, ponds, fishings, marshes, and waye of water, ferrie and ferry boats, and all and singular other profits, commodities, emoluments, immunities, rents, reversions, remainders, appendances, rights, members, advantages, and appurtenances whatsoever, to the said townland, incident, belonging, or in any waye appertaininge, by what name or names soever the same be called or known, by or belonging to, or to the same usually had, oeeupied, enjoyed, or reputed, accepted, used, and known as part and pareel thereof; and also the Corne Mill called by the name of Owen Corke Mill, situate neere or upon the premises; together with the lands belonging to the said Corne Mill then, iu the possession of John Wilson, and his undertenants and eottyers ; that was to say, six acres of land, part of Ballymacarrett, aforesaid, and six acres of land, part of Ballyhaekamore, together with the nett profits of toll or mulcture thereunto belonging, issuing and payable out of the townes and lands of Ballymaearrett, Ballyhaekamore, Knocke, Ballyloghan, Strandtown, Ballymather, and Ballymaser; and also the fynes payable thereout by the tennants inhabitinge the said townslands for not grinding their eorne and grayne at the said mill, according to the covenants therein exprest, and all other incident profits and dutyes to the said mill belonginge: Yielding and paying yearly and every year, to the said Earl, his heirs and assigns, yearly for ever, the full sum of £30 sterling.

By an endorsement on the foregoing deed, reeiting the lease and mortgage to John Kelso, of 16th September, 1669, and further reciting that the whole right, title, and interest of the said John Kelso, unto the said lands and tenements, and to the said £300, was since legally come to James Magill of Ballynesterragh, Esq., and that the same was then wholly and absolutely in him ; and further reeiting that the said Henry, Earl of Clanbrassill, by his deed duly perfected, bearing date the 4th day of July, 1672, for the consideration therein expressed, did grant, assign, and make over the reversion of the said lands and tenements, and the power of redeeming the same unto Thomas Pottinger, of Belfast, his heirs and assigns: It was thereby witnessed that the said James Magill had received from the said Thos. Pottinger the said sum of £300, aeeording to the said deed of lease; and the said James Magill did thereby release, aequit, and discharge the said Thomas Pottinger, his heirs, exeeutors, adminstrators, and assigns, of the said sum of £300, and every part thereof.

This townland eontinued in possession of the Pottinger family till the year 1779, when they sold it to Barry Yelverton, Esq., then Reeorder of Carriekfergus, (afterwards Chief Baron of the Irish Exehequer, and raised to the Peerage by the title of Viscount Avonmore,) for a sum of £18,113 5s. 0d., whieh agreement was afterwards carried into formal exeeution by a deed of 1st July, 1781, whereby Eldred Pottinger, and Anne, his wife, eonveyed "All that, the town and lands of Ballymacarrett, and the mill and mill lands of Owen Cork, otherwise Owen O'Cork, together with all the tithes both great and small, coming, growing, arising, and renewing for ever in and out of the same, and all dwelling-houses, &c., out-houses, edifices, buildings, orchards, gardens, woods, underwoods, mills, mill-dams, and mill-ponds, waters, water-courses, strands, shores, fishings, fisheries, fishing-places, wrecks, waifs, estrays, deodands, forfeitures, easements, profits, advantages, emoluments, and hereditaments whatsoever, to the said lands and premises, and every part or parcel thereof belonging, or in anywise appertaining." By a deed of conveyance, dated 1st July, 1787, Lord Chief Baron Yelverton conveyed the townland of Ballymacarrett and Owen O'Corke mill, in eonsideration of £25,000, to Arthur, Earl of Donegall, who, by his will, dated 7th August, 1795, devised them to his seeond son, Lord Speneer Chichester, whose grandson, the Right Honble Henry Speneer, Baron Templemore, is the present owner. His rental out of Ballymacarrett amounts to upwards of £1,000 per annum, and is daily inereasing; but that represents only a small portion of the present value of the townland, which, with the buildings upon it, was valued in the poor-law rate-books of 1855 at £18,891 10s. 0d., which must be eonsidered as a wonderful realisation of the estimate formed of its value in the above will of Sir James Hamilton, dated upwards of 240 years ago, that the townland which only then produced him £4 a year would eventually be let at a great rent; and the still more extraordinary propheey contained in it, "that a great part of it might well be taken into the plains of Belfast, and cannot be wanting to that town," is at this moment on the eve of complete fulfilment, by the embankments of the Harbour Commissioners, and the formation of the People's Park out of the residue of the unreelaimed slob-lands of Ballymaearrett,

inglie disposed of for the uses aforesaid and for my sone's best benefitt: And whereas I have given a miut to my brother Archibald of two townelands, Ballecrot and Ballescalle, it is my pleasure that he have an estate made to him of those lands according to the said minut; and I do hereby confirme the tenor and purport of that note to him according to the true meaning of the same. And lykwise I do appoint to my brother John the lyk estate in the townes of Balle-Robert and Balle-Davie, and that William have such lands as I appointed to him according to the notes and minuts which I gave to him. The lyke to William Moore, my brother, for the note which he hath. And, for that my brother Archibald is in debt, I do appoint that when my debts and such sumes of money as I have appointed to be paid by my executors are payed, that Archibald have at once, with the gratuities which my executors are to have, as is above sett down, a help towards the payment of his debts, which I doe leave to the love of my wif, not being under two hundreth pounds. And if it fall out that all that be too heavie to be payed at once, that it be payed at tymes as my state may bear within two years. And I do ordane my wif and child to love and use well my brothers and all honest and faithful servants, specially such as have been honest to me, and chiefly those of my name, and to deall well and kindlie with them, and to be advysed by them as occasion shall affoord, and as they fynd them true and trustie. And I do lykwise ordain my brothers faithfully to aid my wif and child, and to counsell and assist them, and all my servants and kinsfolks under me to do the lyk. And I pray for the encrease of all love and concord between them, and the blessings of God to dwell and settle for ever upon them and their generation.

I leave Olive, Lettice, and Margrat Penicook to Jean; the first two to have one hundred pounds a peece, to be payed as she may convenientlie, and Margrat to have twentie marks sterling a year well payed.

Towards the payment of my debts there is to be receaved the rents due at Alhallowtyd last, and fyve hundreth pounds out of the lease of the plaine which I bought of Mr. Hope latelie, and of which I do wishe the overplus that shall be made over and above the said fyve hundreth pounds to be devyded between Patrick Shaen, who is to have two thirds, and Owen and Anthonie M'Goghagan one third.

Item—I do give my moveable goods between my sone and my wif, if my said wif be not now conceaved with any other children; and if she shall be found to be conceaved with any other child, I do leave all my said moveable goods between her and the children or child that she is conceaved with.

I have made over the lease to John Kenedy, my servant, which I had from Mr. John Whyt, of the lands of Duffrin and all that estate for years, which I did in trust for that I was to take the Feefarme of the said Duffrin from the said John Whyt in myn own name, and the trust appeareth that I have still used and enjoyed the said lands as before, and have the deed in myn own custodie, and John Kenedy, my said servant, for any thing that I know, knoweth not thereof.[b] All this estate of lease, and use and right thereunto of the Duffrin, and all my lands and

[b] The Barony of Dufferin was not included in the original grant to Sir James Hamilton by James the First, but was purchased by him from Whyte, and was included in the confirmation patent which was obtained by him of his estates in the reign of Charles the First. The following is a translation of an old inquisition respecting the title of the Whites to this barony:—

"Ardwhin, 4th July, 1605.—PATRICK WHITE, late of Flemington, in the county of Meath, Knight, Second Baron of the Exchequer in this kingdom of Ireland, born of the English nation and race, was seised as of fee and of ancient inheritance of the Manors and castles of Renescaddie and Killalagh, with their appurtenances; also of all manors, castles, towns, and lands in the territory or precinct called the Duffren, otherwise Duffrens, in the county of Downe, in the province of Ulster, which territory comprises in itself the towns, lands, &c., following:—viz., Ballinemona, Balliholliken, Ballimullagh, Corbally, the castles and towns of Ballycaslanwilliam, Ballinecabry, the castles and towns of Killaleigh, Tullaghmormartin, Ballyrathconevan, Ballymacorbal, the castles and towns of Rindoffrin, otherwise Moylerton, Ballyomeran, Ballynacarran, the castles and towns of Rathgorman, Ballikitinegan, Carrick-rouske, Ballinclicy, Ballow, Ballimacoshen, Ballemackirelly, Ballcogullone, Ballibregah, Ballilcggan, Ballylishduffe, Ballicoy, Ballicley, otherwise Clegh, Bally-drommore, Ballicoskrigan, Castlegaley, Lissonagh, Ballitoagh, otherwise Toy, Balligavan, Balliroyan; the castles and towns of Casclannegayse, Ballilegan, Ballimullin, Balliholliard, Ardagone, Ballyboynemcry, otherwise Tollymery, Ballitarim, Ballireogh, Ballicooly, Rathkirin, Balliconnety, otherwise Cloney, Ballicargah, Tullyconysh, otherwise Knoise, Ballakillchanan, and Balliherman, and also of divers islands in Loughconn, viz., the islands of Ranchedy, and Rannys, Polle-ile, Read-ile, Contagh-ile, Much-ile, otherwise Ilandmore: Dunshagh-ile, Innishmac [

] Inishdowran, and Iland-darragh; and also of certain advowsons and churches, viz., the Rectory of Killinchinemaghery, Renechaddy, Killawreys, and Killalcagh, with all and singular their rights, members, and appurtenances.—The aforesaid [Patrick White, knight,

interest to any lands in the kingdome of Ireland, and all right, use, possession, title, and interest after the expiration of my naturall lif, and after my debts payed and such things satisfied as I have appointed to be satisfied by these presents, and to be don and performed to his mother, and to all others as is hereby expressed. I say all my lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever I do leave to com and be to my said sone James Hamilton, the son of the said Jean Hamiltone, *alias* Phillips, after the expiration of my naturall lif, and after my debts payed and other things by me hereby directed to be don, accomplished and fulfilled, to be to the said James Hamiltone, the son of Jean Hamiltone, *als.* Philips, afd., and of myself, and to his heres of his body, for ever (if it shall please God that I depart out of this mortall lif before I do return to him and his said mother.) And if it shall please God that my said sone James Hamiltone shall depart this lif without heires of his body, then the said lands and hereditaments, and all right, use, interest, and title to them to be to such sone or daughter, sones or daughters successively and lineally, as the said Jean Hamiltone, *als.* Philips, is, or may now be, conceaved with, if any such she be conceaved with, and to their heires successively and respeetively for ever. And if it shall please God to determine the heires of my body, then the said lands and hereditaments to be to the heires males of Archibald, he paying £1,000 stg. to every of my brothers, John Hamiltone and William Hamiltone, and £1,000 to my brother Gawen's children, Archibald and James, between them; and three hundreth pounds to Patrick, my brother; and so mueh to my sister Jean, her children, and performing such things as ar in this my will ordayned to be performed; and those above mentioned sumes, to be payed to my said brothers, and brother's children, by the said Archibald, within six years after his entrie to said lands; and he also leaving to my brother John my eastle and lands of Clanehie. And if it shall please God to determine and cut off the heires males of my brother Archibald, then I do appoint and ordane my said lands and hereditaments to be equally devyded in three parts; the first part to be between the two children of Gawen, viz.—Archibald and James, and the heires males of their bodies; the second part to be to my brother John, and the heires males of his body; the third to my brother William, and the heires males of his body; and all these three parts to repay within six yeares to the said Archibald's daughters and heires of his body, after that the said Archibald, James, John, and William, shall have receaved the said lands, the sum to be payed by them, the said Archibald and James, the sones of Gawen, and by my brothers John and William, to the daughters of the said Archibald, my brother, and their heires respectively, aceording to the proportion of their partes. And failing of the heires males of the bodyes of all these, the said Archibald, James, John, and William, (whose partes I appoint to fall to the survivor for want of heires males) then to the heires males of the body of my brother Patrick, and failing of such heires males, then to my right heires for ever.

There is also one hundreth pounds to be payed to Alice Penicook, during her lif, which I do appoint to be well and truely payd to her if she cary herself without troubling of my said wif and sone, otherwise not; and I leave something to be given to James Penicook to relieve his wants.

In witness of this my last will I have signed the same, and put thereunto my seall the said 16 day of December, 1616.[c]

All other things I do leave to the discretion of my executors aforesaid.

JAMES HAMILTONE *(Seal.)*

being so seised of all the premises by Deed bearing date 24 September, in the 2d year of the Reign of the late Queen Elizabeth, appointed Rowland White, his second son, his attorney, &c.—The same Rowland White, by Deed bearing date 12th October, in the aforesaid year, granted all the premises in the Duffren, otherwise Duffrens, to JOHN BAKER of the City of Dublin, for the term of 21 years.—Afterwards the same John Baker, by Deed bearing date 3d January, in the year aforesaid, granted to the said Rowland White, his executors and assigns, all his interest and term of years in the premises.—Afterwards, Patrick White, late of Flemington, in the county of Meath, son and heir of Nicholas White, son and heir of the said Patrick White, by deed bearing date 28th May, in the 8th year of the same reign, demised to the aforesaid Rowland White, all his right, elaim, and interest, which he had in the premises aforesaid.—The same Rowland White, being so seised of the premises, died at the City of Dublin, 10th August, in the 14th year of the late Queen Elizabeth.—John White, of Killaleagh, aforesaid, his son and heir, was then of the age of 23 years, and unmarried. The premises are held as of the manor of Carrickfergus by fealty.—*Inquisitions of Ulster, Record Com.*, vol. 2.

[c] This remarkable document, which is all in Sir James Hamilton's own handwriting, although formally signed

and sealed by him in 1616 as his will, does not appear to have been ever witnessed or published as such, although he lived for twenty-one years after its date; and he, therefore, died legally intestate, as stated by Lodge; but this document is still a most valuable one, for its local and historical statements and allusions. It appears to have remained undiscovered among the family papers until the year 1832, when it was found by the late A. H. Rowan, Esq., and the present editor, when making a search among them, at Rathcoffey, county Kildare. From a passage in the last paragraph, wherein he says "If it shall please God that I depart out of this mortal life before I return to him [his son] and his said mother," it would seem to have been drawn up in his absence from home. The particular occasion it is of course impossible now to ascertain; but it is not improbable that it was upon his being sent to England in 1616 as one of the deputies from the Irish House of Commons, with such acts and propositions as the House desired to be transmitted to England for approval. The following are the circumstances under which he was so selected:—On the 18th of May, 1613, the first parliament held in Ireland during an interval of twenty-seven years, (and which Lord Clare, on his motion for the Union, described as the first assembly which Ireland ever had that could be called a parliament,) was opened with great pomp by Sir Arthur Chichester, the then Lord Deputy. Sir James Hamilton and Sir Hugh Montgomery were returned as the members to the House of Commons, for the county of Down. "Since last a House of Commons had been assembled in Dublin, seventeen new counties had been formed, and forty boroughs incorporated; and, in fabricating these boroughs, so little had either law or honesty been consulted, that most of them consisted of only a few scattered houses, built by the undertakers in Ulster.—Against this mockery of legislation several of the Lords of the Pale spiritedly remonstrated, complaining that they, the ancient nobility and gentry of the Pale, were set at nought, and disgraced by men lately raised to place and power; that the new boroughs had been incorporated with the most shameful partiality, and that their representatives were attorneys' clerks and servants." These lords concluded by manfully demanding that all laws which had for their object to force consciences should be repealed. Their bold appeal, however, proved unavailing. The lord-deputy continued to furnish new boroughs according as they were wanted; and many of them were not incorporated, until the writs for summoning a parliament had already issued. Notwithstanding these active exertions on the part of the government, so nearly balanced were the two parties, or so uncertain still their relative strength, that the Catholics counted sanguinely on a majority; nor was it until the meeting of parliament that, to their great mortification, they found they had miscalculated their numbers. Of the 232 members returned, six were absent, 125 were Protestants, and 101 formed the recusant or Catholic party. The upper house consisted of sixteen temporal barons, twenty-five Protestant prelates, five viscounts, and four earls; and of these a considerable majority were friends of the administration. The first trial of the strength of the parties was on the election of the speaker;—the competitors for this office being Sir John Davies, the Irish attorney-general, and Sir John Everard, a respectable recusant who had been a justice of the king's bench. Before they proceeded to the election, a question was raised by Everard's party whether those returned for boroughs illegally constituted had not thereby forfeited their right of electing. The altercation on this point was becoming angry and disorderly, when Sir Oliver St. John, Master of the Ordnance, remarked that controversies of this description were best decided by votes, and that the affirmative party usually went out of the house, while the negative kept their seats. He therefore called upon those who voted for Sir John Davies to attend him to the lobby, and was followed thither by all his party. Meanwhile the recusants, whether believing or merely presuming that they were the majority, proceeded to elect Sir John Everard; and having hurried through the accustomed forms, placed him triumphantly in the speaker's chair. They were then rejoined by the government members, when another and still less dignified scene took place. Exclaiming against this outrage, they declared Davies to be duly elected: and after in vain endeavouring to force the sturdy recusant from the chair, seated their speaker in his lap. The restless spirit which these events kept constantly alive, was regarded with more apprehension, from the scanty means now left to the government of preserving the public peace; the whole military force of the kingdom having been lately reduced to the trifling amount of 1,700 foot and 200 horse. Finding it impossible to make any progress with an assembly so constituted, the lord-deputy prorogued the parliament, and shortly after a deputation from the Irish Catholics proceeded to London, to lay their petition at the foot of the throne. The reception given at first to the Irish delegates had been harsh and insulting. The English council had tried to intimidate them, and two of their number, Talbot and Luttrell, were committed as prisoners, one to the Tower and the other to the Fleet. By the king the delegates were rated in his own peculiar fashion. The letter which the lords of the Pale had addressed to him,—'a few men,' as he contemptuously styled them, 'who threatened him with rebellion,'—he declared to be 'rash and insolent;' and with respect to those returns to parliament of which they had complained, 'nothing faulty,' he said, 'was to be found in the government; unless they would have the kingdom of Ireland like the kingdom of heaven.' To the complaint made of the numerous boroughs constituted by him, the royal reply was, 'What is it to you, whether I make many or few boroughs? my council may consider the fitness, if I require it. But, what if I had made forty noblemen, and four hundred boroughs? the more, the merrier; the fewer, the better cheer.' Finally, he dismissed the Irish delegates with a severe reprimand, telling them that their proceedings had been 'rude, disorderly, and inexcusable, and worthy of severe punishment; which, however, by reason of their submission, he would forbear,—but not remit, until he should see their dutiful carriage in his parliament.' Meanwhile, a commission of inquiry was granted; the complaints made by the recusants were promptly attended to, and, among other important admissions, it was conceded that members for boroughs incorporated after the writs were issued had no right to sit during the session."—*Moore's Ireland, 4th vol*, p. 163 to 167.

This commission was directed to Lord Chichester,

Sir Humphrey Winche, Sir Charles Cornwallis, Sir Roger Wilbraham, and George Calvert, to inquire, on oath, whether there were not writs sent into all counties for the elections, and returns to be made as well of knights of shires as of citizens and burgesses, for the cities and ancient boroughs within the same shires; and whether there were not burgesses chosen and returned for all ancient boroughs that had a right to send members to parliament, and whether there were any omitted; and if there were, the cause and reason, and on whom was the fault.

To which the commissioners certified, that on the 12th Nov., in the City of Dublin, they made diligent inquiry, as well by depositions of witnesses, search of records, certificates from the archbishops, as by other good ways and means, and made the following return concerning matters of parliament:—"In the county of Down, May-Day was the county court for the election, which the Sheriff held at Newry, at which day the sheriff, proceeding to the election, moved the freeholders to choose Sir Richard Wingfield and Sir James Hamilton, being recommended to him by the Lord Deputy; but the natives named Sir Arthur Magennisse and Rowland Savage, whereupon all the British freeholders, being 131, cried 'Hamilton and Montgomery,' omitting Wingfield; and the Irish, to the number of 101, cried 'Magennisse and Savage.' Exception being presently taken to divers of the British for want of freeholds, 14 were examined on oath by the sheriff, and deposed they were freeholders, and thereupon the sheriff returned Hamilton and Montgomery, to which some of the Irish made objections, which were found partly untrue, and partly frivolous."—*Pat. Rolls*, 16 *Jac.* I. IV., 9.

No debates in the Irish Parliament were published at this date; but the following extracts from the Journal of the Irish House of Commons, present not only an outline of several debates in which Sir James Hamilton took part, but the substance and the arguments of the various speakers, and in some measure even their style of speaking:—"*Die Sabbati*, 22 *Aprilis*, 1615.—The House being all met and set this day, by eight of the clock in the morning, with intent and purpose to read the act of subsidy; before it began to be read,

"Mr. Sutton moved the House, that in regard it tended to the king's private profit, it might be deferred till other acts that tended to the common good of the weale publick were first read; alledging that the old saying wou'd else be verified:—*Little said soon amended; a subsidy granted, the Parliament ended.* But it was answered by

"Sir James Hamilton, that it concerned not the king's private profit; but, as his majesty is head, so his subjects are the members of that head, and that it concerned every of their own good; and therefore desired that his Majesty's bill might have the pre-eminence as to begin first, and then those that concerned the commonwealth; so that thereby they may proceed hand in hand.

"So thereupon the said act, entituled an act for the grant of one entire subsidy by the temporality, received the first reading."

"24 *Aprilis*, 1615.—This day an act, entituled an act, for the granting of one entire subsidy by the temporality, was the second time read.

"1. Mr. Francis Blundell spake first for the bill of subsidy, *verbum sapienti sat est.* By granting it you shall obtain 1, Glory; 2, Gain; and it will be the only means to make this a flourishing kingdom, and you a happy people.

2. Mr. Fernham.—Divers reasons why it should be granted; 49, Edward III., the king, being sick, put the government of his land into John of Gaunt's hands, and called a parliament, and laid great taxes on the commonwealth; but they ought not to lay extraordinary taxes upon their subjects. Motives.—1. The great expense of his Majesty since his entrance to the crown is to be considered. 2. Bounty and justice, the two principal virtues that belong to a king; the necessity of princes stoppeth the passages of all noble designs; 1,900,060 odd pounds it cost Queen Elizabeth, from the defeating of the marshal in the north till her death.

3. Mr. Treasurer.—The motives to induce the granting of a subsidy two. 1. Either on the behalf of the king to supply his Majesty's neeessities, which are either ordinary or extraordinary; as the marriage of Lady Elizabeth with the Palsgrave, *reipublicæ causa.* 2. In our own behalfs. It cost Queen Elizabeth £400,000 from the Earl of Essex's time till the Lord Mount-joye's Kingsale's charges came to near £500,000. The subsidy being granted, will be but like a vapour drawn up into a cloud, which doth but disperse and fall amongst us again.

4. Sir Christopher Nugent. *Dignum et justum.* He findeth every one ready with alacrity to give it, whereunto he is willing; but for the manner of levying it he desireth to have it committed.

5. Mr. Justice Silthorp. A thing not only in duty to be granted to so good a king, but fortified with many preeedents, as 24 *Hen.* VII. 13s. 4d. to be taken off every plow land; the like for ten years, 3 *et* 4 *Philippi et Mariæ;* the like in the 11° Eliz. In the days of Augustus Cæsar, &c., an edict was sent out, that all the world under his government should be taxed; every child to his father, every citizen to his mayor, &c., are willing to give their aid; then how much more every good subject to so religious a prince?

6. Sir James Hamilton rejoiceth to see King James triumphing and rejoicing in the hearts of all his subjects; many look in men's faces, that knoweth not what is in their purses; therefore some such as dwell in every shire to be appointed to be petitioners to the Lord Deputy, for the nominating commissioners for the levying the subsidy, but not to have the bill committed.

7. Mr. Wadding. For the expounding of each that must pay, who must be worth £3 to be petitioners to the Lord Deputy for explaining it, whether English or Irish money be intended; and in respect that the second payment cometh so near the first, that some further respite of time might be given for that.

8. Sir John Everard. That the first gentleman prevented him in priority, yet he hath as many wings to show his affection as any other; neither glory nor profit moveth him; that were merchandise. The king and the subject be relatives; if good be done to the king the subject is the better; that nourishment which is given to the head, the concoction after is in the body; so the subsidy being granted the king, the subject will be the better for it. Yet, 1, the composition; 2, the infliction of the statute for recusancy; 3, death of cattle dis-

ableth them; therefore he desireth some of the honorable gentlemen to be intercessors to the Lord Deputy for the mitigation of these three inconveniences; and that each county, as they have chosen knights of the shire, so to choose collectors; and thinketh the bill fit to be engrossed.

9. Mr. LUTTEREL. 1, The glory of God; 2, The weal publick; 3, The benefit of the king, are to be respected. Subsidies are, in England, conditionally granted; alledging that the people were poor, and that the King sometimes of England had aliened those lands of the crown that would have satisfied his debts; alledging that in the time of wars of this kingdom, the gentlemen of the said realm spent as much as the Queen; instance of a gentleman of ten hundred pounds per annum spent in those wars three thousand pounds. The bill therefore to be committed, that his Majesty may be notified if any inconvenience happen therein of the composition.

10. Captain GRIFFITH to have it engrossed.

11. Sir ADAM LOFTUS, senior, finding no inconvenience in it, to have it engrossed.

12. Mr. MOORE. The occurrence is so free that no body will contradict it. His motion on that those places where money is not to be spared, there cattle, corn, &c., might be taken, especially where his Majesty's garrisons are, unto whom part of the subsidy is to be distributed.

13. Mr. VERDAN. As we ought to give, so we must look to the performance; therefore to have it committed.

14. Mr. DALLWAY to have it engrossed.

15. Sir ROBERT DIGBY explained the manner of levying it, which the commissioners are to have a care in assessing the same.

16. Mr. TREASURER again explained his formers peech, alledging that in England he is cessed at forty pounds land, which is eight pounds to the king.

So put the question.

All that would have it to be engrossed, say yea.

All that would have it committed, to say no.

So the greater number was yeas; so agreed to be engrossed.

1 *Maij*, 1615.—Mr. GEO. BAGNALL, upon the beginning of the reading of the bill of Scots, desired that the bill of the natives might have the preeedency in reading.

Sir JAMES HAMILTON condescended that the bill for the natives should have the precedency, and that in old time Ireland was called *Scotia major*, and Scotland *Scotia minor;* therefore amity be betwixt both.

Sir OLIVER LAMBERT and Sir ADAM LOFTUS, To have it transmitted, and both to be put in one act, and that the natives of this kingdom might be capable of offices here.

Mr. TREASURER.—That it is a mark of distinction there to be taken away.

Mr. Dr. REEVES.—The acts to be suspended, and both transmitted in one.

Sir JOHN EVERARD.—To have an act for restitution to their ancient liberties, but not to capitulate or indente; and because the imputation will lie upon the Irish, therefore his motion that they both pass, and that the house be an humble suitor, that a new act be desired, with addition.

Mr. Justice SILTHORP.—That both English, Irish, and Scots, living under one God and one king, should be equally capable of preferment.

Mr. ANNESLEY.—The bills are not denied, therefore he desired that the blemish should be taken away, therefore both to be read and committed, and the house to be an humble suitor to the king for the repeal of any statute that shall disable any native to be capable of any office in this realm.

2 *Maji*, 1615.—This day the act of his Majesty's gracious general and free pardon was the first time read, after it came from the lords, being read once before.

Mr. LEYESTER and Sir JOHN EVERARD moved that part of Sherlock's money be bestowed upon one Parker, in prison in Exeter; but others to bestow it here.

Sir CHRISTOPHER PLUNKETT would have the general pardon committed, to see whether it were general indeed.

Sir JOHN EVERARD.—To accept of his Majesty's pardon

Mr. TALBOTT.—To have it committed, that suit might be made that it might extend to the next sessions.

Mr. Dr. REEVES.—Never to refuse God and the king's pardon.

Sir JAMES HAMILTON.—Not to question his Majesty's bounty.

Mr. CROOKE.—To accept of his Majesty's liberal and free grace, and not to defer it till the next sessions, lest that in the mean time any one be hanged, which by this pardon might be saved: and, if it go into England, it is a question whether it shall ever return, or whether we shall have another sessions.

Therefore, being put to the question, whether to be again read or committed, the whole voice was yeas, to have it read; so it was again read, and being put to the question, it passed, with a general consent, the whole house."

8 *May*, 1615.—The bill for repeal of divers statutes, concerning the natives of this kingdom, was the third time read.

Sir ADAM LOFTUS, junior, Sir EDWARD FISHER, and Mr. BAGNAL against the bill.

Mr. TALBOTT with the bill, to take it in part till God send more.

Sir JAMES HAMILTON.—Petitioners are no choosers, and the countenance of a prince is that which promiseth more gifts of a prince, ever accompanied with love; better to follow the course of the giver and not of the petitioner.

Sir JOHN EVERARD.—No man would think him a wise man that being restrained to the castle of Dublin or tower of London, and might have the liberty to walk on the walls, would refuse it; and so, if one should owe a merchant a thousand pounds, and if he should remit five hundred pounds would refuse it; so he conceiveth by the scope of this act—beggars must not be choosers; and because we cannot have our desire, it savoureth of pride and obstinacy to oppose this bill; therefore to the question, which being put to the question, the yeas were far greater; so it passed.

12 *May*, 1615.—Mr. BLUNDELL moved that Mr. Treasurer, Sir James Hamilton, Sir John Everard, Sir Robert Digby, and Mr. Bolton, might be appointed to go into England.

Whereupon it was ordered, that the grand committee shall consider what persons, members of this house, shall be thought fit to be presented to the Lord Deputy, with desire to be recommended by his Lordship to go over after this sessions into England to his Majesty, with such acts and propositions as the House shall desire to be transmitted into England, to be propounded the next sessions, and to consider of all fitting circumstances of the persons that shall be appointed to go.

15 *Maij.* 1616—Upon question had, touching the persons, members of this House of Commons, that were to be sent into England from the said House by special election, Sir Thomas Ridgway, Vice Treasurer, and Sir James Hamilton, knights, both of his Majesty's privy councell here, and Sir John Everard, knight, and Richard Bolton, Esq., were named and chosen by the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the Commons House of Parliament, to be recommended first to the Lord Deputy, with humble desire that "his lordship would be pleased to recommend them, with the affairs of the commonwealth given in charge, whereof his lordship shall think fit to give allowance and approbation to his sacred Majesty, and the lords of his most honourable privy councell in England."

ANCIENT ROMAN INTERCOURSE WITH IRELAND.

A communication from Mr. Carruthers, published in a late number of the *Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, respecting the discovery of some alleged Roman remains near Donaghadee, on the coast of the County of Down, has induced me to put together the few following observations;—not, indeed, with the vain expectation of throwing any new light on so obscure a subject, but merely with the view of "ventilating," in this Journal, the exceedingly interesting questions—Had the Romans or Romano-British any intercourse with Ireland? If they had, what was its nature?

At an early period of the Roman rule in Britain, during the reign of the twelfth Cæsar, Domitian, Ireland attracted the attention of the conquering race. The spring of A.D. 82, found the proprætor, Julius Agricola, in Scotland, commencing his fifth campaign.[a] Having, during the previous year, secured his conquests, for so far, as he thought, by building a chain of forts across the "upper isthmus," between the Clyde and Forth, he now turned his attention to the south-western district. Sailing across the estuary of the Clyde, he landed somewhere in Ayrshire; and, after fighting several successful battles with previously unknown tribes, he, in the course of the summer, reduced to submission the whole Galwegian territory lying between the former river and the Solway.[b] Agricola then led his forces to that part of the country nearest to Ireland, where he went into winter quarters, constructing the usual defences; not, as Tacitus tells us, on account of any apprehension of danger, but in contemplation of a future project.[c] That project was the invasion and conquest of Ireland; for which Agricola's main motive arose from a mistaken idea respecting its geographical position. Considering it to be situated equi-distant from Britain, France, and Spain, the Roman governor,

[a] In assigning the date to the numerical order of Agricola's campaigns, a difference of one year exists among authors. The above, however, is, in all likelihood, the correct date, and sufficiently accurate for the purpose.

[b] I use the modern names of places advisedly.

[c] Eamque partem Brittaniæ, quæ Hiberniam aspicit, copiis instruxit, in spem magis, quam ob formidinem.

with the eye of a statesman and general, saw the great political and military importance of such a position, as a connecting link between these already subjugated countries, at a time when the rude infancy of navigation rendered communication tardy, uncertain, and infrequent.[d]

A glance at a map is quite sufficient to acquaint us with what Tacitus meant by that part of Britain "quæ Hiberniam aspicit." There cannot be a shadow of doubt that Agricola wintered his army in the peninsula formed by Lough Ryan and the Bay of Luce. Indeed, the remains of the field-works he threw up at the narrow isthmus between the above-mentioned bay and lough, to prevent a surprise in force, according to the predatory tactics of his enemies, are still in existence. There Agricola passed the winter of 82-3, while the Voluntii of Down, in all probability, kept careful watch and ward on the Irish coast, anxiously gazing, from hill and artificial mound, to spy the first movements of the dreaded and world-famous foe.

Agricola experienced no difficulty in obtaining information respecting the country he intended to invade, from merchants who were well acquainted with its coasts and harbours. Moreover, like an old edition of an old story, a fugitive Irish prince was already in Agricola's camp, whom the politic Roman, under a show of friendship, detained, to be used as a befitting tool when occasion served.[e] Agricola was confident of success. His son-in-law, who records these matters, states that he often heard him declare that a single legion, with a modicum of auxiliaries, would quite suffice for the conquest of Ireland. And such an event, he continued, would greatly contribute to bridle the stubborn spirit of the Britons, who then would see, with dismay, the Roman arms everywhere triumphant, and every spark of freedom extinguished round their coast.[f] It would be little better than absurd for us now to speculate whether Agricola's estimate of the small force requisite to subdue Ireland was correct or otherwise; nor need our sensibilities be offended at the rather low idea he seems to have held of Irish valour and resistance. Yet, there can be little doubt, that if the Romans had once landed, they would have built forts and constructed roads step by step as they advanced into the interior; they would also have received certain tribes as auxiliaries, and pitted them against the others; and ultimately would have subdued the whole island in a tithe of the time that the English subsequently occupied in doing it.

But it was not to be. Instead of invading Ireland in the spring of 83, Agricola was compelled to lead his forces to the eastern coast of Scotland, to repel the northern Britons; who, during the winter, had penetrated the line of forts, and made harassing inroads into the southern districts, then under Roman sway and protection. Agricola, at this juncture, perceiving that Scotland must be effectually conquered previous to his carrying on operations against Ireland, occupied the campaign of 83 in subduing and taking possession of Fife and Kinross, as a necessary preparatory movement towards his grand object of reducing the entire northern part of the island in the following year.

[d] Si quidem Hibernia, medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita, et Gallico quoque mari opportuna, valentissimam Imperii partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit.

[e] Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex Regulis gentis exceperat ac specie amicitiæ in occasionem retinebat.

[f] Sæpe ex eo audivi, legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtineri quo Hiberniam posse. Idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturam, si Romana ubique arma, et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

In 84, Agricola, his right flank supported by his eastern fleet, marching northwards, fought and won his great battle with Galgacus, in Perthshire; this victory gave him the command of all Britain. The fleet, by Agricola's order, sailed round the north of Scotland, took possession of the Orkneys, and came into the Irish channel, surveying the coasts, and collecting information by the way. This passage satisfactorily solved the till then doubtful question, whether Britain was an island or part of a continent;[g] and, in all probability, Agricola's motive in sending the fleet round was connected with his intended invasion of Ireland. But Domitian, jealous of the great general's fame, recalled him to Rome, and the terse and talented Tacitus had no more to relate of his actions in these countries.

For some time after the departure of Agricola, the history of the Romans in Britain is a complete blank—we do not even know who succeeded him in the proprætorship—but as it is known that he left the province in perfectly peaceful subjection, some writers fancy that the Romans, taking advantage of this tranquil state of affairs, passed over into and subdued Ireland. This fancy, (for undoubtedly it is nothing more,) is strengthened by, or rather, I should say, founded upon, a passage in Juvenal; for, where the historian is silent, the satirist is, at least, the next best authority. In his second Satire, supposed to have been written only twelve years after Agricola's departure from Britain, Juvenal, contrasting the power of the Roman arms abroad, with the shameful and enervating vices that prevailed at home, says :—

"Arma quidem ultra
Littora Juvernæ promovimus, et modo captas
Orcadas ac minima contentos nocte Britannos."[h]

That the Romans may have claimed a nominal sovereignty over Ireland, through the submission of some exiled chieftains, is probable enough; but that they ever occupied any part of the island, in any force, is positively contradicted by the utter absence of their usual great public and private works, which always seem as if they had been constructed in defiance of time itself.[i] Besides, we have

[g] Though Cæsar spoke of Britain as an island, the Romans had no positive knowledge on the subject, till Agricola accidently discovered the fact, through a remarkable event that occurred during the Galloway campaign. A cohort of Usipean auxiliaries mutinying, murdered their officers, seized three small vessels, and put to sea. The pilots, with true Roman firmness, refusing to aid the deserters, were put to death, and the latter, utterly ignorant of navigation, drifted about at the mercy of the waves, occasionally landing on the coast to plunder provisions. One of these vessels actually drifted round the north of Scotland, into the German Ocean, and from thence into the Baltic; thus practically proving the insular character of Britain. Some of the wretched men were still alive at the end of this extraordinary voyage, having subsisted on the dead bodies of their companions. Seized as pirates and sold as slaves, they were soon sent back to the Roman authorities; but, on account of their sufferings and remarkable voyage, they were received, not as mutineers and deserters, but as heroes and explorers.

[h] "We have, indeed, carried our arms beyond the shores of Ireland, and the Orkneys lately subdued, and the Britains contented with a very short night." "*Contentos nocte Britannos*" evidently is an allusion to the extreme northern parts of the island.

[i] I might also add the absence of the coins found in such abundance in Britain, especially in the neighbourhood of Roman towns and stations. It would almost seem as if the Romans had sown their money broad-cast over the land. Ages have passed away, and yet these coins are still plentiful; nor can antiquaries assign any reasonable explanation of this very curious circumstance. Walking, a few years ago, over the interior of Burgh, in Suffolk, the ancient Gariannonum, I found five coins within a less distance than one hundred yards, though the ground has been cultivated from time immemorial, and at the period of my visit women and children were busy gleaning in the field. A sackful of coins, all of course greatly decayed, might have been obtained from the neighbouring cottager's children. At other Roman stations in England and in France a similar abundance of coins prevails.

a significant glimpse of the relations existing between the Irish and Romans, during the tranquil period after the departure of Agricola, which is utterly incompatible with subjection on one side or domination on the other. Four legions only, with their attendant auxiliaries, were required to maintain order in Britain, and they were permanently posted in the places which they retained till nearly the end of the Roman dominion. Of these, the twentieth legion was stationed at Deva (the modern Chester) to hold in restraint the fierce mountaineers of Westmoreland and Cumberland, and protect the estuary of the Dee from the ravages of Irish pirates. Of course, the Romans, in their own estimation at least, were warriors and conquerors; the outside barbarians mere murderers and pirates. The second legion was posted at the Silurian Isca, (Caerleon, in Monmouthshire,) to keep in check the indomitable Welsh "mountain-people," and defend the shores of the Severn against the aforesaid pirates. Moreover, it appears highly probable to me that the Roman Retigonum, (the modern Stranraer,) commanding the isthmus between Lough Ryan and Bay of Luce, was an important defensive post, established to prevent an advance into the interior by any Irish invaders, who, taking advantage of the "short-sea," might land at any point between Corse-wall and the Mull of Galloway

Even then, however, there must have been considerable communication between Ireland and Roman Britain. Early in the second century Ptolemy wrote his Geographical Survey of the World; and his description of the coast, inland towns, and native tribes of Ireland, is surprisingly copious and exact. It is not too much to say, that at that period, leaving hydrographical accuracy out of the question, the Romans knew a great deal more of Ireland, than we now do of Madagascar.

Towards the close of the second, and the early part of the third century, was the palmy era of the Roman rule in Britain, which then was certainly the richest and most flourishing province of the whole empire. The abundance and variety of mineral wealth, the luxuriant crops afforded by a virgin soil to even an inferior cultivation, the adaptability of the earths for ceramic manufactures, attracted numbers of adventurers from all parts of the empire to the British shores. Merchants, mechanics, miners, and agriculturists led the way, and were soon followed by professional men, architects, artists, and artisans, as labour and industry created wealth and luxury; and magnificent temples, palaces, villas, baths, and theatres rose up over the peaceable and productive province. It is most reasonable to suppose—indeed it would be contrary to the very nature of things to doubt—that this wealthy, intelligent, manufacturing, mining, and mercantile Romano-British population maintained a considerable traffic with Ireland; and that many of them visited it as political envoys, traders, travellers in search of information, or, with the errant disposition of man, as physicians or handicraftsmen, seeking adventure and lucrative employment in a country less advanced in civilisation than their own. The simple, yet interesting circumstance, of a Roman medicine-stamp having been found in Tipperary, is strongly in favour of this not unfeasible opinion. It is generally agreed, by the best antiquaries, that these oculists' stamps, of which about sixty altogether have been found in various parts of the ancient Roman Empire, (but none, I believe, in Italy,) were not used by regular

practitioners, but by empirical medicine vendors to impress their wares—the patent medicines, in short, of the Romans. In that case, then, the existence of the stamp implies the manufacture of the medicament in Ireland; and probably Marcus Juventius Tutianus, the Romano-Hibernian "Holloway," exhibited a shrewd judgment when he selected Tipperary as his head quarters for the manufacture of an eye-salve, "*ad veteres cicatrices.*"[1]

That many of the Romano-British visited Ireland is more than simply probable;—that some remained and died in this island is equally so; but the few scattered Romans who may have died in Ireland were strangers in a strange land, and we cannot expect to find in this country the distinctive Roman sepulchre, authenticated by the many well-known proofs afforded by the manufactures and peculiar burial customs of that people. This brings me back to my starting point, the communication of Mr. Carruthers, and I regret to say, with all due deference to that gentleman, that, though I agree with him to a certain extent, I cannot go all the way with him. I can see no improbability whatever in the assumption that a Roman "had been voyaging past the county Down, and had died either unexpectedly on board, or in a fit of illness after having been removed on shore." But the very act of bringing the body on shore, either alive or dead, under the above conditions, would imply that the deceased was a person of rank or distinction; and it is well known that in such cases it was the Roman custom to burn the body on the nearest convenient spot, and carry away the ashes, to be interred with the usual ceremonies and accompaniments, elsewhere in Italy, Gaul, or Britain, near the remains of the deceased's kindred. Besides, there was nothing distinctively Roman in the remains found near Donaghadee—nothing but what has been found in Celtic as well as Saxon sepulchres. In short, though a Roman might have been buried at the place, and in the manner alleged, there is no evidence whatever to support such an assumption—one, in my opinion, too lightly hazarded.

W. Pinkerton.

IRISH BREHONS AND THEIR LAWS.

BY HERBERT FRANCIS HORE.

An account of the social state of an ancient people is acknowledged to be the most interesting portion of their annals. Accordingly, historiographers, remembering the dictum of Gibbon, that the "laws of a nation form the most instructive portion of its history," are eagerly directing their attention to all that illustrates the old manners, legal customs, and social condition of the nations to whom their labours are devoted. The archæologists and future historians of Ireland have a rich lite-

[1] See the very interesting *Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Antiquities and other Objects illustrative of Irish History*, exhibited in the Museum, Belfast, on the occasion of the meeting of the British Association in that town.—Belfast, Archer & Sons, 1852.

rary treat in store for them in the publication of the Brehon Laws, now progressing under the editorship of Dr. John O'Donovan and Mr. Eugene Curry, who, perhaps, are the only philologists at present capable of doing complete justice to the difficult task. National laws, the reflex of the national mind, re-act on it; and, even when obsolete, have always left imperishable influences on a people whose forefathers were for centuries directed by those cherished institutions. Evidences exist throughout all Ireland that the antique principle of Gavel-kind still works inherently in the impulses of the Irish people. It arose from one of the most natural, yet faulty, ideas of ordinary minds, namely, the desire for general equality. In illustration of the extent to which this desire was formerly fostered by the Gaelic Irish, we quote the following passage from Sir Henry Piers' chorographic account of Westmeath, written in the year 1682; and we do not need to remind readers who are conversant with the management of landed property, and with the evidence appended to the Report of Lord Devon's Land Commission, that minute subdivision of land was, and still is, a systematic national principle in Ireland. Gavel-kind, under a certain modification, has also, for many years, directed the partition of property in France. Its pauperising effects are apparent, and are admirably elucidated in Mr Greg's republication of his two articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, on the socio-political condition of that country.

Sir Henry Piers describes the *Scullogues*, or inferior rank of peasant-tenantry, as joining in a species of community, (which, previously, had been the social union called a *clann*, i.e. the children, or *sliocht*, i.e. seed, or sept,)—and hiring a farm in common. The pasturage of this they grazed conjointly; yet not with equal profits, for the joint-holder who possessed a *collop* or two, viz., a lot of various cattle, was as much entitled to have them ranging indifferently over all the pastures of the holding as he who owned but a *puckawn*. The arable part of the land was by no means tilled and enjoyed in common, but according to the exactest division of property. It was not unusual to see ten or twelve ploughs going in one small field, which, though fenced by one surrounding mearing, contained so many distinct tillage rights. Again, allotments were made according to the quality of the soil; and thence it often happened that a man whose share was three acres had not half an acre conjoined, but his portion was scattered up and down and here and there. "This," observes Sir Henry Piers, "ariseth thro' that great care and concern every man hath lest he should be overreached by his neighbour; and they will take upon them to be judges to an extreme nicety of the quality and quantity of each rood of ground." Our Westmeath landlord accurately describes the method of dividing the arable land among the holders. Lots were drawn for the various parcels, when, says he,—"this done, the wrangle begins, for they to whom the worst lots fall are sure to cavil; and there is no peace till all must divide anew; and if they have not a landlord that can overrule them, they will hinder one another from their labour for a month or two. Hence they have a saying that 'a town without a landlord and a bull, is a town turned topsy-turvy.' Often, at last, rather out of necessity than any love for peace and equity, they agree in making their lots either more equal, or to take to them with more quiet; yet no division can satisfy but that which is the most nice that can be imagined, and certainly the worst and most incommodious,—that is by the ridges:

yet to this, if peace cannot be had amongst them otherwise, it comes at last. By all which appears how unequally and hard they will bear one upon another; and yet seem outwardly to pretend to nothing but equality."

In older times, the Brehons, doubtless, were often serviceable in arranging these allotments, which the power of the seignior, chieftain, or "landlord," would occasionally be required to confirm. Thus, Piers states that one of the customs of the country with respect to joining together to plough, was called "the law of Owen with the beard," *(Eoghan na feisoge,)* "who was one of their ancient brehons, or judges." The ensuing extract from the judicious Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire concerning the Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland will assuredly interest many of our readers:—

"The subject matter of these laws demonstrates their great antiquity, and indicates the primitive nature of the society in which they prevailed. In spite of the attempts to efface it, traces of heathenism are still discernible in many parts of them. They enumerate various ordeals of a Pagan character, which are expressly termed *magical*, and specify the occasions on which a resort to them was prescribed. There are also provisions in the laws of marriage, which prove that Christianity could have exercised but a feeble influence at the time when they were enacted. Apart from their mere antiquity, these laws are possessed of considerable interest to the historian and jurist. They lay down the privileges and duties of persons of all classes; they define the tenure of land, and the rights of property of all kinds. In a word, they furnish a perfect picture of the society they were designed to regulate, from the constitution of the kingdom and the relations subsisting between the sovereign and the provincial kings, down to the minutest details of domestic life among the serfs."

The refined attention of the Brehon Code to the minutiæ of the rights of property has been pointed out by Dr. Leland; who also, as an impartial historian, in noticing the admirable leniency of its penal provisions, has turned the balance of opinion in its favour on this important score. Many offences which the Draconian English code visited with loss of life or liberty were under it chastised more mercifully by fines.

With respect to superstitious belief in the magical ordeals of the Brehon Laws, this faith is no singular instance of relics of heathenism among modern European nations. Lord Bacon, chief "brehon" to James I., believed, although he was a most practical man of science, that he had discovered a magical sympathy; for he presented to Prince Henry, as "the first fruits of his philosophy, a sympathising stone made of several mixtures, to know the heart of man!" The Irish legal ordeals were, of course, traditionally derived from the pseudo-divine probations of the Druids. Among other tests, huge "rocking-stones" were the most notable touch-stones; if it be true, as alleged, that druidic pretenders to supernatural direction alone knew the point which should be touched to move the rock. So long as the druidic brehons and priests impressed the multitude with faith in their divine power, they had, what Archimedes wanted, another world on which to rest their lever, and could move this one at their pleasure. Shakspeare has developed, in the person of Prospero, the idea of a judicial astrologer combined with an adept, whose white magic, as distinguished from necromancy, enabled him to command purer spirits. Such a sage was "transported and rapt in secret studies;" that is, in the occult sciences; and he possessed:—

"Volumes that he prized more than his dukedom."

Hereditary Irish physicians' "books" astonished the vulgar with their figured apparatus of astrological diagrams and prognostics.[a] Indeed, as the heathen Irish cultivated astrology, magic, medicine, and vaticinal poetry as kindred sciences, it is probable that their art of judicature also derived much weight from superstitious practices. When knowledge was the monopoly of a single caste, it was easily employed for governing the ignorant. Druidic augurs and astrologers, somewhat conversant with the movements of the moon and planets, were able to predict eclipses and conjunctions of planets, and thus became invested with the divine character borne by the Tuatha De Danaan. What a wild world it must have been when ruled by brehons and chieftains by means of pretended supernatural influences! The suggestion of the Brehon Law Commissioners, that those portions of this law which savour not of Christianity date prior to the prevalence of religion, opens a highly curious subject for archæologic research. Let us notice one special point; namely, the law of A.D. 804, whereby King Aedh, at the instance of Fothadh of the Canons, exempted the clergy from taking part in those "hostings and expeditions" with which he was accustomed to ravage his own realm. It is somewhat of a proof that law was then still promulgated orally, that Fothadh drew up this memorable enactment of "the robber king," (as the royal bards style Aedh) in verse. The Norman subjugation of England principally owed its success to the clergy, who welcomed it as a means of eradicating a very prevalent paganism. How far the conquest of Ireland was similarly favoured by the Romanised clergy, and how far their flocks were heathen, are new questions for future Irish historians.

Turning to another page in the volume of Vallancey's *Collectanea*, from which we have quoted, we find that these Gaelic jurisconsults were sometimes the custodiers of documents, or terriers, in which certain rights to property in land were registered. Sir John Davys, in a letter printed in that volume, describes the interesting interview which he and the lord chancellor had recently had, whilst encamped in McGuire's territory, with "O'Brislan, a chronicler, and principal brehon of that country." There was a question as to the precise quantities of provisions and other renderings paid to McGuire out of his mensal or demesne lands, for the support of his house; and this point was referred by the jury "to an old parchment roll, remaining in the hands of" this native judge, who was instantly sent for to the English camp. This happened at a time when an inquiry, instituted by these legal potentates, who were armed with the terrors of *Sassenach* law and military power, threatened to cut off from the chieftain of Fermanagh various sources of his large wealth and power. The old brehon, who lived not far from the camp, "was so aged and decrepid," says Sir John, "as he was scarce able to repair unto us. When he was come, we demanded of him a sight of that ancient roll, wherein, as we were informed, not only the mensal duties did appear, but also the particular rents and other services which were answered to McGuire out of every part of the country. The old man, seeming to be much troubled with this demand, made answer, that he had such a roll in his keeping before the wars; but that in the late rebellion it was burned, among

[a] *Iar Connaught*, 71.

others of his papers and books, by certain English soldiers. We were told by some that were present that this was not true; for they affirmed that they had seen the roll in his hand since the wars. Thereupon, my lord chancellor, being then present with us, (for he did not accompany my lord deputy to Ballyshannon, but staid behind in the camp,) did minister an oath unto him, and gave him a very serious charge to inform us truly what was become of the roll. The poor old man, fetching a deep sigh, confessed that he knew where the roll was, but that it was dearer to him than his life, and therefore he would never deliver it out of his hands, unless my lord chancellor would take the like oath that the roll should be restored unto him again: my lord chancellor, smiling, gave him his hand and his word that he should have the roll re-delivered unto him, if he would suffer us to take a view and a copy thereof. And thereupon the old brehon drew the roll out of his bosom, where he did continually bear it about him. It was not very large, but it was written on both sides in a fair Irish character; howbeit some part of the writing was worn and defaced with time and ill keeping. We caused it forthwith to be translated into English, and then we perceived how many vessels of butter, and how many measures of meal, and how many porks, and other such gross duties did arise unto M'Guire out of his mensal lands." Sir John Davys, a poet, as well as a lawyer, was evidently touched by the pathos of the aged clansman's unwillingness to part with a muniment which attested and had hitherto secured the rights of his chieftain. The old Brehon's heart was as much their repository as his bosom.

In the year 1600, during the ascendancy of general rebellion under Tyrone, an epistolary writer in the county of Carlow stated that:—"The rebels brought forth their Irish books at the Garkill, near Leighlin, importing what lands the several stirps of the Irishry had before the Conquest, and have disclosed their purpose to exclude all the ancient English gentlemen from their possessions."[b] The brehons, who thus taught the Irish their title to their own soil, were as hateful to the English as were the bards, who taught the duty of insurrection. Sir George Carew is traditionally declared to have collected all the Irish MSS. he could lay hands upon, with the sole object of depriving the natives of them. His own eagerness to recover lost estates is well known; and as such MSS. were frequently records as to rights of property, we can understand why he and others seized or destroyed them.

By a policy serviceable to communities remaining in a partial condition of civilisation, several professions among Celtic nations were exercised hereditarily; the oral science of the father being imparted to his sons. In all probability, the families of the Brehons, who were hereditary stipendiary justices of clans, descended from druidic judges. The descent of the Bards, a similar caste of officers, from druids, is perfectly traceable. The functions of clerie and lawyer were occasionally combined in early times, when the clergy formed the most learned class, and were almost the only power at work for good. Under the year 1158, the friars of Donegal record the death of "the Brehon O'Duillennain, who was a professor of law, and also *airchinneach*," i.e. erenagh, archdeacon, or hereditary incumbent, of Ballysadare, county Sligo.

[b] State Paper Office.

In Scotland the ancient country judges had good lands assigned for their support. In Ireland they were supported by three different means—viz., first, by heritable estates, which were *termon*, i.e., free from rendering tribute to the senior of the clan; secondly, by the rent of a swine, a year old, from every two townlands under their several jurisdictions;[c] and thirdly, by small portions of the *cáina*, i.e., the penalties inflicted for offences. This liberal provision must have gone far to prevent any corrupt means being used to influence them. Each great clan would seem to have had its peculiar family of Brehons. The O'Dorans acted for the Kavanaghs; the O'Breslans for the O'Neills; the M'Clancys for the O'Briens; the M'Egans for the M'Carthys, &c.

Mageoghegan enters the obit of a distinguished Brehon in his version of native annals:—

"Moyleissa Roe MacKeigan, the best-learned in Ireland in the Brehon Lawe, in Irish called Fenechus, died." To this he adds the following note:—

"This Fenechus or Brehon lawe is none other but the civill Lawe, which the Brehons had in an obscure and unknown language, which none could understand except those that studied in the open schools they had. Some were judges, and others were admitted to plead in the open air as barristers, and for their fees, costs, and all, received the eleventh part of the thing in demand of the party for whom it was ordered; the loser paid no costs." "The Brehons of Ireland were divided into several tribes and families, as the MacKeigans, O'Deorans, O'Breasleans, and MacTholies. Every contrey had its peculiar Brehaive" [Breitheamh] "dwelling within itself, that had power to decide the causes of that contrey, and to maintain their controversies against their neighbour contreys, by which they held their lands of the lord of the contrey where they dwelt. This was before the lawes of England were in full force in this land, and before the kingdom was divided into shyres."

The following account of these native lawyers is taken from a manuscript describing the bardic and vagrant professionals who flourished, or the reverse, in Ireland, during the conquering reign of Elizabeth.[d] The document, after stating that the septs in question are, in a manner, all rhymers, that is to say, descended from bardic or minstrel families, proceeds thus:—"The furste of them is calleid the Brehounde, whiche in English is called the judge; and before they will geave judgement they will have pawnes of bothe the parties, the which is called in Irish, *Ulliege;* and then they will geave judgment according to their own dischresions. Theis men be neauters, and the Irishmen will not praie them; they have great pleantie of cattell, and they harbour manye vacabons and ydell parsons, and if their be anye reabell that moves anye rebbellione against the prince, of theis people they ar chiflie mantayned; and if the English armye fortune to travell in that parties wheir they be, they will fle into mountains and woodes, bycause they wold not sucker them with vittals and other;—and further, they will take upon them to judge matters and redresse causes, as well of inherytans as of other matters, although they are ignoraunt; the which is a greatte hinderans to the Quenes Majestie's lawes, and hurtfull to the whole English Pale."

[c] Kilkenny Verdict, S.P.O., 1537.

[d] State Paper Office.

On this curious account we may make the following comments :—"*Ulliege*" appears as "Oylegeag" in the printed *State Papers*, in the vocabulary of which it is explained to be a fee paid by each litigant to the Brehon for his judgment, and derived from *oilegh*, a brehon, and *eag*, payment. The Earl of Ormond writes, in 1538;—"I have proclaimed over all the countie of Tipperary, that no *caines*," [penalties] "*alleyiegs*, erikes," [fines for manslaughter] "Irishe brehons, nether that lawe, *rahownes*, and many like exactions and extorsions, shall cease." This latter Gaelic word is explained as fees on a brehonic decision; but the text does not bear out this explanation; and we may remark that the vocabulary in question is occasionally faulty.

The above statement, that the Brehons were neutral in matters of war, discloses these professional landholders in special lights. Reverencing their useful office, a Gaelic chieftain, however fiercely he ravaged the country of a hostile sept, respected all that belonged to castes so sacred as the clergy, bards, and brehons. Hence these classes were prosperous during periods of rapine and destruction; but hence, also, they were enabled to support and succour many of their countrymen who were obnoxious to the English government; and they were therefore particularly the objects of the conquerors' vengeance. Consequently, these administrators of laws so inimical to the English and hurtful to their rule occasionally underwent the severest penalty of the law from Queen Elizabeth's satraps. Sir William Drury, lord president of Munster, acquainted the English privy council on the 24th March, 1577-8, that he had hanged, at Limerick, "a judge of Rory Oge's" (O'More's) "termed a Breghon, who was much esteemed among the common people, and taught and practised only such laws as were repugnant to Her Majesty."[e] The ensuing *moreeau* of these baneful laws is a literary and historic curiosity, because it is declared by scholars thoroughly versed in the brehon code to be not merely a fictitious quotation, but a disgraceful proof of subserviency to the conquering government of the day. Sir Edward Fyton, to whom the following legal (or illegal) opinion was given, was at the time the newly-appointed lord president of Connaught, a province then recently brought under the dominion of Dublin Castle.

S. P. O.
Ireland. *Sir Edw. Fyton to Lord Burghley. Athlone*, 31 *Jan*, 1571-2. *Extract.*

"I beseech your Lordschip pardon me to tell you a strange case: We are dryven, partely by the coldenes of such as myght do good, but cheffely through our owne weakenes, to make proffe what good wyll cum by allowyng agayne of that old Iryshe law, now longe tyme forbydden, called 'Kylcolgashe:' and that your Lordschip may the better understand how detestable it is, and what myschyef we be dryven to, when we reule that as the best meane we are able to use for mendyng of the countrey, I have ben bold to send your Lordschip here inclosed the very deseryptyon of the same, as it was gyven me in wrytyng by one of theyr awne Judges called Breanes. I pray God ther may be better means found and followed to brydle theym, then such as be boath agaynst the law of God, nature, and honesty

Ed. Fyton."

[e] State Paper Office,

"Magnifico seu ingenuo viro ac in partibus Connaciæ præoptato Domino precedenti Edwardo militi Fiton et suis commilitonibus, ego Jacopus Oscingin licet indignus considero quod jure divino filius non reportat iniquitatem patris, et e contra et etiam jure civili delictum unius non causat in alio defectum juxta id quod dicit rubrica ne filius pro parte neque pater pro filio neque uxor pro marito nec maritus pro uxore, sed nos accepimus ab arbitris qui dicuntur judices seculares a quibus accepimus jure consuetudinario quod omnes deberent condempnari usque ad quartam generationem non solum in recta linea sed etiam in collateralibus, sed dico me esse excusatum cum jus meum non disponit de damnatione alicujus nisi saltem delinquentis, idcoque si vultis procedere secundum antiquam consuetudinem Hibernicorum aut secundum dispositionem juris cum idem est jus nostrum et jus vestrum quibus juribus consuetudo est contraria habiatis procedere si vultis.

(Note in Fitton's hand.) This is the Breanes owne hand wrytyng whose name is Jamys Oscyngan."

Reference in other documents is sometimes made to a native legal usage, under the name of "the law of *Kincolgas*." This word, which is variously spelt, seems properly to be *Ceanncolgach*, which may mean affinity to the head, or chief. It is said that, by this special custom, every chieftain was obliged to arrest any offender of his sept, probably for trial by the clansmen. In 1572, at a time when the Bourkes of Clanricard and Mayo were vainly endeavouring to restore Gaelic laws in their countries, in order that they might divide land by gavel, and govern their people according to former usage, they "revived the law of Kincolgas."[f] Sir Edward Fyton was the principal instrument in frustrating their attempt.

Vallancey's first volume cannot be replaced on the shelf without noticing its *Dissertations on National Customs, and State-Laws of the Ancient Irish*, its treatise called *The Law of Tanistry Illustrated*, and its fragment of Brehon Laws. Our space does not permit us to offer much disquisition on the policy of these laws, which, indeed, are necessarily too various to be noticed even succinctly. We may, however, mention the two salient points in which they differed from the feudal law of the English; for it was their effects that rendered them so obnoxious to the conquerors, who were therefore constantly bent, during four centuries, on the difficult task of eradicating them, and, with Roman and true policy, extending their own laws to the conquered. Indeed no better evidence is needed than that afforded by the above-mentioned treatise, to prove that the law of male-gavel was the principal cause of the protracted poverty and barbarity of the Irish; and that the custom of election by tanistic succession was the fertile source of clannish internecine strife, and general civil war. Aiming, on the one hand, at a broad equality, yet permitting chieftains to assume the monocracy which invariably arises from frequent appeals to arms, the brehon code, scrupulously minute in its decisions between vassal and vassal, was powerless to restrain the licentious misrule of armed power, by which, after all, the dictates of law must be enforced. During ages when the election for chieftaincies was decided by majorities

[f] State Paper Office.

of battle-axes, and when the temple of the Irish Janus was always open, the Latin proverb, *silent leges inter arma*, may have frequently suggested itself to all classically learned clerks and brehons. Well might Edward I., (who has been aptly styled the English Justinian, and who successfully prevailed on the Celts of North Wales, after his conquest of them, to adopt feudal laws) have declared the laws of the Irish to be repugnant to justice, and hateful to God. Never would 8,000 marks—the sum offered to this prince by the Celts of Ireland, in order that he should relieve them from laws they were groaning under—have been better applied, if it could then have purchased English jurisdiction for them. The claim of women to property is founded upon the ordinances the Creator prescribed for the welfare of human beings. "If a man die and have no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter." Thus were the Israelites commanded in the Book of Numbers, chap. 27, verse 9. In this instance, therefore, the Celtic law is contrary to God's law. Nor, strictly considered, is the following system of transmission of property as described by Campion, less repugnant to it:—"The inheritance descendeth not to the Sonne, but to the Brother, Nephew, or Cousin germaine, eldest and most valiant: for the childe, being oftentimes left in nonage, or otherwise young and unskillfull, was never able to defend his patrimonie, being his no longer then he can hold it by force of armes. But by that time he grow to a competent age, and have buryed an Uncle or two, he also taketh his turne, and leaveth it in like order to his posterity. This custome breedeth among them continnuall warres and treasons." Hence, indeed, the frequency of those clan-contests by which the Irish cut the Gordian knot of their law with their swords; declaring, in the words of their proverb:—"No surer judge than a field of battle!"

Edmond Spenser, whose intimate acquaintance with the Irish entitles him to be heard with respect, thus writes of them and their jurisprudence:—

"It is a nation ever acquainted with warres, though but amongst themselves, and in their own kind of military discipline, trayned up ever from their youthes, which they have never yet beene taught to lay aside, nor made to learn obedience unto lawes, scarcely to know the name of law, but in stead thereof have always preserved and kept their owne law, which is the Brehon law.

Eudox.—What is that which you call the Brehon law? It is a word unto us altogether unknowne.

Iren.—It is a rule of right unwritten, but delivered by tradition from one to another, in which oftentimes there appeareth great show of equity, in determining the right betweene party and party; but in many things repugning quite both to God's law and man's; as, for example, in the case of murder, the Brehon, that is their judge, will compound betweene the murderer and the friends of the party murdered, which prosecute the action, that the malefactor shall give unto them, or to the child or wife of him that is slain, a recompence, which they call an Eriach: by which vilde law of theirs many murders amongst them are made up and smothered. And this judge, being as hee is called the Lord's Brehon, adjudgeth for the most part a better share unto his Lord, that is the Lord of the soyle, or the head of that sept, and also unto himselfe for his judgement a greater portion then unto plaintiffs or the parties grieved.

Eudox.—This is a most wicked law indeed; but I trust it is not now used in Ireland, since the kings of England have had the absolute dominion thereof, and established their owne lawes there.

Iren.—Yes, truly: for there be many wide countries in Ireland which the lawes of England were never established in, nor any acknowledgment of subjection made; and also even in those which are subdued, and seeme to acknowledge subjection, yet the same Brehon law is practised among themselves; by reason, that dwelling, as they doe, whole nations and septs of the Irish together, without any Englishmen amongst them, they may do what they list, and compound or altogether conceal amongst themselves their owne crimes, of which no notice can be had by them which would and might amend the same by the rule of the lawes of England."

In so far as the laws of the Irish differed from the rules of the English, they kept those who adhered to them in a constant condition of alienation from the government in Dublin, and were therefore necessarily abolished. This important abolition did not take place universally until the reign of the first Stuart, when the paraphernalia of provincial judicatures were provided.

We would be well inclined further to compare Gothic and feudal laws with Celtic and clan customs, were it not that, as "brehon" Dogberry says:—"Comparisons are odorous!"

From the very few deeds in the Irish language which exist on record we obtain additional insight into the jurisconsult practice of the Brehons, one of whose functions may have been to prepare and draw up these documents. There is an interesting paper by Mr. Hardiman on ancient Irish deeds, in the 15th volume of the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy. Certain "testamentary precepts" are in existence, attributed to Moran Mac Main, who is said to have been chief brehon to the monarch Feradach, in the 1st century. But full credence cannot be given to such pretensions of antiquity. This Gaelic "lord chancellor" was owner of the miraculous instrument for insuring justice known as "Moran's collar," believed to have been a gorget of ductile gold, which had so thoroughly imbibed its first wearer's love of equity that it always contracted round the throat of an unrighteous judge, even to suffocation. The memoirs of our mythic countryman, Captain Rock, contain the ensuing account of this valuable substitute for statutes of the realm, legal precedents, and trial by jury:—

"The chief judge, on all solemn and interesting occasions, had a kind of collar placed round his neck, which possessed the wonderful power of contracting or relaxing, according to the impartiality of the sentence pronounced by him, and which pinched most inconveniently when an unjust decision was uttered. The use of this collar has been since discontinued, on account of the risk of strangulation to which it exposed many honourable judges, and the collar itself was supposed to be lost; but to the inexpressible joy of all lovers of Irish curiosities, it was again discovered a short time since, and is at present, I understand, worn on all occasions by the Chief Justice of Ireland, with the greatest possible ease and comfort to himself."

Whilst this marvellous collar remained in the limbo of lost things, succeeding chief Brehons were left to the study of their profession; and some doubtless were as proficient as Chaucer's "Sergeant of the Lawe," to whom the laws of real property being but A, B, C:—

"All was fee-simple to him in effect."

There must have been considerable difficulty in mastering the entire scope of the native code. In the first place, its MSS. tomes were so scarce that knowledge of it was hardly to be obtained otherwise than by the ear, with the exception of the assistance derived from a few Terriers relating to property. So that the lawyer of a populous clan had generally to depend on memory in deciding on the multiform cases coming before him. Luckily for him, there was no court of appeal. How his legal lore must have differed from that of Chaucer's learned Sergeant, of whom we are told:—

"In termes had he case and doomes alle,
That fro the time of King Will weren falle.
Thereto he coude endite, and make a thing,
Ther coude no wight pinch at his writing;
And every statute coude he plaine by rote."

By the following extract, we perceive how thoroughly dependent the law was upon the sword. When, in 1526, "the Fox" became *oir-righ*, or subordinate king, under Mageoghegan, it was agreed that:—"Whenever either a *Goill* or a *Gaoidhil*, [a foreigner or a Gael] shall sue the Fox or any person in his territory, that the decision of Muirchertach Mac Egan, or of the Brehon who shall be by them appointed, be submitted to; and when this will not be accepted from them, then that Magheoghegan shall be bound to spend his country and Fox's country, for obtaining justice for the Fox and his country, as well as to compel them and him to render justice."

Sir Henry Piers paraphrases an expression of the earnest care with which contemporary Gaelic landlords were accustomed, in chieftain fashion, to protect their tenantry, by writing:—"They are very industrious to preserve them from the wrongs and oppressions of others;"—"and so mean a matter it is with Irishmen to be protected, that it is a common saying with them, what boots it to us to have a landlord, if he defend us not both in just and unjust causes; and another saying they have as rife is this, defend us and spend us."

Let us now turn to some detached notices of the subject under consideration, in the writings of various authors; since it is part of the business of the archæologist to put together every scrap which makes up the mosaic of his topic. Edmund Campion, the ill-fated Jesuit, (who was a native of London, where he was born in January, 1540, and whose family, nothing being known of his parentage, may have come from Western Normandy where his surname is still found) gives the following account of the Brehons, in his lively chapter "Of the meere Irish:"—

"Other lawyers they have, liable to certaine families, which, after the custome of the country, determine and judge causes. These consider of wrongs offered and received among their neighbours; be it murder or fellony, or tresspasse, all is redeemed by composition, (except the grudge of parties seeke revenge): and the time they have to spare from spoyling and proyning, they lightly bestow in parling about such matters. The Breighoon (so they call this kind of lawyer) sitteth him downe on a banke, the Lords and Gentlemen at variance round about him, and then they proceede." "To robbe and prey their enemies, they deeme it none offence; nor seeke any means to recover their

losse, but ever to watche [for] the like turne. But if neighbours and friends send their Cators to purloyne one another, such actions are judged by the Breighoones aforesaid."

These "cators," or caterers, were, in plain parlance, thieves.

Camden writes that the native Irish nobles and chieftains "have their lawyers, called *Breahans*, (the Goths called them *Bellagines*), a most illiterate set of men, who, on set days, on some high hill, determine the disputes of the neighbourhood. Before them the pleader, in a complaining strain, sets forth the injuries he has received, which are denied by the party accused. On conviction of a theft, they pronounce sentence of restitution or compensation."

From other authority we learn that the Brehon seated himself on the top of a hillock, and sometimes placed himself on the middle of a bridge. Another writer states that any one who had suffered wrong sat on an ox's hide in a public thoroughfare. This was a calm and very un-national mode of seeking justice: yet certainly preferable to the custom of the aggrieved taking the law into his own hands, and giving the offender a "hiding."

Sir Richard Cox, the partisan historian of Ireland, dipped deep in black gall when penning the ensuing paragraph:—

"Nor were their laws better than their governours [their chieftains]: it was no written law; no digested or well-compiled rule of right; it was only the will of the Brehon or the Lord. They pretended to certain traditions or customs, which they wrested and interpreted to by-ends, and to serve a turn. The manner of deciding controversies was equally ridiculous with the law they judged by; for the Brehon used to sit on a sod or turf, or a heap of stones, on the top of a hill, or rather a mountain, without canopy or covering, and without clerks, registers, or records, or indeed any formality of a court of judicature. Every lord had one of these arbitrary Brehons, who, *to be sure, took care not to disoblige his patron.* The greatest crimes, as murder and rape, were not punished otherwise than by fine, whereof the Brehon had the eleventh part for his fees; and robbery and theft were not counted offences at all, if done to any body except their lord's own followers. They reckoned all such stealths to be clear gain; built castles on isthmuses and other inaccessible places, purposely to secure such prey and plunder as they could get; and he was esteemed the bravest man that was most dexterous at this sport of plundering and cow-stealing."

Although it is now beyond question that the Irish Gael must eventually have succumbed to the subjugation destined for them by the proximity of a mightier neighbouring nation, a cursory insight into the nature of the brehonic laws regarding property and power gives us the reason why clans constituted by these laws were so attached to their institutions as to prefer them to any other, and why these were the very basis of the protracted struggle. By the law of male-gavel, hopes of advancement were held out to every "duine-uasal;" and he was at the least secure of one great object of Gaelic ambition, a portion of land; for, so extreme was the subdivision, that, as Sir John Davys found, according as the native families increased and multiplied, their possessions were, "from time to time, divided and subdivided, and broken into so many small parcels, as almost every acre of land hath a

separate owner, who terneth himself a lord, and his portion of land his country." The law of tanistry was still more liberal in promises to the ambitious; since every man of noble blood, who became distinguished as a warrior, was eligible to the chieftaincy of his tribe. Men brought up with such prospects were not likely to relinquish them, or to submit to the narrow individuality of feudalism caused by the law of primogeniture. At the same time, there are many indications that adhesion to the old Irish law had become relaxed among the chieftains themselves, who would gladly have exchanged their precarious tenure for hereditary transmission, and who would have succeeded in so doing but for the principle embodied in the Gaelic proverb:—"Stronger than the chief are the vassals."

Upon the subject of the conflict between English and Brehon laws, especially during the sixteenth century, our readers may be referred to the pages of the *Annuary* lately published by the Kilkenny Archæological Society. Some points in proof of our position may not, however, be omitted. For example, when O'Brien, eager to be created hereditary Earl of Thomond, entreated Henry VIII. that "the lawes of England may be executed in Tomond, and the naughty laws and customs of that country may be clearly put away for ever," it is manifest that this chieftain wished for the abolition of those principles of succession which endangered his own peace, and menaced the claim of his son. This was the period when efforts were making by government to induce the feudal peers to relinquish the native mode of dealing with the *indigènes*. "If Yrisshemen use their owlde lawes," wrote the viceroy, in 1546, "so dothe the Erle of Urmounde, and all the lorde marchers in Ireland." The labours of the High Commissioners for the Reformation of Ireland, in the year 1537, (whose documents are now in course of being edited in the above-mentioned publication,) were specially directed to the reform of the Anglo-Irish, and to the abolition of brehon usages among them. An unpublished statute of 16th Edward IV. was enacted "against the wicked and damnable Brehon Law," which is stated to be followed in the county of Waterford, to the great injury of the country. With the exception of the narrow territory called the Pale, which included only those champaign parts of Leinster that were adjacent to the metropolis, the Anglo-Irish districts were almost entirely under the system of brehon jurisprudence. Let us hear how a great O'Neill characterised this system. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, in a petition to the English privy council, (dated 15th April, 1590,) writes of "the incivility" of his country, where, observes he, "Her Majesty hath neither law, judge, or government, *save such as is received by tradition.*" A few years subsequently, however, when this arch-rebel discarded the title of Earl for the prouder one of O'Neill, no chieftain in Ireland was less willing to substitute foreign laws for those native and time-honoured customs of his clansmen. Indeed, to resist English law was the principal object of his rebellion; as it had also been of the revolt of Garret, sixteenth Earl of Desmond, who "had a judge of his own," and ruled his numerous vassals in a manner almost as completely Celtic as if he had descended from Malachi of the Golden Collar. What can we think of a legal system which, as Lord Tyrone objected to it, was merely traditional? The statutes of the realm could be referred to: but laws that depended on memory only must have been subserviently liable to variation.

No instance has been met with, however, of any accusation against these Gaelic judges that they perverted justice for bribes. This negative testimony is not a little honourable to them. All will remember that the wickedness of Babylon is declared to have proceeded from that "Seed of Chanaan, the ancient judges;" and that bribery corrupted the "wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind," whose life is a "checkered spectacle of glory and shame." Many may also be unhappily aware how strong is the power given by the law to men who have used this power injudiciously and unjustly. There is an old French proverb: —"Qui tient la pöelle par la queue il la tourne ou il veut;" which we may interpret, in application—he who holds the law can expound it as he lists. Our archæologists know how unscrupulously Sir John Davys, King James the First's attorney-general in Ireland, forced up royal rights in his hot-bed of special-pleading Cases; and they may imagine that O'Neill's or M'Carthy's chief brehon was not backward in giving his autocratic *Righ* similar proofs of loyalty. It is, at the same time, probable that the native laws were administered with tolerably even-handed justice in territories which were temporarily blessed with peace, and, moreover, with those rarities, good rulers. But, the authority of a Gaelic jurisconsult must have been confused and devious when he acted under the sway of a palatine Anglo-Irish earl, such as Ormond or Kildare, who governed his vassals and tenants by usages as mixed as their blood. Perhaps no other nations were more litigious than the Normans and the Irish; for, in fact, contests at law are the channel in which the combative spirit of a race runs during peace. Accordingly, it is not surprising to read that the Irish Gael employed the time undevoted to rapine and war in the discussion of their differences. The Brehons acted prudently in requiring payment of their fees prior to entering upon suits; a preliminary which may often have checked litigiousness,—a disposition best corrected by an empty purse.

Lord Coke would not suffer the Brehon usage to be dignified by the name of law:—it was, he said, merely "a lewd custom," i.e., a system fraught with license, rather than a rule or law. Barbarous, traditional, and oral customs, which were either followed or disregarded according to human passions, are certainly not to be ranked with such a regular code of laws as the "collective wisdom" of centuries of English parliaments and judicature have perfected. Hooker, in his dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh of a translation of Giraldus Cambrensis' *Irish History*, observes:—"No realm, no nation, no state, no commonwealth throughout Europe, can yield more nor so many profitable lawes, directions, rules, examples, and discourses, either in matters of religion, or of civill government, or of martiall affairs, than do the histories of this little Isle of Britain or England. I would to God I might, or were able to saie the like, or the halfe like, of Ireland; a countrie, the more barren of good things, the more replenished with actions of blood, murther, and lothsome outrages; which to anie good reader are greevoss and irkesome to be read and considered, much more for anie man to pen and set downe in writing, and to reduce into an historie. Which hath been some cause whie I was alienated and utterlie discouraged to intermedle therein; for, being earnestlie requested, by reason of my some acquaintance with the manners and conditions of that nation during my short

abode therein, to continue the historie of that land, from the death of King Henrie the Eight unto these presents, which hitherto hath not been touched; I find no matter of an historie worthie to be recorded, but rather a tragedie of cruelties to be abhorred, and no historie of good things to be followed."

However superior the English system of law was, in the method of legislating by acts of parliament, and in its regular courts, salaried judges, juries, &c., to the rude Gaelic practice, we cannot turn with any gratification to the records which throw light on the practice of law among the conquerors. Even so late in Elizabeth's reign as 1576, it was declared that the course of law in Dublin was "a bare shadow of Westminster Hall." We suspect that the "Court of Justice" in Dublin Castle was occasionally a *dark* shadow of the Star Chamber in the old Palace of Westminster. Moran's miraculous gorget was lost and forgotten. Some years previously, even the building itself was rotten and ruinous. "If this hall" [in the Castle] "is not rebuilt," wrote the Master of the Rolls, "the majesty and estimation of the law will perish, the justices being then enforced to minister the laws upon hills, as it were brehons, or wild Irishmen, in their crietts." These *oireachtas*, or assemblies, were the open-air parliaments of the Gael, usually held, like the *Things* of the Scandinavians, upon an eminence. The word is still understood in the North. The Privy-Council Book of 25th Eliz., contains an entry of an order forbidding Desmond to "assemble the Queen's people upon hills, or use any *Iraghtes* or parties upon hills." Sir John Harrington, the wit, and the translator of Ariosto, says that the high hill in Leix called Croshiduff was "the general rate hill of Leinster." Primitive and rustic as was the scene in which the Irish people met for public legislation, the agreements they determined on are declared to have been carried out with a constancy not found among more polished nations. Chief Baron Finglas thus contrasts the way in which law was respected in his time by the Irish and by the Anglo-Irish, making a statement highly creditable to the former:—

"It is a great abusion and reproach that the laws and statutes made in this land are not observed ne kept after the making of them eight days; which matter is one of the distructions of Englishmen of this lond; and divers Irishmen doth observe and kepe suche lawes and statutes which they make upon hills in their country, firm and stable, without breaking them for any favour or reward."

Indeed native customs had then totally eclipsed the foreign code. The Anglo-Irish barons dwelling on the borders were either so dissatisfied with the administration of the English law, or so wedded to the usages of their Gaelic relatives, that "divers march lords and captaynes" interdicted those under their rule from pursuing any action according to "the king's laws."[g] Yet, at this very period, the Master of the Rolls, with strong professional jealousy, advised the Lord Deputy to enforce the statutes, in order "that no brehoone's lawes be useid." The Viceroy, however, was as powerless in this respect as the President of the United States now is to enforce the Maine liquor-law in Kentucky. It was even found proper on one occasion to recognise the authority of the native jurisprudists in a Gaelic region, where no other lawyers could exist. An excerpt from the Council Book,

[g] Printed S. P., 1537.

temp. Elizabeth runs as follows :—"An order deposing William Owre O'Carroll from the captenship of Ely, and making Teige O'Carroll capten; in which order," annotates the compiler, "the Brehouns have libertie to end causes." A record in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, under the year 1554, to the effect that the Earl of Kildare levied a *boraime mor*, i.e., a great cow fine, of 340 cows, from Delvin-Eathra, as an eric for Robert Nugent, his foster-brother, who had been slain by one of the M^c^Coghlans, shows that this powerful Anglo-Irish nobleman put the ancient native laws in force so late as the reign of Queen Mary; a fact verified by entries in the Kildare Rental-Book, a most curious MS. now editing for the Kilkenny Archæological Society.

The United Kingdom has for the last hundred years had the example of an ingenious and mighty people, who, during this period, have been governed by a variety of dynastics and codes, and of whom the philosophic few are convinced that institutions, laws, constitutions, and forms of government are not to be valued on abstract principles, but so far as they are proved to be subservient to the practical welfare of the nation. The profound historian, Sismondi, considers that there is a constant compensation in the affairs of mankind; so that, whether a country is submerged in barbarism, or illuminated by civilisation, the sum of human happiness is the same. This idea, however, is so opposed to our feelings, that it must be contrary to truth. The Irish nation, whose wretchedness seems to have been fuller a thousand years ago than it ever was under the 999 years' lease of misery entailed by the English invasion, must have suffered far more under the despotic and extortionate rule of their own chieftains than even under the foreign oppression of Cromwellian military landlords. Some squires of the last century, indeed, rack-rented their tenantry; but an O'Rourke or O'Flaherty of "good Queen Bess's days" went nigh to flaying them. Dr. Hanmer quotes a current saying as to the exorbitancy of a *Tierna mor*, or great Gaelic lord of that time :—"A cormorant over his tenants;—cess and coyney cutt upon the countrey when he rideth."[h] When mounted for private war, and backed by his horsemen, galloglasses, and savage kerne, nothing of his vassal's property came amiss to him. The happiness of a nation may perhaps resemble that of a man. In youth, freshness of feeling, and the bliss of ignorance, prevent many a sigh :—in manhood, the lights of reason and religion temper many a misery. It is an error all the while, to say that in the sum of human ills there is not very much that kings and laws can cure. "That which is best administered is best" cannot be a safe maxim, because it is impossible for those who have been placed in power by undue means to avoid being occasionally despotic to the malcontent minority; for, as Paley observes, one end common to bad governments is their own preservation. Far beyond oppressive acts of power, however, are the effects of unsound social laws in restraining a people from elevating their condition to the highest pitch their genius and the resources of their country would enable them to attain. The word "polities," in its modern sense, has an altered signification. The politics that should occupy the care of all who may take a useful part in them, are the

[h] S. P. O.

political economy of the social laws of their fellow citizens—their πολις in the widest meaning. One of our most thoughtful writers has said:—"They who have well considered that kingdoms rise or fall, and that their inhabitants are happy or miserable, not so much from any local or accidental advantages or disadvantages, but accordingly as they are well or ill governed, may best determine how far a virtuous mind can be neutral in politics;"—we will add, can be inactive in aiding to improve the policy of the laws. Montesquieu, in his *Esprit des Lois*, observes:—"It must be remarked that what contributed more than anything else to make the Romans masters of the world was, that having successively conquered all other nations, they renounced their own customs as soon as they found better ones." The Israelites were formed into a peculiar people, and remained so, by a special code. The Normans, who subjugated medieval Northern Europe, retained their aristocratic power by means of the feudal system. They also, like the Romans, evinced their sense in adopting valuable institutions. But the native races of Brittany, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, isolated in their mountain fastnesses, clung to usages which precluded them from becoming civilised.

INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF IRELAND.

BY PROFESSOR ADOLPHE PICTET, GENEVA.*

"If I were fond of the style of certain etymologists, I might also place together the word *Erinn*, the Persian *Iran*, and Ossetic *Iron*. The comparison would probably be quite as bad as with the *Huron* or the *Orinooko*, or anything else." Thus says the learned and acute writer, Pott, in his *Etymological Researches*. [II. 187.] However great may be the respect which I entertain, in most cases, for his judgment, it seems to me that he has here been perhaps rather hasty; the question is not to be settled by a jest. Mere verbal resemblances are no doubt frequently very deceptive, and require great caution; but we must not overlook them when they are corroborated by other facts. The old names of tribes are of high importance in the history of the migrations of nations, and the more obscure these are, the more desirable are the slight glimpses of light which such names may afford. Several names of European people have been already discovered, with more or less certainty, in the East. Why might not we also find there that of the Irish, who were probably the first tribe which detached itself from the ancient Arian stem to migrate towards the West? In such questions, it is true, no positive certainty can be attained; but, if from various sides the

* The following curious and learned investigation has lately appeared in a German publication: and is now, with the concurrence and the latest corrections of the author, translated and presented to our readers. As a specimen of close and careful philological reasoning, we are sure it will be appreciated by Irish scholars. Ed.

probabilities converge in this direction, the conjecture assumes some value. Now, such seems to me to be the state of the case here, and on this account I venture to take up the inquiry once more.

Let us first consider the native forms of the names given to the country and the people, as well as the various interpretations of them which have been proposed.

The usual form *Eirinn or Erin*, for Ireland, is used incorrectly as the nominative, which is pronounced *Eire*. The word belongs to the modern fifth declension, which adds *n* or *nn* in the genitive, and attenuates the last vowel in the dative. [O'Donovan, *Irish Gram.* p. 106.] It is thus declined: nom. *Eire*, gen. *Eireann*, dat. *Eirinn*, acc. *Eire*, like the nominative; and quite follows the analogy of other names of places, such as *Tailte*, *Raoire*, *Alba*, *Ara*, *Almha*, which have in the gen. *Tailteann*, *Raoireann*, *Alban*, &c; dat. *Tailtinn*, *Raoirinn*, *Albain*, &c. all which nouns are feminine like *Eire*. In the older documents we find also *Ere* for the nominative, as well as *Eire*. Thus, in the *Four Masters*, [432] from an ancient poem :—

"Bronach aniu Ere uagh."
"Sad to-day is Erin, as a tomb."

And again, stanza 5 :—

"Ere fas triochat blian go ttainicc Neimidh."
"Erin was a desert for 30 years, till Nemedius came."

The following are examples of the accusative :

"Randsatt Ere." [*Four Mast.*, 14] or "Ran Ere,"—[*Ibid.*, 16.]
"They divided Erin."

Likewise in the poem of Gildas Modudius, quoted by O'Conor, [*Prolegom.* I., 117.]

"Eire ógh inis na naoimh
Con iomat riogal ro choemh
Ro gabhsat geinti garbha."
"Ireland the young [sacred?] island of Saints,
Very illustrious by many laws,
Did barbarous nations seize."

We often find, however, *Ere*, *Eire*, standing also for the dative, [by mistake?]: as "for Ere," "upon Erin," [*Four Mast.*, 362,] "an Eire," "in Erin," [*Ann. Innisf.*, II., 25,] "olc tra ro boi Ere," "bad times were to Ireland," [*Four Mast.*, 70,] &c. In Tighernach and elsewhere we also find *Er* representing all the cases; but this is undoubtedly only a contraction.

A still more ancient form, seemingly, of the nominative and accusative is *Eriu*. Thus, in two quotations given by O'Conor, from poems of Eochaidh, [of the 9th century, *Proleg.*, II., 40, 42,] we have

"H-Eriu oll'ordnitt Gaedil."
Gadelius regulated all Ireland.
"H-Eriu con huail con idnaib."
Ireland with glory with arms.

Perhaps the last example is the accusative; but this cannot be determined, as the context is wanting. For this termination *iu*, in place of the modern *e*, compare [in Zeuss, *Gram. Celt.*, 268,] *nóidiu*,

child, *frescsiu*, hope, *déicsiu*, vision, *ermitiu*, reverence, (in more modern times *naoidhe, freisce, deicse, airmidhe)*, all having *n, nn*, in the oblique case, where, however, the *u* disappears,—*noiden*, of a child, *deiscen*, of vision, &c., as in *Ercnn*, and *Eireann*. Another example is the proper name *Fridriu* or *Frigriu* [*Ordnance Surrey of Ireland*, Poem of Aileach, verses 40, 43,] the genitive of which appears as *Fridrenn* [39,] *Frigrinn*, [1,] and *Frigrind* [2, 23.]

The mode of writing the genitive and dative fluctuates greatly in the old authorities. *Eireann, Eirenn, Erenn, Erinn, Erionn*, and likewise with a single *n, Eiren, Erean* [Gil. Mod. poem, O'Connor, *supra*. ver. 72, 73,] often stand near each other in the same text. Besides these forms, we find, from the most ancient times down to the 15th and 16th century, other forms also terminating in *d*, such as the above-mentioned *Frigrind*, besides *Frigrinn*; and in the same manner *Ercnd, Eireand, Eirind, Erind*, of which more hereafter. Occasionally, however, the fuller form of the oblique case appears as nominative and accusative, in the same way that *Eire* appears as a dative. Thus in the Chronicle of Tighernach, p. 11 :—

"Ranta Eirinn i ccoig rannaibh." "Ireland is divided into five parts." And in the poem of Aileach, v. 7 :—

"Eochaidh Ollathair roindsaid Erinn uile."
Eochaidh Ollathair divided all Ireland.

So also in the more ancient poem of Marianus Scotus [in Zeuss, 944] :—

"Bennach Erenn."—"Bless Ireland."

The rule seems, therefore, not always to have been adhered to.

That this rule, however, at least so far as regards the nominative, is correct, is proved by the decided analogy of the Sanscrit and its sister languages. In Sanscrit, as is well known, words in *an, van, man, in, vin, min*, cast off the *n* in the nominative, (also neuters in the accusative); and in this peculiarity almost all the cognate languages participate more or less. [Compare Bopp, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, §. 139.] To the peculiarity of the Irish language in this respect I have long since drawn attention in another place. Words coinciding in form and meaning are especially to be noticed. Thus, Irish *ainm*, a name, plur. *anman*=Sanscrit, *nâma, nâmâni*; Ir, *eu*, a dog, gen. *coin*, plur. *cona*=Sansc. çvâ, çunas, çvânas. [Compare the Welsh *ei*. plur. *cwn*.]—The Irish *noidiu*, child, gen. *noiden*, dat. *noidin* (apparently an old neuter noun) seems=Sans. *nandi*, (theme *nandin*, joyful, joy-giving, like *nandana*, a son, gen. *nandinas*, dat. *nandiné*. The suffix *man* has been beautifully preserved among other words in the old Irish, *menme*, mind, [Zeuss, *Gram. Celt.*, 264,] gen. *menman*, dat. *menmin*, acc. plur. *menmana*, dat. *menmanib*, (compare the Sanscrit root *man*, to think, and, in regard to the form, *janman*, birth, nom. *janma*, gen. *janmanas*, &c.[a]) O'Donovan's remark [*Irish Gram.*, 106,] is interesting, that *ri, righ*, a king, which is at present usually unchangeable in the singular, was declined by some Irish writers according to the fifth declension; which exactly agrees with the Sanscrit *râjan*, nom. *râjâ*; but unfortunately he gives no examples.

[a] The corresponding Sanscrit word *manman*, with the significations wish, desire, song of praise, is preserved in the Vedas.

It follows immediately from the preceding remarks, that we must perceive in *Eirinn* (or more correctly *Eirin* the complete theme of *Eire*) a derivation through a suffix *n*, [compare Zeuss, *Gram. Celt.*, 787, and *passim*,] and therefore not a compound.

Let us now compare the ancient forms of the name handed down to us by the old classic authors; and we find that of these the word Ἰέρις alone [in Diodor. Sic. V. 32] appears to coincide with the nom. *Eire*, *Eiriu*. The other forms Ἰερνίς, Ἰέρνη, Ἰουερνία, *Hibernia*, &c., which will be examined further on, will turn out to be compounds, and are not to be compared directly with *Erinn*.

Long ago and frequently has *Eirinn* been interpreted *iar-innis*, western island, or *iar-in* west-land. But, after what has been said above, this signification is evidently impossible; for, not to speak of the fact that we never meet with the word *iarinn*, how could the second part of the compound fall away in the nominative and accusative, or *innis* and *in* be mutilated into *e*, *iu*, if the word be compounded? Thus, unquestionably, it can only be a derivative.

The form *Erend*, which we find occurring along with *Erenn* in the oldest documents (for example in Fiech's Hymn, in the 7th century, [Zeuss, 939,] *dochum nerond*, to Ireland, *tuata nerend*, the people of Ireland)—and in place of which we find at a later period *Erind*, *Eriond*—has been made by Zeuss the subject of a new conjecture, which, however, appears to me on several grounds to stand the test no better. Zeuss has unfortunately not discovered the old name of Ireland anywhere in the ancient Glosses; on the other hand he observed in the Würzburg MS. the word *érrend*, marks, (stigmata,) "from which word," he says, "the name of the island does not appear to differ, and is compounded with the intensitive particle *ér*. * * The simple root *rind*, gen. *renda*, is "a sign," more particularly "a celestial sign, a constellation," plur., *inna rind*, *inna rinn*, stars. Query, might it not also signify an island, quasi signum maris?—And hence we may consider the word as a compound, *ér-rend* for *iar-rend*, the western island."—[*Grammat. Celt.*, 74.]

In opposition to this explanation several considerations present themselves. First, the variation of the form, since we never meet with *iar*, but *er*, *eir*, and the *r* is always single; in the second place, the circumstance that in the Græco-Latin forms the *d* at the end of the word never appears; thirdly, the impossibility of *rind*, a sign, being contracted in the nominative to *e* or *iu*, and *iarrind* to *eire*, *eiriu*; and lastly, the far-fetched meaning of "sign," for "island," which is supported by no analogy whatever.

But how are we to explain this form *Erend*, *Erind*? Unquestionably by nothing else than a variable mode of writing, which we know occurs so often, and may give rise to so many mistakes in etymology. Zeuss himself observes, [p. 934]—"The form of such words as *brond*, *bond*, *mind*, *tend*, having *nd* for the usual *nn*, is peculiar, and is met with even in the older MSS. This *nd* is, indeed, sometimes the primitive form, but sometimes also a dialectic form for *nn* primitive, as in *ceinthliath*, bald, quoted by Pryce from a Cambridge MS., *ceinth*, for *cenn*, head, being equivalent to the Welsh *penn*." This distinction is no doubt well founded; but the examples given do not appear to me

altogether decisive.[b] Some doubt is caused, for example, by *ceann, eenn*, the head, (frequently *cend, eind*, in old MSS.), which form Zeuss believes to be corroborated by the Welsh *penn* and the Gaulish *penninus*. But here the *d* may certainly be original; for with *penn* we have the Sanscrit *pinda*, agreeing in sound, a heap, (from the root *pind*, to collect, heap up,) and, through the well-known change of *p* into *e* in Irish, the word *eind* comes into exact agreement with it. The Gaulish form *Penninus* might therefore be already corrupted.[c]

Regarding the main question at issue O'Donovan gives no explanation. "In the ancient Irish manuscripts," he says, "we find *nd* almost invariably written for the *nn* of the modern Irish orthography, [but, according to Zeuss, *nn* is found also in the oldest documents,] as *tond* for *tonn*, a wave; *eend* for ceann, a head; *glend* for *gleann*, a valley. It is now difficult to determine how the ancient Irish pronounced this *nd;* but it may be conjectured that, as they sometimes substituted *nn* for *nd*, they pronounced them alike." This conformity of pronunciation must have given rise to confusion. In order to determine whether *nn* or *nd* is original, each word where they occur must be examined separately, and it can only be decided by a fundamental agreement with the cognate languages. In *Erend*, at all events, and after what we have said, no original *nd* can be admitted.

From what, then, is *Eirinn, Erenn, Eiren*, derived, if it be not a compound word? Undoubtedly from the most ancient tribe-name of the Irish, which must have been pronounced nearly *Er* or *Eir*. At an early period this simple name was supplanted by *Eirinach, Eirionnach*, formed from *Eirinn*, and by the other general appellation *Gaedel, Gaoidheal;*[d] but it must have continued in use until the time when the Scandinavians and Saxons entered into connection with Ireland; for otherwise the Norse names, *Irar*, (Irish,) *Irland*, (Ireland,) and the Anglo-Saxon, *Ira, Ire*, (Irish,) and *Iraland, Irland*, (Ireland,) would be hard to understand. Along with *Eirionnach* there seem to have been other forms derived from *Er* occasionally in use: thus according to *Gough's Camden*, I. 217, (quoted by Diefenbach, *Celtica*, III. 375) *Eireigh*,—of which, however, I have not myself met with any instance: so also the name *Erna*, which belonged to a special Irish tribe, and of which

---

[b] With the Irish *bond* coincides extremely well the Huzvâric and Parsee *bundi*, ground, root, which Spiegel has lately made known [Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*., V. 326] and has connected with the Sanscrit *budhna*. Some time previously Kuhn [II., 320.] had suggested the affinity of the Greek πυθμην, bottom (as also βυθος, depth), old High German *bodam*, Anglo-Saxon *botm*, old Norse *botn*, &c., with *budhna*. But whether *fundus* belongs to the same family appears to me very doubtful, since it is immediately derived from *fundere*, and the *f* would require a Sanscrit *bh*. Now, in *fundere* I might assume with Benary, [*Röm. Lautl.*, I., 157,] a compound of the root *und* (*f-und*) to moisten, whereby it would be entirely separated from the Sanscrit root *budh*, whose meaning "to know" is perhaps not the original one, and is only connected obscurely with that of *budhna*. It is also worthy of remark that the Irish *bond* (for *bodn*) has become contracted into *bun* (Welsh *bon*), just like the Persian *bun*, Bactrian *buna*, contracted from *bunda* and *budhna*.

[c] May not the name of the Greek Pindus be explained by *pinda*?

[d] At what time this latter name was introduced is as yet unknown. According to *Cormac's Glossary*, (10th century) *Gaodheal=gafal*, "hero," and is therefore synonimous with *Er*, according to the inquiry which follows. [See O'Reilly's *Dict., voce Gaoidheal.*] In Tighernach we read *Gaedel* [307]; in the poem of *Ailech, Gaidhil* (gen. sing.) and *Gaeidheal* (gen. plur.) [*Ordnance Survey of Ireland*, 225 and 226.] In the *Four Masters*, frequently *Gaoidheal*. It seems to me to come from the word *gaoi-aim, gaoid im, gad-aim* to rob, steal, wound, &c. Hero and robber were in former times ideas nearly related to each other.—Zeuss [*Gram. Celt.*, c. 8,] explains the name differently.

we will say more hereafter. Another rather singular form is *Ereo*, in the poem of Giolla Moduda, given by O'Conor [*Prolegom.*, I., 153, v. 81.]

"As truagh cosnamhach an ceo
As fuar osnadach Ereo:"

according to O'Conor's translation

"Lugendus est defensor in tenebris
Frigescunt mæstitia singultus Hibernorum."

Unfortunately the passage is obscure, and the translation scarcely to be depended on; for *as* (verb subst. impers.) is never plural, and the adjective *osnadach*, groaning, sorrowful, from *osnadh*, a groan, cannot indicate *singultus* in the plural. *Ereo* seems, therefore, to stand in the singular, and not in the genitive plural, and we must translate the passage "est frigidus, mæstus Hibernus;" unless, perhaps, *Ereo* stands for *Ere*, *Eriu*, Ireland. The unusual termination *eo*, is nevertheless shown to be correct by the rhyme; and we have another instance in *Irereo* [*Four Masters*, 54, 55] the proper name of an Irish king who is stated to have reigned after Flann, in the time of Ptolemy Evergetes. We meet also in another place, with an *Irgael* [*Four Mast.*, 234, also *Irgal* at 220]; thus both names may signify the same, namely, *Ir*, *hibernus*. *Ir* appears likewise by itself [*Four Masters*, 16, 222], and in another combination such as *Irial*, [*Four Masters*, 20.] The following are certainly very an. cient proper names, *Er*, [*Four Mast.*, 19,] *Ere*, a woman's name, [*ib.* 14] *Eremon*, *Ereamhon* [*ib.* 16,] *Eredot*, [*Tighernach*, 201] *Erudan*, *Eruman*, [*Annals of Ulster*, 247, 248]; the three first of them being among the oldest colonists of Irish tradition.

The tribe-name of the *Erna* in Munster, [*Four Masters*, 79,] deserves a separate examination, being, like *Erin*, a formation from *Er*. They certainly dwelt where Ptolemy places the river *Jernus* and the city *Juernis*. Another tribe of a similar name resided in Ulster, at Lough Erne, where Ptolemy's *Erdini* are placed. In the *Four Masters* they are called *Erna Firbolg*, to distinguish them from the *Erna Mumhain* (of Munster.) Thus, p. 27:—"Cath fri hErnoib dFeroibh-bolg an bail i fuil loch Erne"—"a battle against the Erna Firbolg in the region where Loch Erne is."—In O'Conor [*Proleg.* I. 3,) we find *Ernaigh* formed like the *Ereigh* mentioned already. Other similarly sounding names are *Ernagh* [*Four Masters*, 286], *Ernaine*, [*Tighern.* 192], *Ernine*, [*ibid.* 203], *Ernidhe*, [*ibid*, 125]; the three last being in the genitive case.

Now, through this *Erna*, which perhaps is directly connected with *Erin*, are best explained, according to my mind, the old forms Ἰέρνη, Ἰουερνία, *Hibernia*, &c., for I perceive therein a compound with the Irish *ibh*, "land, tribe of people," [according to O'Reilly's Dict.]: thus, *Ibh-erna* the land of the *Erna* or *Irish*, or perhaps *Ibh-erin*, with the Greek termination added. The *h* of *Hibernia*, as is generally the case in Irish, is not organic. Since the *bh* is pronounced like a weak *w*, the orthography of Ptolemy, Ἰουερνία, comes nearest to the original form, and the Ἰέρνη of Aristotle stands for Ἰϝερνη. This Irish word *Ibh*, for which, in its definite meaning of "land," or "tribe of people," I can find no analogy elsewhere, might be connected with the Sanscrit *ibhya*, signifying, according to Wilson, "wealthy, opulent." Wilson gives for it the root *ibh* [*imbhayatê*] "to accumulate, to

collect," which, however, is wanting in Rosen and Westergaard. As *ibha* is a name of the elephant, the idea of strength, might, greatness, seems to be the fundamental one; and this is confirmed by the Greek *ἰφι*, adv., "with strength," from which comes *ἴφιος*, strong=Sanscr. *ibhya*. However, the idea of strength is readily connected with that of land or people.[e]

Zeuss [*Gram. Celt.*, 67.] gives quite a different explanation. He endeavours again to show in Ἰουερνία, the Irish *iar*, western, as in the above-mentioned *iar-rend*, *ér-rend*=*Erenn*, *Eirinn*; and especially adduces the form *iarn*, after. Now, in *iar* a middle *v* must thus have been lost, as in *dia*, God, for *diva*; *noe*, a ship, for *nove*, &c. In the latter respect Zeuss may be correct, for his conjecture is confirmed by the Sanscrit *avara*, latter, from which *iar*, for *ivar*, may be contracted. This explanation is, at all events, to be preferred to my earlier one from the Sanscrit *carama*=Irish *iaramh*, after. The application to the names of countries and people remains, on the contrary, in the highest degree doubtful, if our entire exposition is taken into consideration. Besides, the form *iarn* for *iar*, on which the conjecture depends, does not appear to be an original one, though Zeuss gives it as such, along with *in*, *con*, and *ren*. [*Gram. Celt.*, 54, 600.] According to the Irish grammarians, and particularly according to O'Donovan, [*Irish Gram.*, 308] the terminating *n* is necessary for the so-called *eclipsis* of the *d* or *g* sound, and is in the same cases prefixed to the initial vowel.[f] He also invariably separates this *n* from *iar*, and writes *iar n-dilinn*, "after the deluge," *iar n-argain*, "after the plundering," &c. Hence, we might consider the following as original forms, just as well as *iarn*; *iarbh*, in the phrase *iar bh-fíor*, "in truth," *iarm*, in *iar m-bunadus*, "as to the origin," and *iars*, before the article. [Zeuss, 601; O'Don. 398.] Zeuss seems to have been led to his view through *in* and *con*, on account of the analogy of the Latin and German *in*, Greek *ἐν*, and of the Latin *cum*, *con*, Greek *σύν*. But this analogy is not decisive; for if, according to Bopp, [*Demonst. St.* 1826, and *Comparat. Gram.*, 1474] *in*, *ἐν*, have originated from the demonstrative-root *i* or *a* in *a-na*, so is the Irish *i* more primitive than *in*. Also the Sanscrit *sa* seems the original element of the extended form *sa-ma*, *sa-m*, *sa-ha*, and so also will the Irish *eo* be an older form of *con*. Farther, if the form *iar* for *ivar* is confirmed by the Sanscrit *avara*, it is not easy to see how the *n* of *iarn* could be original. But if the *n* appears here merely accidentally, the proposed application to the tribe-name falls of itself.

Now, the question arises, whether this *er*, *ir*, *ere*, *ereo*, (or whatever other way it may have formerly sounded,) from which we also derive *Erenn*, *Eirinn*, and *Erna*, may be explained by the Irish itself. We find, indeed, the word *er* (O'Reilly's *Dict.*) as substantive and adjective, with the significations "hero, knight, great, good, noble." Whether this *er* is connected with the strengthening

[e] From the last published part of the Sanscrit Dictionary, by Böthlingk and Roth, which I have just received, I see that in the Vedas *ibha* signifies servants, attendants, household, family; and therefore *ibhya* has properly the sense of "rich in servants." Concerning the derivation of the word, or its relation to *ibha*, as "elephant," nothing is there remarked, and Wilson's root *ibh* is not admitted. One can easily see how the idea of family might in the Irish *ibh* be extended to that of tribe or country. Also the elephant may have been known by the name of the "house-animal." But whether the idea of strength which manifests itself decidedly in the Greek, is the original one, I must leave undetermined.

[f] In every situation where an initial consonant is eclipsed, an initial vowel takes *n*.—[*O'Donovan*, 65.]

particle *ér, ar, air,* [in Zeuss, 334] and the Welsh *er,* remains as yet undetermined. But, unquestionably, there appears to be a near relation in form and meaning between it and the Sanscrit *arya*— as adjective, "adhering, devoted, beloved, attached, kind; the best;" as substantive, "lord, commander, Arian, man of the legally dominant nation;" *arya,* "well-born, worthy of respect," "lord, possessor, friend, [Böhtlingk and Roth, and Wilson's *Dictionaries.*] The root is *r, (ar,)* to strive upwards, to aspire, to rise; in the Nighanta, also to worship, to serve; whence in the Vedas *ari,* adhering, desiring, eager; and also *rta,* revered. [cf. Zend *airya,* venerable, *areta, ereta* revered, illustrious, lord.] The Armenian *ari,* "valiant," probably from the same source, shows a relation to courage and vigour, and thus agrees with the Irish *er,* hero, knight.

The root *r (ar),* in the sense of to serve, to worship, is also found again in the Irish *airim, airighim,* to take care of, to guard, to watch, to attend, &c. whence *aire,* carefulness, vigilance, *aireadh,* careful, vigilant; a herdsman, a guide. *Aire* is also generally noble, and *aireach,* a nobleman, exalted, distinguished, rich. [cf. Sanscrit *áryaka,* an honoured man, a grandfather, and Ἀρίακα, Media; Persian *Irák.*] The Irish *Ereigh,* (*Hibernus,*) already mentioned, seems to arrange itself under *aireach.*[g]

In Indian proper names *arya* often occurs, like *er, ir, ere,* in Irish ones. The traditionary *Eremon* (found in Fiech's hymn, in which the Irish are called *meic Eirimoin,* "the sons of Eremon," *O' Conor, Prolegom.,* I. XCIII.) reminds us of the Sanscrit *aryaman,* friend, son, also a divinity. *Eredot* [*Tigh.,* 201] suggests *Aryamadatta,* a man's name, but more nearly still the Persian *Aridatha,* in the book of Esther; [IX., 8.] (compare Irish *dath, data,* a gift.) On Persian names compounded with Ἀρίο, see Pott, *Etymol. Forsch.,* I., LXX., sqq. Whether the German ones with *ari, aro, aria, ario* belong to the same class is very doubtful, on account of the ambiguity with *hari* and the like. [cf. Graff., I., 431, and Grimm, *D.R.A.,* 292.] *Ariman* has indeed nothing to do with *Eremon,* as *man* there certainly means "vir." The *Ariomanus* of the Boii [in Zeuss 735, from Gruter, 670, 3,] bore perhaps a Teutonic name.[h]

From the Zend *areta, ereta*=Sanscrit *rta,* Burnouf explains the old name of the Persians Ἀρταῖοι, [in Herodotus, VII., 61]: concerning Ἀρτα in proper names Pott has thoroughly treated. [*Etym. Forsch,* I., LXII., LXX; compare Lassen, *Ind.,* 6.] Here the Irish again shows a remarkable analogy in the form *art,* noble, generous; also God. *Art* frequently occurs alone as a proper name; [*Four Mast.,* 38, 83]; but also in composition, as *Artgal* [*Tighern.* 212, compare *Irgal,* 220] *Artbran* [228] *Artrach* [248], *Artri* [*Four Masters,* 309.] But as *art* likewise signifies a "bear," ἄρκτος, the analogy of the names remains doubtful.[i]

Although the Zend name of a country, *Airyana,* from which have risen both the *Ariana* of Strabo and the Persian *Irán* with more enlarged geographical applications, approaches remarkably

[g] Compare *Aireachtach,* a proper name, [*Tighernach,* 240, 254] also *airech,* first, [*Zeuss,* 778] and *airechas,* principality. [750.]

[h] Compare *Arignotus* [*Inscript. Murat.,* 1459, 5, *apud* Zeuss, *Gram. Celt.,* 19], and the Irish names *Erudan,* [*Annals of Ulster,* 247] and *Eruman.* [*Ibid,* 248.]

[i] Whether the Irish *ard,* high, is the same as the word *art,* and belongs to the root *r,* to strive upwards, is hard to determine, so long as we remain uncertain as to the genuineness of the last consonant. In Zeuss we find *artu,* height, [70], but also *arddu,* higher [*ibid*] and *ard* might be derived from the root *rdh,* to increase.

to *Eirin*, still I believe that they cannot be immediately brought into comparison, and that *Eirin* has been formed independently by an *n* suffix. But the exactly similar attenuation of the original *ar*, *air*, into *ir*, *îr*, in both East and West, is very remarkable. In Zend we find even *îra* occurring for *airya*, [Brockh., *Gl.*] although, according to Burnouf, this is only a false orthography. Along with *Irân*, Persia, in the general sense, and *Irâni*, Persians, we find the very same attenuation in *Ir*, Ossetian, and the Ossetic nation in a collective sense; *Irôn* an Ossetian, and Ossetic, [Sjogren, *Oss. Gramm.* 396], of which the author remarks that mention is made by the Greek writer Scylax; [*Peripl.*] and by Apollodorus, [*Bibl. et Fragmen.*] of *Arioi* and *Ariana* in the vicinity of the Caucasus, on the South side.

It is well known that *Arya*, *Airya*, is the oldest known national name of the Indo-Germanic stock, common to the two great eastern branches, and widely spread in Asia. What precise idea was attached to it is indeed uncertain, but it must have been an honourable appellation, and very likely signified "the worthy," "the excellent." The numerous points of contact which we have pointed out in the root and the derived forms, make it in the highest degree probable that the national name of the Irish, *Er*, "the good," "the honorable," "the heroic," is connected with that of the *Arians*, and that the form *Ereo* is perhaps actually equivalent to *Arya*. If we consider that the Gaelic Celts unquestionably belong to the earliest migrations from the common mother-country; if we further observe the many pure Sanscrit words and roots which the Irish alone, of all the cognate languages, has preserved, a circumstance which Bopp has already pointed out, [*Celt. Spr.*, 4] and of which an example may be seen in my Essay on the names of the sun, [Kuhn's *Zeitschr.*, IV., 346], this conjecture will not seem too bold. On the importance of this analogy I need scarcely make any observation. Until now, except the doubtful German *Arii* (Harii ?) in Tacitus, 43, we had found in Europe no vestige of the ancient name, and we were inclined to restrict it to the two eastern races. From its re-appearance in the far west it proves itself now in fact to be most primitive, and it will, consequently, have been *the first name of the Indo-Germanic race.*

SAINT PATRICK'S PURGATORY.

BY WILLIAM PINKERTON,

PART IV.

MODERN HISTORY.

—"And saw the Irish isle,
Where men doe tell straunge tales, that long ago
St. Patrick built a solitarie cave,
Into the which, they that devoutly go,
By purgying of their sinnes their souls may save.
Now, whether this report be true or no,
I not affirme, nor yet I not deprave."[a]

In the *Registry* of John Bole, Primate of Ireland, who died in 1470, the ecclesiastical establishment, on the larger or Saint's Island[b] in Lough Derg, is described as the filial place of the monastery of the Apostles Peter and Paul of Armagh:—["locus filialis monasterii Apostolorum Petri et Pauli Armachæ."] The *Annals of Munster* ascribe its foundation to St. Dabeoc, or Aveog, said to be a contemporary of St. Patrick; and the *Annals of Donegal* relate that it was plundered and burned by Bratachus O'Boyle and McMahon, in the year of grace 1287. King John is said to have visited it when he was in the northern parts of Ireland, an assertion distinctly disproved by Mr. Hardy's valuable *Itinerary* of that monarch. There is some historical interest, however, connected with the place. MacMurrough carried off the Irish Helen, when O'Rourke, her husband, was absent upon a pilgrimage to it, and thus led to the dissentions which "brought the Norman o'er." Still the pleasantest association connected with Lough Derg is the story of Carolan's meeting with Bridget Cruise, the inspirer of the finest efforts of his youthful genius. The sightless bard, when landing on the mainland, after having performed a pilgrimage, was assisted out of the boat by a lady, who ac-

[a] From Sir John Harrington's translation of the *Orlando Furioso*. The original Italian of Ariosti is as follows:—

"E vide Ibernia fabulosa, dove
Il santo veechiarel fece la cava,
In che tanta mereê par, ehe si trove
Che l'uom vi purga ogni sua eolpa prava."

[b] This is the name given to the larger island in Lough Derg in the maps of the Ordnance Survey, and not Holy Island, as, by some unaccountable mistake, I stated in my second paper on this subject. There is an ancient burial-ground on this island, a ruined quay, and the remains of the bridge which joined it to the main-land.

cidentally happened to be present. No word had been spoken, when Carolan, recognising, by the touch alone, the hand of his long-parted-from lady-love, exclaimed, in accents of surprise, mingled with the tenderest emotion—"By the head of my gossip this is the hand of Bridget Cruise." Then, as a modern Irish poet and musician, the Carolan of our own day, sings :—

"From his lips soft blessings came,
He kissed her hand with truest flame,
In trembling tones he named *her* name,
Although he could not see;
But oh! the touch the bard could tell,
Of that dear hand remembered well.
Ah!—by many a secret spell
Can true-love find her own!"

I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Reeves, of Ballymena, for a reference to another early visit to the Purgatory, which I shall now take the opportunity of briefly alluding to before proceeding downwards to a less distant point on the stream of time. It is a manuscript, in the Palatinate Library at Vienna, purporting to be an account of the visit of one George Chrissiphani, a noble Hungarian.[c] The pilgrimage was made in 1353, and attested by the certificates of Richard, the Primate; Nicolas MacCatasid, bishop of Clogher; Paul, prior of the Purgatory; and John de Fronwichk, prior-general of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, in Ireland. Chrissiphani describes no less than twenty-eight different *scenes* that he witnessed in the other world. There can be no doubt that the whole story was concocted for some politico-ecclesiastical purpose; for, in the paradise part of Purgatory, the Hungarian had the honour of a lengthened interview with the Archangel Gabriel, by whom he was intrusted with important private communications to deliver to several of the reigning monarchs on his return to earth; among others to Edward III. of England, John II. of France, Pope Innocent VI., and the *Soldan of Babylon!*

The earliest notice that I have met with of the Purgatory, after its demolition in 1497, is in the interesting *Memoirs* of Sir James Melvil, of Hall-Hill. Melvil, when a youth, was sent by the Queen Mother of Scotland, in the suite of Jean de Monluc, bishop of Sens, and French ambassador at the Scottish court, to France, there to be brought up in the service of the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots. The ambassador, however, previous to his return to France, had some negotiations to conduct in Ireland, and Melvil accompanied him thither. His business in Ireland was, as Melvil relates, "to learn particularly the notions and likelihoods of the offers made by Oneel, Odonel, Odocart, and Callock, who were willing to shake off the yoke of England, and become subject to the King of France; providing that he would procure the Pope's gift of Ireland, and then send to their help two thousand hacbutiers, two hun-

[c] It is entitled *Historia eorum quæ contigerunt Georgio de Ungaria filio cujusdam Magnatis Ungarici in Purgatorio S. Patricii.* A fuller description of it will be found in Mr. Cooper's Appendix A. to *Report of English Record Commissioners.* And as I believe that two copies only of this work are accessible to the public, I may add that the description is extracted from Denis' *Codices Manuscripti Theologici Bibliothecæ Palatinæ Vendobonensis Latini aliarumque Occidentis Linguarum.*—Vienna, 1796.—Montfaucon mentions a German, and, if I recollect right, a Swedish version of this MS., in the library of the Vatican.

dred light horsemen, and four cannon." The bishop and his suite sailed from Dunbarton sometime in the January of 1545,[d] and had a long and tempestuous passage, for they did not arrive in Lough Foyle till Shrove-tuesday. And this was the more unfortunate, for, on the next day, when they arrived at Odocart's house—"a great dark tower"—Lent had commenced, and the "cold cheer" of "herring and bisket" was their only solace, after the hardships of their voyage. Melvil's relation of what took place in Odocart's tower is exceedingly amusing and characteristic of the period, but will not very well bear repetition at the present day; nor indeed has it any connection with my subject, still I am tempted, for the amusement of the reader, to give the following extract. It appears that an Irishwoman—who had obtained admittance into the bishop's chamber—"found a little glass within a case standing in a window, for the coffers were all wet with the sea-waves that fell into the ship during the storm. She, believing that it had been ordained to be eaten, because it had an odoriferous smell, licked it clean out, which put the bishop in such a rage that he cried out for impatience * * * for it was a viol of the most precious balm that grew in Egypt, which Solyman the Great Turk had given as a present to the said bishop, after he had been two years ambassador for the King of France, in Turkey, and was esteemed worth 2,000 crowns."

Melvil does not appear to have visited the Purgatory himself, but he tells us:—"Now the ambassador met in a secret place with Oneel, and his associates, and heard their offers and overtures. And the patriarch of Ireland did meet him there, who was a Scotsman born, called Wauchope,[e] and was blind of both his eyes, and yet had been divers times at Rome by post. He did great honour to the ambassador, and conveyed him to see St. Patrick's Purgatory, which is like an old coal pit, which had taken fire, by reason of the smoke that come out of the hole."

The history of St. Patrick's Purgatory is scarcely so much the record of a particular place, as it is that of a prevailing opinion or belief. After its demolition, as already related, by order of Pope Alexander, little if any notice is to be found of it, for a considerable period; but towards the close of the sixteenth century, it began to recover part, at least, of its ancient reputation, and to become once more the resort of pilgrims. Various causes, with more or less probability, have been assigned for this circumstance. In the *Acta Sanctorum* we are told that, in the first instance, the wondrous entrance to the other world had been taken away for a period, simply because the people of Ireland, having attained a high degree of sanctity, did not require such a stimulus to virtue, and awful warning against vice, as that which the Purgatory afforded; but, in latter days, when the Reformation separated the English Church from that of Rome, the miraculous manifestation was providentially revived, not only to confirm the adherents to the ancient faith, but to confound, if not convert, the

[d] The date given by Melvil, but obviously an error; for he alludes to Edward VI. as the then reigning monarch of England, who did not ascend the throne till two years afterwards. From other sources, however, it is known that the interview between Montluc and the Northern Irish chiefs took place in 1548.

[e] Wauchope was the first titular Primate of Ireland, and one of the four Irish prelates who attended the Council of Trent. Sarpi, the historian of the Council, describes him as being very short-sighted, but the best traveller by post in the world:—Huomo di brevissima vista era commendato di questa, di corrar alla posta meglio d'huomo del mondo.

followers of the modern heresy. However this may have been, it is certain that the belief in the nature or character of the place assumed a new and less marvellous phase, about the period referred to. Then some of the more learned writers of the Roman Church begin to speak of it as a Purgatory for the living, not for the dead. With this change of opinion, there commenced a revival of the pilgrimage, but not as it was before. The visits of the earlier pilgrims were few and far between, while they, themselves, were generally men of wealth and birth from distant countries. They visited the Primate, Bishop of the Diocese, and Prince of the territory, as well as the Prior of the convent, and however they went away, were not expected to come empty-handed. On the contrary,the modern pilgrims swarmed in numerous ragged hordes, and transacted business with the Prior only. Edward Campion, the learned Jesuit, and unhappy victim to the brutal bigotry of Queen Elizabeth, seems to have had no belief whatever in the earlier legends of the Purgatory. In his *Historie of Ireland*, written about 1570, he says, speaking of the church on the island:—

"At the east end a door leadeth into a closet of stone, which they call the Purgatory, because devout people have resorted thither for penance, and reported at their returne strange visions of pain and bliss appearing unto them. They used to continue therein foure and twenty houres, which doing one while with ghostly meditations, and another while with a dreadful conscience of their deserts, they saw, as they say, a plaine resembling of their owne faults and virtues, with the horror and comfort thereto belonging, that one so terrible, the other so joyous, that they verily deem themselves for the time to have sight of Heaven and Hell. Touching the credit of those matters, I see no cause but a Christian man, assuring himself that there is both Hell and Heaven, may, without vanity, on sufficient information, be persuaded that it might please God, at sometime, for considerations to his infinite wisdome known, to reveale by miracles the vision of joyes and paines eternal; but that altogether in such sort, and so ordinarily, and to such persons, and by such means, as the common fame, and some records thereof doe utter, I neither believe nor wish to be regarded. And a man of indifferent judgement may soone suspect that in the drift and strength of imagination, a contemplative person would happily suppose the sight of many strange things which he never saw. Since writing hereof, I met with a priest, who told me that he had gone the same pilgrimage, and affirmed the order of the premises; but that he, for his owne part, saw no sight in the worlde, save only fearfull dreames, when he chanced to nod, and those, he said, were exceeding horrible: further, he added that the place seemed to him scarcely able to receive sixe persons."

Stanihurst, writing in 1586, says, that in the memory of man, the persons who enter this Purgatory are sensible of no terrors unless they should happen to fall asleep. But, he continues, in the first establishing of religion (at which time miracles are generally most frequent,) it seems very likely that many strange and terrible sights used to appear before the eyes of the penitents.[f]

[f] Verum qui nostra memoria in hunc sese locum compingunt, nullum sibi terrorem injici sentiunt, nisi forte eos arctior somnus complectatur. Sed in prima religionis consitura (quo tempore miracula ut plurimum crebriora sunt) veri quidem simile mihi videtur, quam plurima idola, truculenta et terribilia adspectu, solita fuisse pœnitentibus ante oculos observari,—*De Vita S. Patricii Hiberniæ Apostoli.*—Antwerpiæ, 1587.

Gabriel Pennotus, writing in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, asserts that no one considers St. Patrick's Purgatory to be the purgatory of souls, wherein, by the ordinary appointment of God, they are purgated after this life; but a special purgatory for the living, in which men, being truly penitent, may in this life give full satisfaction for their sins.[g]

Messingham, whose *Florilegium* was published in the same year, vainly endeavours to reconcile the horrible bottomless gulf [horribilis vorago sine abysso] of the ancient legend with the Purgatory of his own period. Some, he says, are of opinion that the cave or pit, shown by Christ our Lord to St. Patrick, is either unknown or invisible, or, at least, is not that into which the pilgrims go, and are shut up for twenty-four hours; but either lies hid underneath, or a few paces from it. So, according to ancient tradition, have I been informed by the Reverend John Gamnhey, abbot of Leathra: and John MacKegan, a priest, seventy years of age. Others consider that the place is altogether unknown, and will not be seen by man until the end of the world; like the sepulchre of Moses, and the ark of the Covenant, among the ancient Hebrews, previous to their return from Babylon. And this last is the opinion of Father Eugene Duffey, a Franciscan, and man of well-known piety, as I have been told by Torny Mulchonry, an aged antiquary.[h]

Whether, continues Messingham, Duffey, Gamnhey, Conry, Kegan, and others be correct in this relation, which, nevertheless, is not the opinion most generally received, I shall say nothing at present; but grave men consider that we ought not rashly to abandon the common belief that prevails among so many, namely, that the cave, covered in like a low vault, which is seen in the island of Lough Derg, is the true site of the pit that we seek.[i]

Still utterly unable to assimilate the ancient description with the actual modern state of the place, Messingham attempts to extricate himself from the dilemma by asserting that, even in his own time, in the memory of living men, the cave had been filled up level with the adjoining surface; though at the first institution of the place it was deeper, and, according to the tradition of old people, the filling up was performed under the sanction of the bishop and Apostolical chair.[j]

---

[g] Nam qui de Sancti Patricii Purgatorio loquuntur, non dicunt illud fuisse Purgatorium animarum, in quo illæ in altera vita de lege Dei ordinaria purgantur, sed Purgatorium speciale vlventium, in quo homines in hac vita degentes, et vere pœnitentes, pro pœnis illorum peccatis in hac vita debitis, ex speciali Dei concessione satisfaciunt.—*Historia Tripartita* Romæ, 1624.

[h] Nonnullos opinari ipsum antrum seu puteum Sancto Patricio a Christo Domino ostensum vel incognitum esse et inconspicabilem: vel saltem non eundem esse, quem peregrini ineunt cum in specu recluduntur ad horas viginti quatuor; sed vel subtus delitescere, vel paucis ab inde passibus distare. Ita ex vetere traditione retulit nobis R. D. Johannes Gamhneus, Abbas de Leathra, et Johannes Mhac Kegan, Sacerdos septuagenarius.—Alii opinati sunt ignorati pœnitus locum, nec appariturum hominibus, nisi in fine sæculi, ut quod de sepulchro Moysis veteres Hebræ, et de Arca Testamenti ante regressum e Babylone: sic de hoc puteo sentiendum esse. Atque hanc opinionem Patri Eugenio Duffio ex instituto S. Francisci, vulgatæ pietatis viro, me audiente tribuebat Tornius Mulchonrius rei antiquariæ ex officio deditus et ipse dierum perantiquus.—*Florilegium.*

[i] Si vera sit Duffii, Gamhnæi, Conrii, Kegani, et aliorum de hoc relatio, quorum tamen minus recepta sententia est, de re ipsa in alterutram partem nihil nunc statuo; nec temere putant recedendum viri graves a communiora opinione et persuasione, quæ visa est apud plures indistincte obtinuisse, in Insula Darrigii cavernam illam, quæ adhuc spectabilis est sua humili et demissa fornice concameratam, esse verum situm in quo continetur puteus, quem quærcmus.—*Ibid.*

[j] Et quanquam nostris hisce diebus, et ab hominum longissima memoria fundus speluncæ complanatus sit, et reliquæ terræ coæquatus, tamen in prima loci institutione profundiorem fuisse et paulatim elevatum sanci-entibus Episcopis et annuente sede Apostolica, traditio est quorundam seniorum.—*Ibid.*

But though the Purgatory of St. Patrick was at last acknowledged to be not the Purgatory of spirits, still, by those who claimed to be best informed on such matters, it was asserted to be much more efficacious and quicker in its operations. Thus, though centuries of pain would scarcely suffice to wash out sin in the spiritual Purgatory, yet no sinner could possibly be so black that the Purgatory of St. Patrick could not whiten him, like the hair of Ludovico Sforza, in a single night.[k]

Pennotus, too, tells us that those who, being truly penitent, shall enter this Purgatory, and suffer its cruel torments, whether by a real passion or apprehensive imagination, shall be purgated and relieved from all punishments due for their sins.[l]

When such opinions were freely propounded by men of high standing as ecclesiastics and theologians, we cannot wonder at the eagerness of the less-informed classes to crowd to this place; particularly, too, when it was rendered less terrible to their ignorant minds, by its partial disconnection from spiritual terrors. I say partial, because no one questioned the truth of the ancient legends; and the "office" of St. Patrick, containing the following verse, was still chaunted—

"Hic est Doctor benevolus
Hibernicorum Apostolus,
Cui loca Purgatoria
Ostendet Dei Gratia."

In the time of Queen Elizabeth great numbers visited the island, and in the following reign the place itself, from the great concourse of pilgrims annually attracted to it, became an object of jealousy and suspicion to the government. O'Sullivan, who, by the way, always held out for the spiritual character of the place, adduces as a proof of his assertions, that even the heretical English Council tacitly recognise and acknowledge its wonderful nature by prohibiting and preventing the Irish people from visiting it.[m] Peter Lombard, however, the titular Primate of Ireland, writing in 1632, states that the concourse of pilgrims is so great, that the English government neither can prevent them, nor dare to violate the sanctity of the place.[n] Probably in consequence of this shallow boast, at any rate in the May of the same year, the Lords Justices, who then governed Ireland, with the advice of the Privy Council issued an order to Lord Balfour, Sir William Stuart, and others, requiring them to seize the Purgatory of St. Patrick for his Majesty's use, and to make fast the doors and entrance of the same, so as to do away with the continuance of pilgrimage; and the following is the reply to that order, written by Sir William Stuart on the 8th of June, 1632:—

"To the Right Honourable Adam Lord Viscount of Ely, Lord Chancellor, and Richard Earle of

[k] "Non est peccator adeo magnus cui alia satisfactio injungatur quam ut una nocte in eodem sit Purgatorio." *Thyræus. Discursus Panegyrici.* Duœci. 1617.

[l] "Qui vere pœnitentes illud ingressi, et pœnas illas atrocissimas, sive per veram passionem, sive per imaginariam apprehensionem, sustinentes, a pœnis omnibus pro peccato debitis purgabantur." *Hist. Tri.*

[m] "Et hodie etiam hæreticorum Anglorum tacita consentia cognoscitur. Quam enim aliam ob causam hæretici Anglici Consilii jussu custodes Angli prætoritis annis adhibiti Ibernos hujus Purgatorii aditu prohibebant, nisi ut eorum animis certissimam Purgatorii scientiam evellerent." *Patritiana Decas.* Matriti. 1629.

[n] "Et hæc quidem ratio agendæ pœnitentiæ in hoc loco, uti olim frequentata, ita et semper continuata, etiam hodie multis est in usu, adeo ut prælecti Angli nec possint eos impedire, nec locum istum violare ausint." *De Regno Hiberniæ Sanctorum Insulæ Commentarius.* Louvain, 1632.

Corke, Lords Justices of this Kingdome, and to the Lords and others of his Majestie's Honourable Privie Councell.

"Right Honourable,

"I have received the copy of a letter sent by my Lord Balfoure, directed to his Lordship, my selfe, and others, for seizing unto his Majesty's use S. Patrick's Purgatory, and his Lordship appointed me to meete him neare the Lough the fifth day of this month, whither I accordingly came, and staid in the comfortlesse place almost two dayes and one night, none coming. And then I got intelligence that the Abbot, Priests, and Fryars, which were in the Island, had gotten knowledge of your Lordship's directions; whereupon in the night time they stole out of the Island in a boat, which at the least would carry forty persons. Whereupon I sent to search for the said boat, which was found and brought unto me. And perceiving that none of the rest, mentioned in your Lordship's letters, were likely to come, I being confident that you would take it in good part, that I should rather upon such occasion varie from your directions than leave your intentions unperformed, I caused to land some men upon a little Island, where Fryars doe inhabit, neare unto the other Island, which is called S. Patrick's Purgatory, where I found foure hundred and seventy-one persons doing such fooleries as is not to be imagined could be done among Christians, a taste whereof your Lordship may perceive by this inclosed description. All the aforesaid number of persons I have caused to be put safe to shore: which was done without any kinde of violence. For, seeing the Priests and Fryars had left the Island, and carryed with them all manner of Provision and goods that therein was, the people were willing and desirous to be drawne on shore. The which being done, I did cause the Boate, which was the safe guard of the Island, to be drawne on shore, and delivered the same unto the friends and servants of one Master Magrath, unto whom the Boate, Island, and Countrie doe belong, and told them that it was your Lordship's directions that the same should not bee meddled withall, nor the Island any more frequented until his Majestie's pleasure were fully knowne, and that your Lordships would signifie the same more at large. All things being thus fairly done, I hope your Lordships will not dislike that I adventured my selfe alone to doe that which was trusted unto me and others. And I am well assured that if I had slipt that occasion, your intentions should not have beene executed. So, humbly desiring to be excused for what is done amisse, I take leave, and will ever remaine,

"Your Lordship's ready and hnmble servant,

"William Stuart."

"The abuse of pilgrimage" still continuing, the Lords Justices resolved to have recourse to more stringent measures, and accordingly, on the 13th of September, in the same year, they issued the following orders for the total demolition of the Purgatory:—

"BY THE LORDS JUSTICES AND COUNCELL.

"ADAM LOFTUS CANC. R. CORKE.

"Forasmuch as the frequent and publicke resort of people in great numbers to that place or Island called S. Patrike's Purgatory, there performing superstitious *ceremonies, pilgrimages, and offerings*, is so extreamely abusive and superstitious, as is not fit to be endured. We, therefore, taking the same into our due consideration, and foreseeing that albeit there may be a seeming cessation there for a time from those abuses and superstitions, in regard they observe the State to resent the same: Yet many times the seduced people will secretly finde opportunitie to resort thither, and so by stealthe continue those superstitious abuses, while the place standeth as it now doth. We have therefore adjudged it the best and fittest meanes to prevent and wholly take away the continuance of that abuse hereafter, that the place be defaced and utterly demolished. And therefore we doe hereby order and resolve that letters shall be dispatched from this Board unto the Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of Clogher, Sir John Dunbarre, High Sheriffe of the County of Fermanagh, Edward Tarle-

ton, Esquier, High Sheriff of the Countie of Donnegall, Edward Archdale, and Leonard Blennerhassett, Esquier, and Archibald Areskon, clearke, or any three or more of them, whereof the said Lord Bishop, or Sir John Dunbarre, or Edward Tarleton, to be always one. Requiring and authorising them, or any three or more of them as aforesaid, by or before the third day of December next, to cause the chappel and all the Irish houses now scituate in that Island which is called S. Patricke's Purgatory, all the buildings, pavements, walls, works, foundations, *Circles*, *Caves*, *Cels*, *and Vaults* thereof, of lime or stone, or otherwise, to be broken downe, defaced, and utterly demolished. And that also called S. Patricke's *Bed*, as also that rocke or stone standing in the water there having a clift in it, which (as is vainely said) S. Patricke made kneeling at his prayers: And also that stone covered there with water which hath the print of a man's foot, and which (as the seduced people do believe) S. Patricke made with standing thereupon; and likewise all other things there, whereunto those superstitious people have used to goe in pilgrimage: And that they cause all the stones to be throwne into the Lough or water wherein the Island standeth, saving onely such of the stones of the said chappel as James MacGrath, Esquier, the proprietor of the land, will forthwith carry cleere out of the island, and make use of in some other place. We doe also order that the said James MacGrath shall forthwith enter into bond to the Clerk of the Councell for his Majestie's use, in the summe of one thousand pounds English, with condition to beare all the charges necessary, for the performing of all that by this order is required to be done, and to be personally present at the seeing of it done, and not to suffer any interruption or impediment to be given thereunto. And that such of the stones of the chappel as the said James shall carry out, shall not at any time hereafter during his life be returned to that Island. And that he shall from time to time take order, that no person or persons be admitted at any time hereafter during his life with his permission or knowledge, or privily to go in to that Island or place called S. Patrickes Purgatory, to the end to say Masse there, or to performe any *pilgrimage*, *offeringes*, or any other superstitious *ceremonies* there. And that he shall suffer no Boate to bee kept there to pass to or from the said Island. And that during his life there shall not be any conventions there of *Jesuits*, *Fryars*, *Priests*, *Nuns*, or any other superstitious Orders of the popish pretended Cleargie, that the said MacGrath shall be able to prevent; which Bond being so entered into, the Sargeant at Armes, in whose custodie the said MacGrath now remayneth, is upon Certificate hereof from the Clerke of the Councell to release the said MacGrath, he paying his fees. For which a copy of this Order, attested by the Clerke of the Councill, shall be his warrant.—Dated the 13 of Sept., 1632.

"Charles Wilmot, Thom. Baltinglasse, Robert Ranelagh, William Parsons, John King, Thom. Rotheram."

How this order was carried into effect, there is an account in the following letter from James Spottiswood, Bishop of Clogher, to the Lord Primate, the learned Ussher.

"MOST REVEREND AND MOST HONOURED LORD.

"Your Grace like enough may be desirous to know what is done touching the demolition of S. Patricke's Purgatory, required by the Lords Justices and Councell to be done by me, and some other joynt Commissioners with me. May it please your Grace, then, the next day after I tooke my leave of yourself at Ardmagh, I sent the Coppy of the Lords Justices and Councell's Letter, with the Order and Commission, to every one of my fellow Commissioners, and appointed our Randevouze at the towne next Lough-derge, the 25 day of this instant October.

"From them I received answer, that they might well come alone, but could get none to accompany them, or any labourer or tooles upon any tearmes; and that an hundred men were not able to execute the Commission in a fortnight: notwithstanding whereof, I required them againe to keep the day, and assured them, however, that I my selfe would be present; and accordingly I came to the place appointed the 24 day, with some twenty able men in my company well armed; and brought with us all sorts of tooles fitting for the service.

"If I had not come so appointed, we had returned without effecting anything: for the High Sheriffe of Donnegall came not at the day. The Highe Sheriffe of Farmanagh, on the other side, came no better appointed than the one serving man; and showed himself altogether unwilling, and refused to enter the Island. I had many discouragements myselfe. For first I was forced on a rainy day, on a bleake place without any shelter to horse or man, three houres before we could have the Boate. The winde in the meantime did rise, and there was none could take in hand to guide the Boate through dangerous rockes lying betweene the maine and the Island. Againe we were certified that we might be hardly put to it for fault of victuals, if we tooke them not in with ourselves; for the windes would sometimes blowe ten dayes together so strong that no Boate could venture out or in: notwithstanding all which discouragements, I adventured to goe in without victuals, and stayd in the Island till the service was done.

"The first thing I searched diligently after was the *Cave*, wherein I remembered your Grace enjoyned me to digge to the very foundations, and leave no corner unsought, and so I did; I caused to dig about it on all sides, till I came to the Rocke, but found no appearance of any secret passage, eyther to the Chappell or to the Lough: neyther would the nature of the ground suffer it; in a word this Cave was a poore beggerly hole, made with some stones, layd together with men's hands without any great art: and after covered with earth, such as husbandmen make to keepe a few hogs from the raine.

"When I could finde nothing there, I undermined the Chappell, which was well covered with shingles, and brought all downe together. Then wee brake downe the Cireles and Saint's Beds, which were like so many Cole-pits, and so pulled downe some great Irish houses. Thus, when I had defaced all, saving one Irish house, I came out of the Island myselfe, and left one halfe of my men behind to pull that down also as soon as they should see me landed, not sooner; lest if by a storme we were driven backe, we might want a place to shelter us.

"The countrie people expected that S. Patricke would have wrought some miracle; but thankes be to God none of my companye received any other harme than the bad wayes, broken cawsies, and the dangers going in a little Boate: Yet our comfort is, wee effected that for which we came thither, which was more than was expected could be done in so short a time, which hath wonderfully displeased them who were bewitched with these fooleries. But that I doe not stand much upon, in regard I have obeyed the Command of the State, and punctually also done what your Grace did enjoyne: whose directions I shall be ever ready to followe, and shall ever remaine

"Your Grace's most affectionate in all duty,

"*Clogher, Oct.* 31, *Ann.* 1632." "James Clogher.

It will be seen that in his letter to the Primate, Bishop Spottiswood did not give a very particular description of the places, the destruction of which he so zealously superintended. But from the particular mention of various objects in the order of the Lord Justices and Council, it appears that the principal features of the island were well known to the government. Indeed, a gentleman named Ash had previously visited it, by the express command of James I.; and one can fancy that an inquiry into the nature of the mysterious Purgatory would possess considerable interest for the pedantic pupil of Buchanan, the author of the *Demonologia*, and the witch-destroying Solomon of Scotland. After Ash, a Mr. Coppinger visited the island; and still later, Dillon, Earl of Roscommon, a convert from the Church of Rome, visited the Purgatory, and, aided by one Anthony Lipset, a surveyor, was enabled to give an accurate description of the whole place. It is highly probable that Dillon was appointed by the Lords Justices to visit and report upon the island, previous to their taking mea-

sures towards the suppression of the pilgrimage.[o] I have long vainly searched for any printed or manuscript records of these visits to Lough Derg: Bishop Spottiswood, however, quotes freely from them,[p] and I shall quote as freely from him, adding occasional corroborations from other sources.

Without the compass of the island (according to Lord Dillon) and within the water, towards the north-east of the island, there stand certain rocks or stones, about two yards from the shore. The least of these, and one next the shore, is that whereon they say St. Patrick was wont to kneel one third part of the night. In this stone there is a cleft or print, reported to be made by St. Patrick kneeling thereupon. The other stone is much greater, stands further in the lake, is covered with water, and called *Lackevany:* this is esteemed to be of such singular virtue that the mere act of standing upon it doth heal the soreness of the pilgrim's feet occasioned by their going barefoot on sharp rocks and stones.

The entrance into the island (for there is but one about the south-east point thereof) is narrow, rocky, and rugged; this they report (for there is no end of such reports) to be the entrails of the great serpent[q] metamorphosed into stone.

In this island there is a little church, dedicated to St. Patrick, called Reglis, covered with shingles, and being within the walls forty feet long and nine feet broad; out of this, on the south side, an arch gives entrance into a small chapel, ten feet wide and fifteen feet long—the walls of both being two-and-a-half feet thick.

It would appear that, previous even to Lord Dillon's visit, the place had suffered, in its decorations at least, for he does not say anything of the embellishments thus mentioned by Mr. Coppinger:—"The church is furnished at the east with a high altar covered with linen cloth, over which directly do hang the image of our Lady, with our Saviour in her arms; on the right hand hangs the picture of the three Kings offering their presents to our Saviour; and on the left hand the picture of our Saviour on the cross. Near the altar, on the south-side, there stands upon the ground, an old worm-eaten image of St. Patrick: and behind the altar, at the end of the stone work, another of the same fabric, older in appearance, called St. Aviogo; and on the right hand, upon the altar, stands one like the former, called St. Volusius."

Returning to Lord Dillon's description, he continues:—"At the north side of the church, and ten feet distant from it, appeareth that whence the island hath the name,—St. Patrick's cave, pit, or Purgatory, for by all these names it is known. The entrance thereinto is without any or very little descending, the walls are built of ordinary stone, the top is covered with broad stones overlaid with earth, and overgrown with grass. It is two feet and one inch wide in most places, and three feet

[o] "Vers la fin du regne de Jaeques I. deux seigneurs, savoir Richard Boyle Comte de Corke, et Adam Loftus Cancellier d'Irlande, poussez de la legitime curiosite de decouvrir le vrai de cette affaire, envoyerent faire d'exactes perquisitions sur le lieu par des personnes de probite." Beeverel, *Les Delices de la Grande Bretagne et del'Irlande.* Leide, 1707.

[p] In *Patricius His Purgatory.* Misled by the general voice, I ascribed in a previous paper the authorship of this work to Bishop Jones, the successor of Spottiswood. I am now satisfied, from internal evidence, that it was really written by the latter.

[q] The mythical monster wounded by Conan, and subsequently slain by St. Patrick.—See the second paper on this subject.

high; so that they are enforced to stoop, who go into it. It is sixteen feet and one half long, whereof twelve feet runs right forward, and four feet and a half turns towards the church; at the corner of the said turning, a little crevice admits a very little light."

Messingham closely agrees with this description. He says that the cave is so narrow and low in the roof that a man of common stature could not sit—let alone stand—upright in it. By tight squeezing nine pilgrims could be stowed away in it.[r]

Peter Lombard, also, tells us what the "crevice" was for; it admitted light, and the person, among the enclosed penitents, who was appointed to read the *Canonical Hours*, had the privilege of taking his place by it. Moreover, the priest came occasionally to this crevice, and through it whispered spiritual consolation to the captives, especially if he learned that they were troubled with temptations.[s]

The cave, as this disgusting human stye was absurdly termed, being incapable of holding more than nine persons, the pilgrims lost considerable time by waiting on the island for their turn to enter. To remedy this inconvenience another den was constructed for females;[t] but this gave offence, the pilgrims not considering it to be the genuine place. However, when Lord Dillon visited the island, the resort of pilgrims was so great, that the construction of a number of other penitential cells was contemplated by the prior.

"Between the church and the Purgatory," (continues Dillon) "there is a small rising ground and a heap of stones, with a little stone cross, partly broken, standing therein; and at the east end of the church there is another heap of stones, on which there is another cross made of interwoven twigs; this is known by the name of St. Patrick's altar, on which there do lie three pieces of a bell, which they say St. Patrick used to carry in his hand. Here also lies a certain knotty bone of some bigness, hollow in the midst, like the nave of a wheel, out of which issue, as it were, natural spokes. This is shown as a great rarity, being part, as some say, of the serpent's tail that was killed in the lake; but others say part of one of the serpents banished by St. Patrick.

"Towards the narrowest part of the island are six circles, or cells, or saint's beds, for penance. These are *mansions* (for so are they termed) dedicated to some of the famous Irish saints. They are of stone, and round, and about three-quarters of a yard in height, and have an entrance into them. They are of different sizes. That for Briget being ten feet over within the walls, Collum-Kille, nine; Katherine, nine; Patrick, ten; Avogh and Moloisse, ten; these two last are placed in one cell, and that also is joined to that other of St. Patrick; and the sixth, for Brendan, is ten feet over. These cells, or beds, serve for a great part of their devotions who resort to this pilgrimage,

---

[r] Est autem caverna ipsa lapidea domunculo tam angustis lateribus, et fornice tam depressa, ut homo proceræ staturæ adeo se erigere non posset, ut nec sedere quidem, nisi inclinata cervice valeret, arcte se comprimunt noveni sibi assidentes et acclinantes.—*Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum.*

[s] In uno latere exigua quædam rima est, juxta quam collocari solet quisquis ex ingredientibus tenetur ad horas canonicas recitandas. * * * Ut interea [pater] accedat aliquoties ad rimam, quæ est in speluncæ latere unde inclusos consolatur, præsertim si intelligat ex iis quempiam tentatione divexari. *Commentarius de Regno Hiberniæ.*

[t] The sexes were not mingled in the Purgatory. Messingham says:—Tamen in puteo non includi impermixte, sed viri seorsim et fœminæ vicissim.

about which and in which there are frequent pacings and kneelings, to which end they are compassed with sharp stones, and difficult passages for such as go bare-footed, as all must.

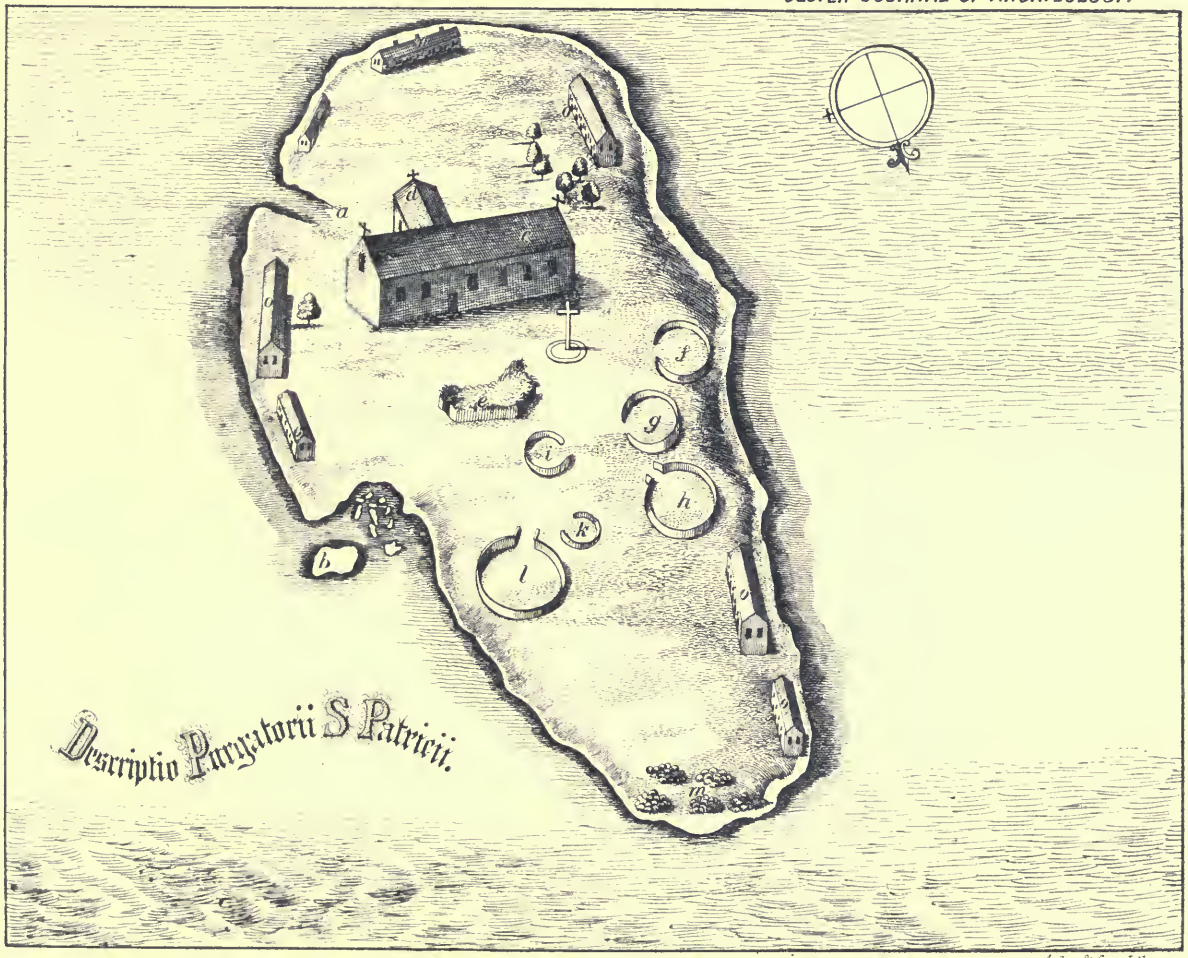
"In the farthest part, and northward, there are in the island where it is narrowest, certain heaps of stones, cast together as memorials for some that have elsewhere been buried; trusting, by the prayers and merits of those who daily resort to this Purgatory, to find some release of their pains in the other.

"Lastly, in the island are several Irish houses, covered with thatch, but lately built, and a foundation for a building of lime and stone. And another house for shriving and confessing those that come thither, which is on the left hand of the entrance into the island. Among these are four places assigned for receiving such as from the four provinces of Ireland—Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Ulster—resorted thither."

The accompanying engraving is taken from one in Ware's *Hiberniæ Antiquitates*, published in 1654. It, however, represents the island as it appeared previous to the demolition of the chapel, in 1632; and, from internal evidence, there can be little doubt that it was originally taken from the survey of Lipset.

a. The landing-place.
b. The stone *Lackevany*.
c. The church called Reglis.
d. The chapel.
e. The Purgatory.
f. Bed of St. Bridget.
g. Do. of St. Katherine.
h. Bed of St. Columba.
i. Do. of St. Brendan.
k. Do. of St. Aveog.
l. Do. of St. Patrick.
m. Memorials of persons buried elsewhere.
n. The confessional.
ooooo. Lodging-houses for the pilgrims.

Messingham and several other ecclesiastical writers of the Roman church give very full accounts of the ceremonies performed by the pilgrims, in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. I had intended to have passed over these without notice, but find that a brief account of them cannot well be omitted. A pilgrim—when admitted as such by the spiritual father, as Messingham phrases it—that is, probably, when he had paid his initiation fee—which, in Lord Dillon's time, was eightpence—took off his shoes, and walked, bare-footed, seven times round the inside, and seven times round the outside of the church. Going then to the saint's beds, he walked seven times round the exterior, and crawled, on his bare knees, the same number of times round the interior of each bed. This being done, he next went to the lake, and placed his bruised and weary feet on the flat stone named Lackevany, from which he felt so much relief as to be soon able to resume his circum-ambulations. This round of penance was termed a "station;" and during its performance a whole rosary of *paters* and *aves* had to be repeated, the lips and feet keeping proper time, so that neither should be in advance of the other; and for seven days, three times per day, morning, noon, and evening, a station had to be performed. At night the wearied penitents slept on hay or straw,



Archer & Sons Lithog.

wrapt in their mantles[u] and truises, without either bed or bed-clothes. On the eighth day a double duty had to be performed, three stations for that day, and three for the following, when the pilgrim would be in purgatorial durance.[v] During these eight days, he ate a little bread or oatmeal, once only in each twenty-four hours, but partook freely of the water of the lake, which had a strong mineral flavour—"ac si a vena metallica fluerat." Early on the ninth morning, the nine pilgrims, intending to enter the Purgatory, were assembled, and addressed by the spiritual father, who warned them of the dreadful peril they were about to incur, in language calculated to arouse the most stupid, soften the most hardened, and terrify the most audacious.[w] And it was particularly impressed upon their minds that, if any one of them fell asleep, the whole number would be immediately seized and carried off by the ever-watchful enemy of mankind—that this had already happened twice, and that saintly prophecy had revealed it *was* to happen a third time. Then, after they had confessed and received the sacrament, a funeral procession was formed, and the nine, preceded by the banner of the cross, [præcunte vexillo crucis] and followed by a crowd of mourners, went towards the Purgatory, as if they were going to death and the other world; in an agony of sighs and groans they begged for forgiveness of all they had offended, and freely forgave all who had offended them; and thus, in tears and lamentations, they entered the cave, and the door being shut, those who had attended the funeral returned to their avocations.[x] Without any other refreshment than a little water, which was occasionally handed in through the crevice, the nine pilgrims passed twenty-four hours in the wretched hole. Then they were revisited by the spiritual father, who released and led them to the lake, where they washed themselves; and lastly, they went to the church, and thanked God that their pilgrimage was accomplished. And the poor creatures had reason to be thankful, for, as Messingham says:—"If it be in summer, who does not know how painful it must be, to be shut up so long in a place so confined and dark, exposed to the heat of the sun from the outside, and the stifling breaths of so many crowded together within. If in winter, how difficult to bear the immersion in the lake; and, whatever season it may be, how painful is the walking bare-footed, and kneeling in penitential cells, the fasting, want of sleep, *et cætera*.[y]

Perhaps the reader will remember Melvil's description of the Purgatory:—"Like an old coal-pit,

[u] Interdiu necesse habent peregrini ter obire sacras stationes; mane, meridie, vesperi; et lassi sub noctem recubant in fœno et stramine sine stragulo, pulvinari, culcitra, nisi vel clamide se involvant vel femoralia capite obstipent. *Messingham.*

[v] Hac austeritate repetita per dies septem, octavo die duplicant stationes sive circuitus, ut satisfaciant pro eodem, et insequenti die, quo ingrediendus erit puteus; neq ue enim illo die puteano fas est circuire, nequidem exire e specu, quem inire debent hac servata ceremonia. *Ibid.*

[w] Eaque verbis conceptis commemorat horroris exempla quæ stupidissimum movere, rigidissimum emollire, audacissimum perterrere possint. *Ibid.*

[x] Quasi in transitu ad alium orbem et e via ad terminum properantes, in agonio postos, cernere est gementes, suspirantes, veniam et pacem offerentes omnibus, et precantes sibi ignoscentes toti mundo quicquid in se deliquisset cum singultu, fletu, lachrymis, plerique subeunt speluncam et occluso de foris ostio, recedunt qui comitabantur funus. *Ibid.*

[y] Quæ si fiat in æstate quis nesciat quam pænosa sit reclusio tam arcta, tam obscura, tam diuturna, ab æstu solis de foris et ab intro æstuante habitu se mutuo constipantium et suffumigantinm in spelunca: sin hyeme fiat, quam difficilis sit immersio in aquam ut emergias ad Pœnitentiam; et quocumque demum tempore fiat, quam dura sit discalceatio tot dierum, exulceratio pedum, cruda deambulatio in asperis et in petricosis stationibus, crebra genuflexio in cellis pænalibus, inedia, chameunia, insomnia, et cætera.

which had taken fire, by reason of the smoke that came out of the hole." This at first seems a very puzzling passage, but a little consideration soon solves the difficulty. The above-mentioned "hole" is, no doubt, the "crevice" already described; and, it is evident, that at any time when the disgusting den was full, and the temperature of the outer air considerably lower than that of the fetid atmosphere within, a very perceptible vapour would be observed issuing through every chink. I have known an alarm of fire take place in a crowded emigrant-ship from this simple cause; and a well-filled omnibus, on a cold morning, often exhibits a similar phenomenon.

Six years after the second demolition of the Purgatory, Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I., vainly attempted to have it restored, and the pilgrimage sanctioned, through the intervention of Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, then Lord Deputy. Of the following letters, the first, written by the Queen's own hand, proves the great desire she had for the accomplishment of her object; and, the second, written by Wentworth, in reply, is no less the production of a statesman than of a courtier.

"Monsieur Wentworth,—Je vous ay escrit cy devant pour des Recommendations; où je vous ay recognue sy prompt à m'obliger, que cela m'a fait vous escrire moy meme, pour vous en remercier; et aussi pour prier d'une chose, qui est, que vous voulies soufrier q'une Devotion que le Peuple de ce Pais a toujours eu à une Place à Saint Patrick, ne soit point abolie: Ils en useront sy modestement, que vous n'aures point de Raison de vous en repentir; et vous me feres un grand Plaisir. Je donne Charge à Mr. Antrim de soliciter l'Affaire aupres de vous. C'est pourquoy je finirary, en vous assurant, que vous ne trouveres point en moy une Personne ingrate, mais une qui vous fera paroistre en toutes Occasions le Desir qu'elle a de vous obliger, et qui sera tojours

"Votre bien bonne Amie,

"Henriette Marie, R."[z]

"May it please your most excellent Majesty,—The gracious lines I received from your Majesty's own Hand, concerning St. Patrick's Purgatory, I shall convey over to my posterity, as one of the greatest honours of my past life.

"For the thing itself, it was by Act of State decry'd under the Government of the late Lords Justices, before my coming into this kingdom; and since I read your Majesty's letter, I can, in truth, say, I am glad none of my Counsel was in the matter.

"Yet, being now absolutely taken away, there will be a greater Difficulty to restore it, than would be barely to continue and tolerate such a Devotion, prohibited by a smaller power, or discontinued for a shorter Time, than this hath been. Besides the Place is in the midst of the great Scottish Plantations; and, I fear, at this Time, where some Men's Zeal hath run them already not only beyond their wits, but almost forth of their Allegiance too, it might furnish them with something to

---

z My Lord Wentworth,—I have before now addressed to you letters of recommendation, in regard to which I have observed, on your part, such a readiness to oblige me, that I am led to write to you myself, to convey to you my acknowledgments of your courtesy; and also to make a request of you, connected with a matter in which you may farther oblige me more than in anything besides: which is, that you will be pleased to allow, that the devotions which the people of that country have ever been wont to pay to a St. Patrick's place there, may not be abolished. They will make use of the permission so modestly that you shall have no reason to repent of having granted it; and you will do me a great pleasure. I have given the Earl of Antrim a commission to urge the matter with you; for which reason I shall add no more than my assurance, that you shall find in me no ungrateful person, but one that will, on all occasions, give you proof of the desire she entertains to oblige you; and who will ever be

"Your very good friend,

"Henrietta Maria, R."

say in Prejudice and in Scandal to his Majesty's Government; which, for the present indeed, is by all Means to be avoided.

"Yet, considering we often observe, that may be had in due season with Ease, which mistimed may prove unsafe and very difficult to obtain; my most humble Opinion is, your Majesty may do passing wisely to let this Devotion rest awhile, till there may be a fitter opportunity apprehended by which to effect your Majesty's Satisfaction therein; which gracious Temper and Forbearance shall also (in my Judgement) dispose and bow all nearer your Majesty's Desires, than any other way that can for the present be taken.

"And I beseech your Majesty to honour me with this Belief, that my Duties in fulfilling your commands are so broad awake, that in all or any, where I may have the Happiness or Ability to serve to your Majesty's Contentment, I shall not need the Sollicitation of my Lord of Antrim, or any other whatsoever, to incite me thereunto; there being nothing abroad which can put me so fast and dilligently on, as my own great chearfulness at Home; which, unminded by any, shall, through al your gracious appointments, express me with all Faith and Attention.

"Your Majesty's most obedient and humble servant,

"WENTWORTH.

"Dublin Castle, 10th October, 1638."

Curiously enough, a collateral part of the great struggle, which swept the intriguing Henrietta from the throne, and brought her husband to the scaffold, was instrumental in establishing the Purgatory. So I learn from a curious satirical poem—if indeed it be worthy of the name—published in London, in 1647, and entitled *Grand Pluto's Progresse through Great Britain and Ireland.* Pluto, the hero of the piece, for all his fine classical name, is no other than our own vulgar Diabolus, who, as subsequently related in Porson's well known poem:—

"left his brimstone bed at break of day,
To visit his snug little farm on the earth,
And see how his stock went on."

In the course of his travels Pluto visited Ireland, and thus addresses the natives:—

"O my dear sonnes! you still maintain the story,
You will not lose St. Patrick's Purgatorie:
You have again erected that same grot,
Which of late years did Clogher's Bishop blot,
Which Florentianus, Bishop of that see
Divulged to his fond posteritie,
Who did believe St. Patrick made relation
Of that same cell by divine inspiration;
And by my sly deceit I did persuade them,
He there on earth a Purgatorie made them,
Which easily upon their fancies wrought."

The author here adds in a note, the Purgatory was "of late years wholly taken away by Henry Jones,[a] Bishop of Clogher, An. 1632, but since this rebellion is again re-edified and augmented by the rebells."

[a] An error. For Henry Jones read James Spottiswood.

There is a good deal about St. Patrick and Lough Derg in a very curious work, entitled *Viaggi de Cinque Anni*, published at Milan, in 1686. The author was Baptist de Burgo, a member of the Clanricard family, and also Abbot of Clare, and Vicar Apostolic *nel regno sempre Cattolico d'Irlanda.* He appears to have been one of the most credulous of men, and firmly believed all the ancient stories of Lough Derg. He tells us that his maternal aunt visited the Purgatory, and was so much benefited by the pilgrimage, that she left all her money to the church, instead of to her expectant relatives. And, among a great deal of matter of a similar description, he asserts that if any Christian should be bitten by a snake or venomous reptile, the sufferer has only to invoke the name of the Trinity and St. Patrick, and he will be cured at once.[b]

Soon after the invention of printing, modernised versions of the legend of Owaine, purporting to be the adventures of one Louis Egnio, went through numerous editions in the French, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, and probably other languages, while a somewhat similar story was enshrined in an English production, entitled—*The Delightful History of the Life and Death of St. Patrick, containing his heroic Aets and Valorous Aehievements in Europe, Asia, and Afriea, with other remarkable Passages from his Cradle to his Grave.* Besides these works, which, being generally issued under ecclesiastical license and sanction, aspired to a religious and historical character, the *professed* romance writer and dramatist founded tales and plots on the wonderful nature of the little island in Lough Derg; and if my readers have not had enough of this Purgatory, I may, at a future period, write a paper on what may be termed its lighter literature. Consequently, we need not be surprised to find, that, even in the last century, the pilgrims to the island firmly believed in the wildest of its ancient legends; considering that the place itself was still in the island, but concealed from human ken, through the decree of a wise though inscrutable Providence; only, however, for a time, till a pilgrim, sufficiently persevering and devout, should, by discovering the entrance, destroy heresy and gain eternal honour here and hereafter. Nor have enthusiasts been wanting to search for the Purgatory of the ancient Legend. One, named Ludovicus Pyrrhus, a native of Brittany, came to Lough Derg, about 1693, for this very purpose. He employed labourers to dig, both on Saints' and Station islands, the neighbouring Roman Catholic Clergy giving their sanction and assistance. After passing two summers, and spending all his money in this vain pursuit, Pyrrhus engaged in trade, the profits of which he for several years devoted to his unavailing search. "At last," as Mr. Richardson[c] tells us, "as he was searching among the rubbish in the largest Island, he found a window with iron stanchers; Mr. Art MacCullen, the priest of the parish, Mr. Mark MacGrath, and Mr. James Maxwell, being present. There happened to be a dark cavity under the window, which made them at first sight believe that it was the mouth of the passage, and therefore they cried for holy water to keep the spirits from breaking out of prison; and the priest immediately left the

[b] Se qualche Christiano fosse morsicato di qualohe serpente, o altro animale velenosa, invocando il nome della Santissima Trinità, e di S Patricio, resterà sano, e salvo.

[c] *The great Folly, Superstition, and Idolatory of Pilgrimages in Ireland.* Dublin, 1727.

island in a great fright, and reported among the common people, that the way into the Purgatory was found out for certain, that he saw it himself, and that it smelt strongly of brimstone. The rest who stayed behind were in great consternation; but Mr. Maxwell, not being so credulous, desired them to have a little patience, and they would soon be convinced of their error, which accordingly fell out; for, after digging a little deeper, they found that it was a cellar window: whereupon Ludovicus Pyrrhus ceased from searching any more, and returned to his native country. Among the rubbish they found a little bell, which is now in the College of Dublin; and an image, which is said to be the image of Caoranach,[d] and is kept in the smaller island for the satisfaction of the pilgrims."

The Reverend——Hewson, Rector of St. Andrews, Dublin, and subsequently Archdeacon of Armagh, visited the island in 1701, and has left the following description of what he then saw:—

"Lough Derg, situate in the Parish of Templecarn, Barony of Tirhu, and County of Donegaul, is about three miles broad one way and two another; it is of no regular Form, has in it one Peninsula and several small Islands.

"The most famous (tho' not largest) of which lies on the South East Side of the Lough, within less than a Mile of the main Land, and is called St. Patrick's Purgatory: 'Tis a barren rocky Piece of Ground, about eighty paces long, and twenty broad, except on the end near the shore, where 'tis about thirty. In it these Things and Places are remarkable:—

"1. Towards the right Hand of the landing place a small heap of stones, with a shank of a cross in it, which they call St. Patrick's Altar.

"2. Three or four paces beyond this another small heap with a Stone Cross placed on it.

"3. And a little beyond that a long heap of rubbish, which is called St. Patrick's Cove.

"4. Towards the left hand of the landing place, are the Ruins of a House and Chappel, which were demolished by Order of the Government, about the year 1680. In the Chappel Ruins are two poor Altars, and near them two other Coves.

"5. Some paces beyond these are the Saints' Beds, being Six Circles of Stones; Four of them put carelessly together, above a Foot high, and five or six in Diameter, with a Gap on one side of each: And the Floors rocky and uneven.

"They stand in no order, within two or three paces of each other: The two last Beds have their walls better made, and somewhat higher, and one of them twice as large as any of the rest.

"They bear the names of Brenan, Bride, Catherin, Colum, Patrick, and Molossa, in the largest Bed, and Avioge.

"6. In the farther part of the Island is a coarse Altar, erected to St. Patrick not many years ago.

"7. Some few small Trees, and a large one, half withered, are about the Ruins, and fifty small Huts in the nearest end of the Island, for the Reception of Pilgrims.

"8. On the North East end of which are three lumps of Rock, three or four Paces within the

[d] The mythical monster already referred to.

Lough, almost contiguous; and a little further in it, the Shank of a stone cross, all about two Foot above water."

By the above description we learn that the chapels, &c. had suffered another demolition about 1680, though probably not to the decrease of the pilgrimage, for no less than three coves, containing sixty persons, were required, instead of the old one that held only nine. The routine of the pilgrims' duties, however, as detailed by Mr. Hewson, differs little from that of an earlier period. "On the ninth Day"—he says—"about two in the morning, the titular Priest of the Parish, whom they call the Prior, puts them into the coves, one of which holds Thirty, another Sixteen, and another Fourteen Persons, the Men and Women separately, receiving Money from every one before they go in. These Coves, that is Caves, are like long coarse built Ovens above ground, about four Foot high and wide, but of different lengths, having each a small Spike-hole on one side. The Pilgrims being thrust into which, the Entrances are closed up with Stones and Dirt, and there they sit starving twenty-four hours without Meat, or any Refreshment except Tobacco and Water, which they receive, as they do all the Light and Air they have, at the Spike-holes. But above all Things avoiding sleep, the Priest telling them, they Devil will carry them away, as he has done two Cave-fulls already, if he catch them Napping.

"The tenth Day at the same hour, they are let out; they go to the Lough, dip themselves thrice, stark naked; put on their Cloths, come to land again; and so their pilgrimage is ended. Their Diet, during the time, is only Oat Cakes and warm Water once a day. But as much Tobacco, Snuff, and Cold Water as they please. There were near five Thousand there last Year, as the Prior told me, who registers their Names; but not two Thousand had been this Year, when I was there, and commonly more Men than Women. Between their Stations they lie in their Huts to ease their Feet, or saunter about taking Snuff and telling Stories."

In 1704 the Purgatory was particularly mentioned in the well-known Act passed by the Irish Parliament, under the title of *An Act to prevent the further growth of Popery*. After reciting that vast numbers of persons assemble at certain seasons at a place called St. Patrick's Purgatory, it enacts that "all such meetings and assemblies shall be deemed and adjudged riots, and unlawful assemblies, and punishable as such, in all or any persons meeting at such places. Pilgrims too were to be fined ten shillings, and, in default of payment, publickly whipped."

In 1727, the Reverend John Richardson, Rector of Belturbet, thus describes the island, as he then saw it:—

"This whole island is a rocky piece of ground, in some places bare, and in the rest having but a very thin covering of earth. It is in length 126 yards, in the broadest place 45, and the narrowest 22 over. The most convenient landing-place is on the south south-east side, where the first thing remarkable that occurs is St. Patrick's altar, with an old cross within a circle on it, inscribed *Jacobus Grah Fieri Fecit*, 1632. Next to this altar is a ruinous church 40 feet long and 11 broad. The chapel is an isle on the south side of the church 16 foot square. It hath been partly repaired

of late and covered with heath. It is open on the side next the old church, and hath an altar on the south side, 4 foot high, covered with a flat stone; on the corner the figure of Caoranach is placed, which is drawn like a wolf (the most pernicious animal in Ireland) with a serpent's tail between its legs, and thrown over its back. The cave, commonly called St. Patrick's Purgatory, is about 10 foot distant from the church; it is 22 feet long, 2 foot and 1 inch wide, and 3 foot high; it hath a bending within 6 foot of the far end, where there is a small window or spike-hole to let in some light and air to the pilgrims that are shut up in it. There is little or none of it under ground, and it seems never to have been sunk deeper than the rock. It is built of stone and clay huddled together, covered with broad stones, and all overlaid with earth; so very different is this renownod pit, as it is falsely stiled in the legends, from the accounts there given of it. The six circles are commonly called the seven saints' penitential beds, viz. St. Brenan's, St. Catharine's, St. Brigid's, St. Columb's, St. Molui's, and St. Patrick's, and St. Aveog's; there are some 9, some 10, and some 11 foot in diameter; but St. Patrick's is 16, for Molui and he lay together. Their walls are about 2 foot high, every one of them having a small gap for an entrance into it. The Irish believe that these Saints lay several nights upon these beds by way of penance for their own sins and the sins of the people; which, if true, the hardness of their lodging made the penance very severe; for they are so rugged and thick set with small pointed stones, that the greatest Saint in the Church of Rome could not bear it now, much less take any rest upon them. The altar of confession is in the remotest part of the island. The stones lying near one another, part above and part under water, are the monster's metamorphosed entrails. The stone about 2 foot and a half under water, is called *leac na mbonn*, that is a flat stone for the soles of the feet. It is smooth, having a hole in the middle, in which there is another stone like the stump of a broken cross. And they say that it hath a singular vertue of curing the bruised and wounded feet of the pilgrims, that stand upon it, from which it takes its name. Lastly there are several booths or cabens set up, near the shore, for the pilgrims to shelter themselves in from the weather."

In an account of Lough Derg, published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in 1775, the writer describes the Purgatory as nothing more than two parallel rows of pretty large stones set upright at the distance of scarcely three feet, with others as large laid over, and altogether forming a kind of narrow vault, of not more than four feet elevation, pervious here and there to the light, not of burning brimstone, but of the sun; for Purgatory is rather above than below the ground.

"This vault is only so long as to hold twelve penitents at once, who sit close to one another in a row, with their chins almost touching their knees, without eating, drinking, or sleeping for the space of twenty-four hours. To prevent in this situation the danger of a nap, each penitent is armed with a long pin, more poignant it seems than conscience herself, to be suddenly inserted into the elbows of his next neighbour, at the first approach of a nod. For if any one penitent should fall asleep in Purgatory, the Devil thereby acquires a plenary right to the whole covey, having already swept away two, and having a prophecy in his favour that he shall get a third."

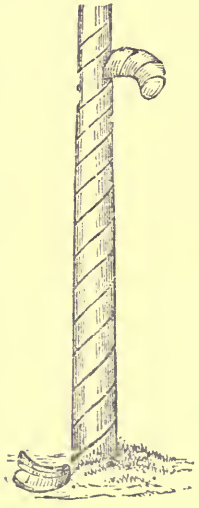
The disagreeable and degrading nature of the penance performed at this place has ever been palliated, to a certain degree, by a spice of romantic interest, arising from the real or mythical dangers the pilgrims are supposed to incur. Two batches of penitents have already been swept away by Lucifer, in spite of corking-pin, and other anti-hypnotics; and as a third is to follow, who knows when or to whom the dreadful calamity will happen. In like manner, the boat, which conveys the pilgrims to the island, has twice sunk with her living freight, and of course, "is to be" lost a third time. A gentleman who lately visited Lough Derg, heard some pilgrims, as they waited for the boat, conversing on this very subject, and seriously discussing, whether the persons, so drowned, were, from the peculiar nature of their deaths, entitled to any particular "benefit" in the other world. That the first mentioned catastrophe ever occurred I am not however prepared to vouch, but the ferry-boat really was lost once at least, as will be seen by the following extract from a *Belfast News-letter* of the year 1796, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Edmund Getty.

"A very melancholy accident happened in this kingdom in July last, which we believe has not been generally noticed, and the truth of which we can aver. A large boat, containing seventy-two pilgrims or penitents, was overset on its passage to one of the islands in Lough Derg, and only two persons saved out of the whole. Our readers are not to be informed that Lough Derg is the greatest place of penance for persons of the Roman Catholic religion of any in Ireland, and that numbers visit it even from such distant parts as the County of Cork. The different penances exercised in it are of the most rigid nature. It is remarkable that greater numbers have flocked to it within the two last years than at any former period."

Carleton, in his *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, and a writer in the first volume of *Household Words*, give full accounts of the more modern state of the island, and the penances still performed there. So I shall have little to say on those matters. I may observe, however, that the penitential stye is now entirely done away with, even the word "Purgatory" is abandoned, and a chapel under the denomination of the "prison" serves instead. The pilgrims, who now generally term themselves "stationers," enter "prison" at seven o'clock in the evening; the men ranging themselves on one side of the building, the women on the other. Here they remain without food or sleep for twenty-four hours; they are not absolutely obliged to stay within the building, during the whole of this time, but under certain restrictions may pass in and out occasionally. The pin is no longer used to stir the consciences of drowsy sinners, but long sticks are freely employed to tap the heads of the heavy-headed.

At the present day the visitor to Lough Derg will meet with nothing to please the eye or gratify the mind. The spot once so famous over all Europe, and to which a current of noble and knightly pilgrims flowed for centuries, is in itself as squalid and desolate as can be conceived. Still it is even now not without interest. The appearance of the barren shore, with persons wandering up and down, waiting until their turn shall arrive to be carried over, and the melancholy air of the passengers, who seem in general to be strangers to one another, joined to the deep silence which prevails,

call to mind the idea of Charon's boat, as described by the ancient poets; and a painter who wished to represent the river Styx, the ferryman, and his boat, with the groups of expectant shades on the bank, could not, perhaps, find a happier subject than the scene presented by Lough Derg during the pilgrim season. The penitents pay, according to their means, from sixpence to one shilling for a passage to the island, in a boat which conveys at one time from sixty to eighty persons. On the island a fee of tenpence is paid to the prior. There are two chapels on the island;—one, named St. Patrick's, is used as the "prison," the other, St. Mary's, as the confessional: besides these there are the prior's house, and five lodging-houses for the pilgrims. All these are common white-washed buildings, without the slightest pretensions even to simple neatness. Near the chapels are a number of circular enclosures—nearly as represented on the old map which accompanies this—dedicated to different saints. The pilgrims visit these in rotation, and a certain form of prayer is repeated at each. There are six of these beds, and they seem the most ancient works on the island, except the mutilated cross, of which a drawing is here subjoined. Each consists of a small portion of ground enclosed by a circular stone wall about a foot high; in one part of which there is a narrow opening left by way of entrance. According to Ledwich, these beds are dedicated to St. Patrick, Saints Abogie and Molaishe, St. Brendan, St. Columba, St. Catherine, and St. Bridget. The following note was made in July 1824, from the statement of Mr. Manus M'Cluskey, a respectable schoolmaster, then residing in Belfast, who had been educated for the priesthood at Louvain. He first visited Lough Derg as a penitent, in 1780, and at that time the cave existed, having been repaired probably in the reign of James II. It was a long small place, excavated in the rock, capable of holding about twelve persons, and was the last spot visited before leaving the island by the pilgrims, who spent the night in it in rotation. On his last visit, in 1819, he found it had been filled up more than thirty years before, by order of the Prior; having been considered dangerous, from the number of persons who attempted to crowd into it at once. Its place was occupied by a chapel dedicated to St. Patrick, large enough to contain the people without inconvenience. His last "station" was made in spite of the remonstrances of Dr. Crolly, afterwards R.C. Primate, who objected to such observances; but the old man was influenced by his former associations. He spent six days on the island, during which time the only food he took was bread and water, limited to one meal in the day, and to half a pound of bread.



The island, which has been the subject of the papers now concluded, is very small, not measuring more than 300 paces in any direction, and containing about three roods of barren surface. For this a rent of £300 per annum is paid to the present proprietor of the estate, the greater part of the sum being in sixpences.

BRAZEN CAULDRONS.

The cauldron, of which an accurate drawing is now given, was lately found in the County of Down, while cutting turf in a bog in the townland of Raffery, parish of Killinchy, by Mr. William Jackson, who was good enough to send it to Belfast for inspection. Other objects of antiquity have been found in the same vicinity, especially at a small lake called the "Dumb Lough," which adjoins the bog, and where numbers of warlike implements and some quern-stones were dug up. Near it, also, is a very large earthen fort, showing the remains of extensive entrenchments, though now greatly levelled by its successive owners in their search for gold. It is stated that, on various occasions, numbers of gold and silver coins, as well as other valuable articles, were discovered in ploughing its surface. A quarter of a mile from this fort, in a hollow field, several flat stones of great size were found, on raising which several graves were discovered containing earthen urns filled with ashes.

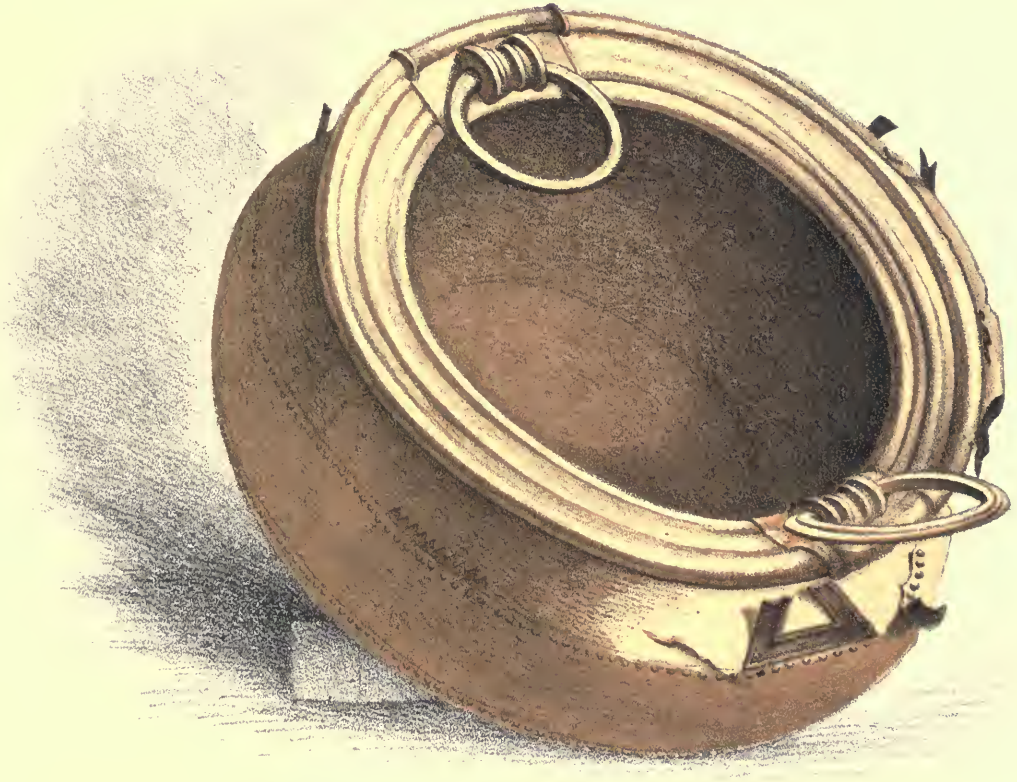
The cauldron was found embedded in a solid bank of turf, at a depth of about five feet from the present surface; but the bog has been used annually, from time immemorial, for supplying turf to all the population of the neighbourhood; and it is known by persons now living to have been at least *forty feet higher* than its present level. A vessel found in such a situation must therefore be of very great and unquestionable antiquity; and the specimen itself presents several peculiarities in form and workmanship which seem worthy of special notice.

Its dimensions are as follows :—

Depth at the centre 14 inches;
Extreme outside diameter, 22 inches;
Inside diameter at the mouth, $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches;
Outside diameter, measured across the rim, $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches;
Outside diameter of handles or rings, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches;
Inside " " $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

The vessel weighs $13\frac{3}{4}$ pounds, and will contain 12 gallons of liquid.

It is formed of sheets of gold-coloured bronze, evidently made by hammering, not rolling, and as thin as writing-paper, being found by actual measurement to be *one-eightieth of an inch* in thickness. A circular piece forms the bottom; above which are four bands, neatly rivetted to each other by small rivets of the same metal, which have projecting heads on the outside, but are flat and even with the surface inside the vessel. The rim is of much thicker metal than



BRONZE CAULDRON

found in the townland of Raffery, parish of Killinchy, Co. Down

the rest, and is rendered still stiffer by *corrugation;* a process which, within the last dozen years, has been patented in England as a new and valuable discovery! The bead, or moulding, round the outer edge of the rim, is formed by being bent round a *tube* of the same metal, which remains inclosed within it, giving it additional strength combined with lightness; another of the mechanical arrangements supposed to be modern. The handles or rings are of cast bronze; and not only is each secured to the rim by a double tang passing through, and strongly rivetted underneath, but the rim itself, at these two points, is attached to the body of the vessel by ornamental bands of thick sheet bronze, like what composes the rim. These bands are of open-work, and terminate at the outer edge of the rim, which they fold round, thus thickening it at these two spots, as shown in the drawing. The bands have been broken; but most of the fragments were found along with the cauldron, and have been preserved. They are stamped with various simple ornaments.

I have been thus minute in the description, because this cauldron is a specimen of superior workmanship, and was greatly admired by various clever workmen to whom it was shown. The thinness and evenness of the plates, the manner in which these are strengthened by the corrugated rim, and the ingenious mode of fixing the handles so as to equalize the strain when lifting the cauldron full of liquid, are proofs of very considerable mechanical skill. The whole of the work is done with as much neatness and workmanlike finish as could be accomplished by the best manufacturer of the present day; and when perfect (for the rim has been crushed down) the vessel was by no means ungraceful in form, and when burnished of a bright gold colour must have been a handsome object.

This cauldron bears marks of having been a long time in use, for it is patched in many places; sometimes with bits of sheet bronze, such as the vessel is made of, (probably the fragments of similar vessels which had been worn out,) but also in several places with pieces of cast brass, which show by their form that they had previously been used for some totally different purpose, and put on by a workman who had not proper materials at command. No marks of soldering appear on any part, all the repairs being done by rivetting.

The extreme thinness of the metal, which far exceeds anything of the kind used in our modern cooking-vessels, may be taken, perhaps, as a proof of the costly nature of the material; but it is also a proof of the skill and judgment of the workman. Such a cauldron would boil its contents much more rapidly and with less fuel than any we now use. Our modern practice of manufacturing all our utensils of cast iron or cast brass, while cheapening the production to an immense extent, has limited the degree of thinness which can be attained. The labour and dexterity required for hammering out the bronze into such thin and regular sheets must have been very considerable. Their surface is almost as even and level as that of modern sheet brass produced with all the advantage of rolling-machinery; and there is no doubt that the metal, thus hammered, has more tenacity than any rolling process would have given to it.

Cauldrons of this peculiar form have not, so far as I can ascertain, been ever found in England. Many accounts of bronze vessels have been published in the *Archæologia* and other works during the last hundred years; but none of the descriptions or figures which I have seen correspond with our specimen. In Scotland one example has been met with, and is figured in Wilson's *Pre-historic Annals*, (page 274); it agrees in form and material with the Irish one, but is less elaborately constructed. On the other hand, a great number are known to have been found in Ireland. At the Exhibition of Irish Antiquities held in Belfast, in 1852, during the Meeting of the British Association, five cauldrons were shown, very similar to the present one; three belonging to the Belfast Museum, one to Lord Bandon, found in the county Cork, and one to Evelyn P. Shirley, Esq., M.P., found in the county Monaghan, and figured in his *History of the Barony of Farney*. Other specimens are preserved in Dublin, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and of Trinity College, as well as in private collections throughout the country; and numbers are known to have been broken up and melted. In the *Transactions* of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, for July 1854, a full description is given of one which was found that year in the Bog of Allen. It is of large size, and of thin hammered bronze plates, but seems to differ somewhat from ours, or else is imperfect. The largest specimen which I have heard of is one of those now in the Belfast Museum, which measures 24 inches across the mouth or rim, and is made of thicker plates; but the lower part is imperfect.

The cauldron seems to have been considered an important article among the ancient Irish. Mention of it occurs in various old poems, romances, and annals. Thus, in the romantic tale of the *Battle of Magh-Rath*, or the *Banquet of Dun na n-Gedh*, (published by the Irish Archæological Society,) which the Editor assigns to the 12th century, one of the incidents is the borrowing of "the royal cauldron in the king's house;" and a number of other celebrated cauldrons are enumerated, with the names of the places where they were kept.

In the *Lay of the Cattle-prey of Tara*, one of the Fenian or Ossianic ballads, the date of which is much earlier, and which describes a quarrel between the monarch Cormac and Finn MacCumhal which took place at a banquet, Cormac being vanquished is ordered by the Fenians to carry their cauldron on his back, which indignity Finn prevents by immediately placing it on his own; but one of his followers, Fillan, ashamed to see his chief employed at such a task, cleaves the cauldron in two with a blow of his sword.

In the *Book of Rights*, (10th century) cauldrons are several times mentioned. Thus, p. 55:—

"A cauldron is given to the King of Caiseal
By the King of Teamhair, the mighty chief,
To be presented in due form,
And to be brought to Teamhair Luachra."

And again, p. 267:—

"Entitled is the King of Saithne to this,
To a steed and to two score cows,
For his rising-out is not less,
Neither is his cauldron nor his vat."

In the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* (as translated by MacGeoghegan) the following incident in a plundering expedition is given at A.D. 1406:—"They were overtaken by Callogh O'Conor and six horsemen onelye, who finding the said Connaghtmen spoyleinge the said Gilleboye of all his goods, and amongst other things one of the said Kearne tooke a greate Cauldron that Callogh before lent to the said Gilleboye to brew withalle; which Gilleboye seeinge one of the Kearne carry from out of his house in presence of Callogh, said, 'There is your cauldron, take itt, and discharge mee of my loane,' which Callogh willingly accepted, saying, 'I take itt as a sufficient satisfaction of you:' and suddainly one of Callogh his people flung a stone and hitt the Cauldron; att the greate sound thereof the Kearne broke out of their places and fled as fast as they could."

In 1184, Philip of Worcester, then Lord Justice of Ireland, at the head of an army entered and pillaged the city of Armagh; and among other things carried off from the friars a large Cauldron or brewing-pan.—[Stuart's *History of Armagh.*]

Perhaps the most curious notice of cauldrons is that contained in the Will of Cahir Mor, King of Leinster, and afterwards monarch of Ireland in the second century, which is preserved in the *Book of Lecan*, and also in the *Book of Ballymote*. In a remarkable inventory there given of the valuable articles bequeathed by him to his family are particularised *fifty copper cauldrons.*

Various superstitions were connected with Irish cauldrons. Amongst the remarkable objects said to have been brought to Ireland by the colony of the Tuatha De Danaan, was a cauldron called *Coirean Daghda*, which had certain magical properties. One of the cauldrons enumerated in the Romance already quoted (the *Battle of Magh-Rath,)* was called the *Caire Ainsicen*, and was of such a nature that "no one went away from it unsatisfied; for whatever quantity was put into it, there was never boiled in it but what was sufficient for the company, according to their grade or rank."

In Wales the same mysterious importance is attached to these vessels. Sharon Turner, in his *Vindication of the Genuineness of the ancient British Poems*, says:—"The cauldron was a part of the Bardic mythology which is not much understood. The poet Taliesin twice alludes to the 'cauldron of Ceridwen.' Thus—

"I received my genius
From the cauldron of Ceridwen."

And

"Is not my chair protected by the cauldron of Ceridwen?
Therefore let my tongue be free."

The second of the Welsh tales called the *Mabinogion* mentions a magic cauldron which had the power of giving life. Bran, King of Britain, gave Matholwc, the sovereign of Ireland, a cauldron, which had this virtue, that, if a person slain was thrown into it, he recovered his life and vigour, but lost his utterance.—Arthur sent an embassy to Odgar, the son of Aedd, King of Ireland, to ask for the cauldron of Diwrnach Wyddel, his purveyor, but was refused. On receiving this denial "Bedwyr arose and seized hold of the cauldron, and placed it on the back of Arthur's servant, Hygwyd, whose office was always to carry Arthur's cauldron and to place fire under it. And they

slew Diwrnach Wyddel, and his company. Then came the Irish and fought with them. And when he had put them to flight, Arthur with his men went forward to the ships, carrying away the cauldron full of Irish money."

In one of the poems of Llywarch Hên, *(Y Gorwynion,)* written in the 6th century, he says—

"In the time of Owain Elphin
The ample cauldron boiled the prey taken from the foe."

Shakspeare's introduction of the witches' cauldron in *Macbeth* shows that the superstitious feeling regarding these vessels still lingered in England in his time, or at all events was popularly understood.

We find also that cauldrons were regarded by various other ancient nations as articles of great value. Layard mentions that "they are frequently represented as part of the spoil and tribute in the sculptures of Nimroud and Kouyunjik, [see particularly *Monuments of Nineveh*, 1st series, plate 24, and 2nd series, plate 35,] and on the black obelisk. They were carried away by the Babylonians from Jerusalem [*Jeremiah* lii. 18.] They were so much valued by the ancients that, it appears from the Homeric poems, they were given as prizes at public games, and were considered among the most precious objects that could be carried away from a captured city. They were frequently embossed with flowers and other ornaments, and were dedicated to the Gods in temples. Cœlæus dedicated a large vessel of brass, adorned with griffins, to Herè. [*Herod*, iv. 152]—On a wall at Kouyunjik was represented a great cauldron, which appears to have been supported upon metal images of oxen; perhaps a vessel resembling the 'brazen sea' of Solomon's Temple. [1 *Kings*, vii. 23—25.]"

Vessels for cooking are never once mentioned in Scripture as made of iron; those of Solomon's Temple were of "bright brass." The specimens found at Pompeii and Herculaneum are generally of bronze.

Cauldrons being no doubt very costly articles in Ireland in ancient times, and only obtainable by chieftains, it is probable that the boiling of food was little practised by the general population; unlike the present day, when hardly any other mode of preparing food is employed by them. Some have suggested, indeed, that wooden vessels were used, the liquid being boiled by throwing heated stones into it; but I believe we have no certain evidence of this. Boiling seems to have been as little practised by the early Greeks in their cookery. Plato makes the remark [*Repub.* III. p. 621] that Homer never feeds his heroes with fish or boiled meat, but only with roast; because fires might be had anywhere, but it would be troublesome to carry about with them vessels for cooking. On one occasion, however, [*Iliad*, 21, 362] he compares the boiling of the Xanthus to a cauldron containing pig's fat.

The question naturally arises, whence did the Irish procure their brazen cauldrons? We have not the slightest evidence to prove that they could themselves manufacture such articles in ancient times. No doubt they were acquainted with the *casting* of axes and spear-heads; for many moulds

for such purposes have been found and are preserved in collections of antiquities. But even in such cases the metal must have been procured from some other country. It is now well known that the bronze used in all the antique objects found in Ireland, like those of other European countries, is an alloy of copper and tin. The latter metal is not found anywhere in Ireland, and was always procured by the ancients either from Cornwall in England, (which is still the great tin-producing district,) or from Spain. It also appears, from actual analysis of the metal used in making various bronze objects, that the manufacturer did not always use the same proportions of the metals employed, but varied them according to the purpose for which the article was intended. For spears and axes a proportion of about one-tenth of tin to nine-tenths of copper is almost uniformly found to have been used, which gave the weapon hardness and the capacity of receiving a sharp point or edge; while for cauldrons, trumpets and the like, where ductility and malleability were required, the proportion of tin was smaller, and a certain portion of *lead* was added. This has been proved by the independent analyses of Dr. George Wilson, of Edinburgh [*Pre-Historic Annals of Scotland*, p. 246] and Mr. Donovan of Dublin, [*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. 4. p. 469.] The manufacturer of the bronze cauldrons must, therefore, have had the means at hand of preparing his mixture of metals in the proportions found suitable for producing a bronze capable of being hammered into thin sheets; and this would only be the case where all the metals used were easily attainable in their separate states, and where a regular manufacture of such articles was established. We have no reason whatever for supposing that such was the case in Ireland.

Now, if we consider who were the people in ancient times who were the great manufacturers in metals, and at the same time the great commercial nation, (like the British of the present day,) we shall have little hesitation in determining from what quarter Ireland must have been supplied.

The Sidonians and other inhabitants of the Phœnician coast were the most renowned workers in metals of the ancient world. In the Homeric poems they are frequently mentioned as the artificers who fashioned and embossed metal cups and bowls; and Solomon sought "cunning men from Tyre" to make the gold and brazen utensils for his temple and palaces. [1 *Kings*, vii. 13, 14, and 2 *Chron.*, iv.] Hence, says Layard "it is not impossible that the vessels discovered at Nimroud were the work of Phœnician artists brought expressly from Tyre, or carried away amongst the captives when their cities were taken by the Assyrians; who, we know from many passages in the Bible, [2 *Kings*, xxiv. 14, 16; *Jeremiah*, xxiv. 1; xxix. 2] always secured the smiths and artizans, and placed them in their own immediate dominions." Homer mentions expressly that the Greeks procured their vases and tripods from the Phœnicians.

We know from history that the Phœnicians had not only established colonies all along the Mediterranean as far as Spain, but that they carried on an extensive commerce even beyond the Pillars of Hercules. They could not have made numerous voyages along the Spanish coast to England for tin, without becoming acquainted with the existence of Ireland; and Tacitus [*Agricola*] informs us that her harbours were even better known to merchants than those of England. It is therefore

quite probable that the Phœnician navigators, at a very early period, frequented our coast, supplying the natives with various articles of their manufacture, which they bartered for the productions of the country. Among these none would more likely be in demand than works of metal, in which they excelled all the world. That brazen vessels, especially, were among the articles so imported by them into Ireland, is rendered still more probable by the following considerations :—

1. The peculiar form of cauldron now discussed differs materially from all the Grecian and Roman vessels yet described. Neither those engraved in Montfaucon's great work on the Antiquities of these nations, compiled from an examination of all the existing sculptures, nor those figured in the various descriptions of Pompeii, so far as I have been able to discover, at all correspond with ours. On the other hand, if we look to Scandinavia, which we know to have been the source of many of our metallic antiquities, we find that the case is the same. I have examined Worsaae's recently published Account of the Royal Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen, in which engravings are given of all the classes of objects contained in that great collection, and have not found one at all resembling our Irish cauldron. In the absence of all proof to the contrary, therefore, we must conclude that neither from the Greeks, Romans, nor Scandinavians, did the ancient Irish procure their bronze vessels. The publication of our present drawing and description will enable archæologists to determine hereafter whether this form is peculiar to Ireland, or whether it is also found in any other countries.

2. The gold-coloured cauldrons found in Ireland, composed of hammered plates of bronze, agree in the composition of the metal with other ancient vessels found in the excavations at Nineveh. The dishes, bowls, &c., which were discovered by Mr. Layard in a chamber at Nimroud, were analysed by Mr. Philips, of the Museum of Practical Geology, and ascertained to contain the same relative proportions of copper and tin that are found in our Irish bronzes; some objects (such as bells) presenting a different proportion suitable for their intended use, just as has been observed in Irish cauldrons. A natural inference is, that both sets of articles were manufactured by workmen of the same school; and it is well ascertained that, for many centuries, the Phœnicians possessed a complete monopoly of the bronze trade.

3. The names applied to cauldrons in the Irish language are two. The first, which is the one used in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, is *oighean*, or *aighean*, and which, though I believe now obsolete among the Irish-speaking population, is still used in the Highlands of Scotland, and is written *adhan* or *aghan*. In Argyleshire (as I am informed by the Rev. A. MacBride, of North Bute) this word is pronounced *a-an*, but in Inverness-shire the old pronunciation *a-yan* is still preserved. The word, as now used, is applied to small cooking-vessels only, (no doubt because the people have no large ones,) but in the Gaelic Bible it is used as a generic term for vessels of various kinds. If I were disposed to trace this word to an Oriental root, I might mention more than one in Hebrew and Arabic which strongly resemble it in sound and sense; for example *âin*, a "fountain" or "spring," which a bubbling cauldron might naturally enough call to mind. However, I d

not dwell on this etymology, because I believe our Gaelic word *adhan* or *aghan* is identical with the Latin *ahen-um*, a cauldron, merely dropping the termination. This word occurs as frequently in the form *aënum;* showing that the *h* is only introduced to separate the vowels into two syllables. We know that *dh* or *gh* in the middle of Irish words is often merely an orthographic expedient to represent the sound of *y;* so that *adhan* or *aghan* pretty accurately represents the sound *aën*. I prefer adopting this etymology because the Latin language itself affords a root, *aes*, brass, from which the word may with much probability be derived; *aënum*, a "brass," being used for a brass vessel, just as we now say in English a "copper" for a copper vessel. In exactly the same way the Greeks said Χαλχειον.

But the case is quite different with the other Irish word for a cauldron,—*coire*. This is the term which is not only generally used in almost all the old poems, romances and annals, but is still employed and universally understood throughout Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland. It is likewise applied figuratively to some natural objects, such as whirlpools, and circular hollows among mountains; a proof not only of its antiquity, but of its general use among the people. Now in Latin we find another name for a cauldron which I strongly suspect to be from the same root; namely, *cortina*. In this instance, however, the Latin language affords no rational etymology of its own; for the one proposed in the dictionaries, from *corium*, "a hide," as if the first cauldrons were made of hides, is extremely improbable. The Roman *cortina* is described as "a deep circular vessel or cauldron employed for boiling meat, melting pitch, making paint, and other purposes. It was either raised upon a trivet, or supported on large stones. One of these vessels, in bronze, was found at Pompeii." [Rich's *Companion to the Lexicon.*] The word *cortina* has no affinity with the Greek; and it would seem, therefore, to have been derived from one of the Celtic roots of the Latin language. Now it is remarkable that we have in Hebrew a word, *cur* or *cor*, signifying an "oven" or "furnace," also another word *kior*, signifying a "basin," a "fire-pan;" [Gesenius, *Heb. Lex.*] and in modern Arabic the other similar words, *cor*, "a furnace," *coar*, "a jar;" likewise *câr* and *cáran*, different kinds of cooking-vessels, from the root *câr*, "to hollow out deeply." [Kasimirski, *Dict. Arab.*] The resemblance and almost identity of these words with our Irish *coire* are too striking to be merely accidental; and, when we consider that the Hebrew and the Arabic represent the ancient and the modern forms of the language spoken in the very country inhabited by the old Phœnicians, we have strong reason for suspecting that both the word and the utensil which it denotes were borrowed by the Irish from that people.

If the objection be made that it is unlikely that such articles should remain in so good preservation for such a great length of time, it is answered by the fact that bronze vessels, some of them elaborately ornamented, have been dug up during the last few years from the ruins of Nineveh, under circumstances which prove beyond a doubt that they have lain there since the destruction of the Assyrian Empire. A vessel of bronze, embedded in the deep recesses of an Irish bog, would remain for ages as safely preserved as under a mound of earth at Nimroud. Robert MacAdam.

Besides the beautifully made cauldrons of sheet bronze, there are found in Ireland a great number made of *cast brass*. These, however, bear every mark of being much more modern in date. The metal is not bronze, but ordinary brass, such as we use at present; and the vessels are generally very thick and clumsy in their execution. As a strong contrast to the one just described, I annex the figure of a cauldron, or pot, found in a bog in the neighbourhood of Cookstown, (Co. Tyrone,) and which was preserved for many years at Killymoon, the residence of the late Colonel Stewart. This specimen is at present in Belfast. It weighs 81 pounds, and holds $6\frac{3}{4}$ gallons. Its dimensions are as follows:—

Depth inside, 14 inches; Extreme outside diameter, 18 inches; Diameter of the mouth, 14 inches.

The thickness of the bottom is $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch, or exactly *fifty times* the thickness of the other cauldron above described.

It is curious that the art of casting, now so general over the civilised world, was not discovered until long after that of fabricating metallic articles by the hammer. Previous to Homer no trace of casting has been discovered; while it is expressly stated that this art, as well as that of soldering, were invented a little subsequent to his time. [*Pausanias*, viii., 14, and ix., 41; *Plin.* xxxv., 12, 43.] I shall conclude the present notice with the description given by Herodotus of a cauldron of extraordinary size, made of cast bronze. He says:—

"There is one thing connected with this, of which I myself have been an eye-witness. Between the Borysthenes and Hypanos rivers there is a spot called Exampæus; * * * here lies a brass cauldron six times more capacious than the one at the mouth of the Pontus, consecrated by Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus. If the reader has never seen this Scythian vase, I must inform him that it will easily hold six hundred amphoræ, [3,600 gallons,] and that the brass of which it consists is six fingers thick. It was made, according to the account of the people in the neighbourhood, out of arrow-heads. The king, whose name was Ariantas, wishing to know the amount of the Scythian population, ordered all his subjects, under pain of death in case of neglect, to bring each of them one arrow-head without the shaft. Such a prodigious quantity of arrow-heads was in consequence collected, that the king resolved to make of them a monument for posterity; and, accordingly, this cauldron was cast out of the brass, and dedicated at Exampæus."

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

Mr. O'Keeffe has, in the last Number of this Journal [vol. 4, p. 263,] instanced the Gaelic name of London as an evidence of the progress of the Gael in Britain. I think the proof is capable of great extension.—"London" may be resolved into *Long-dùn*, "the fort of ships," or into *Linn-dùn*, "the fort of the pool." I think that the latter is more probable. The Gaelic names still existing in England generally describe the great features of nature, and the "pool" of the Thames was formerly very extensive. Ratcliffe-Highway runs along the summit of the "red cliff" (red soil is found there at three feet below the surface) which originally bounded the "pool" on the Middlesex shore. All between it and the present bank of the Thames is alluvial and rubbish. I have seen, within the last twelvemonth, an excavation made which was forty feet deep before reaching the "slob" of the original bed of the river; so that the *Dun* of Tower-Hill was once more elevated than now.

The Thames bore the "British" name of *Tain (=Teine);* and the tradition that a temple to Apollo [the Sun-God] stood on Thom-ey (where Westminster Abbey stands) an island in the river, strengthens the conjecture. The river dedicated to the sacred fire had its island-temple, which the Romans, with their usual assimilation, appropriated to the Sun-God.

Kilburn, formerly written *Keelburn*, is in the district covered by the great wood of Middlesex. [Irish, *coill*, a wood.]

Kent [Cantium]=Gaelic, *ceann*, the "*head*-land" towards Gaul. It is remarkable that the Jutes, who settled there, retained the ancient name of the territory, calling themselves "men of Kent," and their chief town *Cant-wara-byrig*, the town of the men of Kent. [Gaelic *feara*, "men."] I cannot account for the suffix *t*, but it occurs similarly in "Thanet,"—formerly "Danet."

The "Downs" of Sussex ar =*dùn*-s

Dorchester [*Caer Doire*= "Oak Castle,"] Roman name *Dorovernium*, formed perhaps from *doire* and *fear*="men of the oak wood." Close by the city is an extensive British cemetery; and a few miles off a large entrenchment called "Maiden Castle;" probably=*magh dun*.

To say nothing of the numerous "Avons," [Irish *abhain*, a river,] there are the still more numerous "Combes" [=*keim*] often pronounced "Coom."

The "Stone" in Dorset, and another in Kent, have an old form "Usdar," which suggests some combination of *uisge*, water.

Sellwood in Somerset had the "British" name *Kilmaur (=coill mhòr)* the Roman *Silva Magna*.

The Saxon legend of Hengist and Horsa introduces us to the mythical "Vortigern" *(fear tighearna)* and his warlike son "Catigern" *(cath tighearna.)*

These are but a few instances from the South of England, which might be largely extended; but they are very suggestive.

The popular accounts of the ancient inhabitants of the South and East of England are derived from the very unhistoric legends of the Saxons, who were not a writing people till nearly 300 years after the so-called Saxon Invasion; and from the rival race of the Kymri who bore their brethren little affection on account of their fraternity with the Romans. (I pass by Cæsar, as his defeat and evacuation of the country were reasons sufficient for his protest that the Gael of Britain were poor barbarians;—the grapes were sour.) These lose no opportunity of denouncing the Loegri [Loegr=the Loire], and the latter, Romanised and municipalised, lost their national characteristics. W. M'C., London.

Water-Mills.—As you do not seem to be aware that there are at present in use in Ireland horizontal mills, like the one figured and described in your able article on *Ancient Water-Mills* (vol. 4, p. 6, of your Journal,) it may perhaps be interesting to you to mention that I have seen them precisely similar in every respect in Mayo and other parts of Connaught. In Irish

they are called by the quaint but rather expressive name of *muileann tón le talamh;* but, when speaking English, the people call them "gig-mills." Though rather ineffective looking machines, I am told that those who have used them like them very much. Mr. Robert Chambers lately found them in Norway and the Faroe Isles.

Rostellan, Cork. MICHAEL DEERING.

CHEQUERS.—I send you some remarks on this subject, written by a friend of mine who has travelled a good deal. They may not really controvert the opinion of E. G. as given in your Journal, vol. 4, p. 168. May not the Earl of Warren and Surrey, on obtaining so important a privilege as the exclusive right of selling licenses for the sale of malt liquors, have had, at the same time, these armorial bearings, so appropriate, granted to him and his family? R. M., Athlone.

The "Knife-grinder" accounts for the wretched figure he cut, by referring to his mishaps "while drinking at the *checquers;*" and it may be asked what are we to understand by those chequers of which he so familiarly speaks?—We find very frequently, if not generally, in England (of Ireland I cannot speak,) and on the Continent, contiguous to the doors of drinking-shops—indeed often on the door-posts—a tesselated painting like a chess-board, the squares being alternately of a dark and a light colour. These are the "checquers" of which the knife-grinder speaks, and he could not have adopted a more classical description of a dram-shop. I believe the same emblems mark those places of popular resort to the present day; and are found to have been in use at the time when Pompeii and Herculaneum were destroyed; as appears from the ruins of those cities which have been brought to light. These chequers, which now conventionally denote where wine is to be had, were of a different and mysterious meaning when first introduced into Greece along with the worship of Bacchus, from Egypt. In the latter country the chequered board was placed in the temple of Osiris, denoting, by its alternations of Light and Darkness, the contending principles of Good and Evil, early adopted in Eastern theology, and corrupting early Christianity by the Manichean heresy. J. M.

One Jonathan Fisher, an engraver, executed four small engravings of Belfast, which were published (most probably at Dublin) in 1772. I have long hunted, among the *disjecta membra* of the London old print-shops for these engravings, but in vain. Does anybody know anything about them? I may observe, to prevent useless search, that they are not contained in the *Scenery of Ireland*, published by the same artist. Topographical engravings seldom stray far from home, consequently it is probable that if those in question are to be found anywhere, it will be in the neighbourhood of Dublin or Belfast.—I need scarcely observe how exceedingly valuable and interesting these engravings may prove to be to local antiquaries. Though published only three quarters of a century ago, yet, comparatively speaking, they can boast a venerable antiquity, when we take into consideration the rapid growth of Belfast, and the many changes it has undergone since that time. I may instance one of the most wonderful changes which has occurred in my own time. When I was a boy everybody knew that the "ford" was close by the foot of High-Street. Its true position was then generally pointed out by grounded colliers, and proclaimed by strange nautical maledictions, which, if aught in words could have moved it, would have sunk it to the lowest depths of Tophet. But now I am informed even it has been moved—moved to the Gooseberry-Corner. "O day and night, but this is wondrous strange!"

W. PINKERTON.

In Routledge's lately published and very neat edition of Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, the following note occurs on Act 4, Scene I:

"Come, go with us, we'll bring thee to our *crews*."

"Mr. Collier's corrector reads 'cave,' Mr. Singer, 'caves.' I have not ventured to alter the text; but can hardly believe *crews* to be what the poet wrote."

Now in Ulster the people call a pig-stye a *pig-crew*. Hence I am disposed to think that the poet used the word "crew" as meaning a hut or hovel, such as an outlaw would make for his abode in a forest. In all the Irish dictionaries the word *crò* is given as "a hut, hovel," &c.

Another word occurring in Shakspeare in an obsolete sense, "eling," meaning to "shrink," is applied in Ulster by carpenters to the shrinking of timber. T. H. P.

SPINNING AND WEAVING:—THEIR INFLUENCE ON POPULAR LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

The manufacture of clothing, like the production of food, is a subject in which the whole human family are interested. From the simplest garment which propriety demands, to the most gorgeous and varied habiliments in which luxury delights, textile fabrics of all kinds present interesting subjects for study, independent of the numerous purposes to which they are subservient. There are several districts of the United Kingdom where distinct kinds of clothing are produced, and the North-east of Ireland is one of them. Its long and intimate connection with the linen trade, and partially with the cotton, is well known; and it is hoped that few of the readers of this *Journal*, however little they may be acquainted with the subject, will have any difficulty in comprehending such technical allusions as are unavoidable.

In treating only cursorily of so large a subject, there is a danger of exceeding the usual limits assigned to articles; a distinct branch of it is therefore reserved for another paper.[a] On this occasion, no formal treatise is attempted. The object at present is, to show the intimate connection of the whole subject with popular literature and popular speech. Our old English literature and Scottish ballad poetry,—treating. as they generally do, of humble people, primitive manners, and the instruments or machinery in common use,—contain numerous allusions illustrative of our general subject. Only a few of these are quoted in the notes. The Sacred Scriptures, too, describe a class of people differing very little in their social grade, and supplying the same natural wants by artificial means differing only in detail. Quotations from these two sources have therefore been placed in juxta-position, to show the "uniformity amid variety;" the notices of intervening changes in the instruments and operations being for the present omitted. From a large number of Ulster ballads and broadsides, many of them collected by a friend in 1849, a few quotations are given, in which, for obvious reasons, the genuine "Doric" is carefully preserved.

The whole inquiry was suggested by a five minutes' conversation in July, 1856; when one speaker remarked that a spinning-wheel and a loom afford a number of pegs[b] and projections on which

[a] Archæological Notices on the Subject.

[b] This reminds one of the witty remark of a celebrated French writer. His wife, he said, had such a peculiar head-piece, that it was impossible to hang up a single inference in it.

to hang up some curious and useful thoughts. And it is in connection with *language* that the remark will appear most applicable in the eye of the scholar, and especially of the philologist. He observes the subjects of spinning and weaving influencing the habits of thought and expression in several important districts, and to a less extent throughout the whole country; introducing some words, preserving others whose primary significations are lost, detaining a few in the cottage which are obsolescent in the hall and obsolete in the mansion, giving form and shape to sentences, affording expressiveness to thoughts by the appropriateness of the similitudes, and adding to our stock of proverbs. A similar effect is produced by any other manufacture, whether local or general; and to adopt an illustration from the subject itself, it becomes "interwoven" with the whole tissue of a nation's speech.

Spinning is related to weaving as means to the end. The "major" includes the "minor;" and, therefore, one title might in the present instance have served for both. There is, however, a speciality about the spinning-wheel in modern times which places it in a distinct category; and in beginning to throw a few "shots" in an intellectual web of our own, the threads of the "warp" or subject must be kept distinct, in order that the suitableness of the "weft" or detailed matter may be more apparent. The two great modes of teaching are, in fact, simply *weaving* and *unravelling*, that is to say more learnedly, "synthesis" and "analysis:" in the present instance it may suit better to follow the order of the manufacture. This course will allow to the gentler sex their usual precedence—the spinster before the webster.

More than thirty-three centuries have elapsed since the preparation of the garments for Aaron; the description of which in the Bible is very minute. All that were "wise-hearted" workmen were appealed to, in order to produce the ephod, the breast-plate, the girdle, the mitre, coats, bonnets, &c.;[c] and, we read not only of "fine-twined linen," but of a woven border, a hem, and needle-work. Again, in the contributions for the Tabernacle, the men appear to have possessed the materials, but the "women that were wise-hearted did spin with their hands;"[d] and "the women whose heart stirred them up in wisdom spun goats' hair." There are various colours mentioned in the original passage, but only two materials, linen and hair. In after times, Penelope[e] is represented by Homer as spinning industriously, but without much effect.

In our old English literature, the distaff is alluded to as an ordinary instrument; and the subject of spinning is mentioned in a connection in which no other instrument could have suited. Thus, Shakspeare in the *Twelfth Night*, uses the expression "it hangs like flax on a distaff;" and the adoption of such a simile shows that the fact must have been a common one. But long before, if we may credit the Robin Hood Ballads,—which celebrated, probably in the fifteenth century, the deeds of an outlaw of the thirteenth,—the use of the distaff is indicated. In the ballad of *Robin Hood and*

[c] Exodus xxviii.
[d] Exodus xxxv.
[e] They say all the yarn she spun in Ulysses' absence did but fill Ithaca full of moths. *Shakspeare, Coriolanus*, i. 3.

the Bishop, he is represented as changing clothes with an old woman, and taking the instruments of her industry, "the spindle and twine" with him, to the green-wood. It is said, that "with his spindle and twine he oft looked behind;"[f] so that the flax, the thread, and the distaff, were obviously borne about like the yarn, needles, and work of a knitter. The distaff was afterwards spoken of figuratively;[g] and Dunbar, a Scottish poet of the close of the fifteenth century, speaks of wives spinning on "rocks."[h] The instrument is still commonly used in many places on the continent of Europe. In the English exhibition of the French School of Fine Arts [1857], the distaff is figured by Isidore Patrois and Constant Troyon. The latter represents a loop on the dress to confine it to the body. The term "distaff" is derived from the Saxon, and appears to be of purely English origin; while "rock" reaches us from North Britain, and is derived from the Scandinavian branch of the Teutonic family of languages.

In the infancy of mankind, Jabal was the father of those that dwelt in tents; and, it is also clear that Noah, and therefore our antediluvian forefathers, were familiar with clothing. Whatever date is assigned to cloth, a previous date must evidently be assigned to thread or yarn, the materials from which cloth is made. It is also said that King Solomon traded with Egypt in the commodity of "linen yarn,"[i] and that the merchants delivered it to him at a price; but the correctness of the translation in these passages has been questioned by several eminent scholars.

In modern times, and till very lately, spinning was sometimes a distinct business, and at others was only resorted to for filling up unemployed portions of time.[j] In the Scotch song of *Auld Robin Gray*, the mother of Jenny practised it as a mode of livelihood,[k] the only one for which she was still adapted; and Jenny herself, when the incapacity of her mother had aided in bringing about her own ill-advised marriage, was unfitted[l] by sorrow and remorse for performing her duties in the same way. The amount of work done was sometimes considerable. Burns, in the song of *Bess and her Spinning-Wheel*, represents her as spinning *all*[m] the articles of her own clothing; and, from what we know of the domestic manners of our own immediate predecessors, we can scarcely regard the statement as an exaggeration. In one of the songs of Allan Cunningham's collection, "a country lass" is represented as having "a gown spun by her ain white han';" and the writer once met two boys in a country Sunday-school, in Ulster, every article of whose dress had been spun in their own house, and woven by themselves. The extensive circulation possessed by the nursery tale of "Whippity Stoorie," [*Chambers*] and the ready credence with which it is heard, show how universal the

---

[f] Ritson's Robin Hood, Part II. No. 4.

[g] Thus Goneril in King Lear, says—"I must change arms at home; and give the distaff into my husband's hands."

[h] Wyvis thus mak mokks
Spynand on roks.
Ramsay's Ever Green, vol. II.

[i] 1 Kings, x. 28; and 2 Chron. i 16.

[j] Syne up he tuke a rok of tow,
And he sat down to sey the spinnin':
He loutit doun owre neir the low,
Quod he this wark hes ill beginnin'.
Wife of Auchtermuchty.

[k] My father cou'd na work, and my mither cou'd na spin,
I toiled day and night, but their bread I cou'd na win.

[l] I gang like a ghaist, and I carena for to spin.

[m] O leeze me on my spinning wheel,
O leeze me on my rock and reel:
Frae top to tae that cleids me bien,
And haps me feal and warm at e'en.

practice of spinning was in a certain grade of the community. The price of a wheel at Salford, in 1588, is given[n] in *Aston's Manchester Guide*, and is quoted by Mr. Harland, in the *Shuttleworth Accounts*.

There are, of course, numerous instances where the practice is mentioned in a connection more or less humorous; but a very few examples may suffice. Wilson represents his Satanic majesty as one night robbing a poor woman of her wheel, who "had spun maist a' her life," and "rugget at the rock." She represented that he would be tired of the trade when he had plied it as long as she had; whereupon he relented[o] and restored it to her. The same writer details the effects produced by his own reading of the humorous poems of his brother poet, Ebenezer Picken. The cottagers are astonished that he should possess the acquaintance of such an extraordinary man, and one stops her wheel to give utterance[p] to her expression of exclamation. An Irish parody on *Patrick's Day in the Morning*, represents a young woman in the South-east as occupied in spinning;[q] and the old story of *The Weary Pund o' Tow*,[r] is a species of domestic drama still occasionally acted, sometimes with variations and additions. In a broadside, printed at Sheffield, a grandmother spinning outside the cottage door is represented as saying that Fortune's wheel, like hers, is perpetually going round; and Fluellyn,[s] in his moralising to "ancient Pistol," adopts a similar line of thought.

The intimate connection that always existed between spinning and weaving, and the number of subsidiary operations required by the latter, led frequently to domestic incidents in which the affections were concerned. The operation of spinning, as well as that of winding, was often performed in the same apartment with the weaving; and thus conversation and personal intercourse were uninterrupted. An Ulster ballad[t] notices the rough system of wooing, and gives us an idea of the very small number of necessaries incident to rural matrimony. A Scottish song, entitled, *To the Weavers gin ye go*, relates[u] an incident of the same kind, but the minstrel calls the wheel one for warping instead of one for weft, viz., for "quills" or "pirns." In another Ulster ballad, called

---

[n] A truckle bedd [a smaller which wheeled under the larger one by day] and a spynnynge-wheele, in goodwiffe Gymney backsyde house valued at 1s. 10d

[o] *Effie and the Deil.* Wilson's Poems. [Henderson, 1844] page 85.

[p] Out granes auld grannie frae the neuk,
Where at the rock she's rivan,
Wow, sirs! and did he mak the beuk
Just oot o' his ain contrivin'?

[q] From Munster I travelled and came into Leinster,
I met a young lass, and they called her a spinster,
I sat down on a stool in the corner fornenst her,
On Patriek's day in the mornin'.

[r] I bought my wife a stane o' lint,
As gude as e'er did grow,
And a' that she has made o' it
Is ae puir pund o' tow.
Quo' I, for shame, ye idle dame,
Gae spin yere tap o' tow!
She took the rock, an' wi' a knock
She broke it o'er my pow.

[s] "Fortune is painted with a wheel, to signify to you, which is the moral of it, that she is turning, and inconstant, and variatious, and mutabilities; in good truth the poet makes a most excellent description of Fortune." *King Henry V.* iii. 6.

[t] A'll fix yer wheel behine my loom,
An' rowl ye on the bed,
An' my dearest dear A'll marry ye
Whin I get out my web.

[u] A merry westlan' weaver lad sat working at his loom,
He caught my heart, as wi' a net, in every thread and thrum;
I sat aside my warping-wheel, an' aye I ca'd it roun',
But every shot an' every knock, my heart it gied a stoun.

Aston also gives, in 1588, "a warpinge stoeke, with ryngs and yarne yn it, 2s. 6d."

The County Tyrone, a young man named Magennis is represented as a weaver,[v] on his adventures; and he succeeds in bringing back a wife from the town of Newry. There is an incidental allusion to the fact that the hand-loom operative not unfrequently took advantage of his skill to become a "draper" or master and employer; and changes of this kind have been more than usually frequent in Ulster within the last ten years.

The modern instruments of spinning have been known for at least three centuries, though they may not have been in general use. In the middle of the sixteenth century, such objects were appropriated by the robbers of the western marches; and Sir Richard Maitland has described them in 1561. From his mentioning the names of some of the persons, it is clear that he was minutely acquainted with the facts. He speaks of the spindle, the reel, and the rock; the web which they aided in producing; and the shirt, sheet, bolster, blanket, and bed, which in turn were formed from the web.[w] Nearly a century and a-half after, when Ireland had submitted to William III., a large number of her sons sought for military employment on the continent. Abroad, they constituted the well-known "Irish Brigade;" at home they were known colloquially as the "Wild Geese." There is a song commemorating the event, under the latter of these titles; it was written probably about 1700—certainly previous to 1720. A patriotic Irish maiden is represented as encouraging the hero of her choice in the following language:[x]—

"I'll sell my rock, I'll sell my reel,
I'll sell my only spinning-wheel
For to buy my love a sword of steel,
Shule, shule, aroon!"

In the Scottish song called the *Wooing of Jok and Jynny*, written probably about 1500, there is "a curious and ludicrous picture of the motley moveables which compose the portion of the bride;" among which are enumerated

"A furm, a furlet, and a peck,
A rock, a reel, and a wheel-band."[y]

The spirit of the poem has been adopted, *mutatis mutandis*, in an Irish comic song known as *Thady*

---

[v] I am a bowld waver,
I've done my endayvour,
In courtin' pretty fair maids abroad and at home,
An' bein' of sich mettle,
I nivver could settle,
Till I seen some place else nor the county Tyrone.
My father he toul' me
He'd nivver controul me,
But wud make me a draper if I'd stay at home,
But I tuk a notion
Of higher promotion,
For to try farther parts nor the county Tyrone.

[w] They leif not spindell, spone, nor speit;
Bed, boster, blanket, sark nor sheit;
Baith hen and cok,
With reil and rok,
The Lairdis Jok,
All with him taikis.
There is ane called Clementis Hob,
Frae ilk puir wife he reifs the wob.
The Thievis of Liddisdail; in Scott's *Minstrelsey of the Border, Introduction.*

[x] In 1745 the followers of the Pretender adapted the language thus:—
I'll sell my rock, I'll sell my reel,
My rippling-kame and spinning-wheel,
To buy my lad a tartan plaid,
A braid-sword, and a white cockade.

[y] Cunningham's copy, from which the foregoing is taken, enumerates also "a kame-but and a kaming-stock;" the copy in the Bannatyne collection, however, differs in many respects. It mentions "ane fork, ane flake, ane reill, ane rock;" "ane quheill;" "ane quheill-band;" "ane spindil wantand ane rok." See *Bannatyne MSS.*, 1568, published 1770.

O'Brady: and in another old Scottish melody, which was touched up by Ramsay and imitated by Burns, mention is made of two of the instruments. A maiden appeals to her lover to present her with a horse, but he prudently advises her to "pace upo' her spinning-wheel;" and she mentions in reply its age and defects, noticing particularly the rock and temper-pin [modern "screw-pin."[z]]

The instruments of weaving are less frequently mentioned; and most of the terms are of a less technical kind. The shuttle, however, is well-known; and is mentioned in the book of Job 1500 years before our era. Its use and form in the mediæval period of our own history admit of no doubt; for, in common with other extinct or ancient instruments of the arts, it has been preserved, like a fly in amber, in the quaint language and emblazoning of heraldry. For example, about 750 years ago, the Weavers' Company[a] of London was incorporated; and the arms represent three leopards' heads, each having in its mouth a shuttle. The peculiar mode of emblazoning it may be seen in *Gwillim*, and also in the modern *Glossary of Heraldry*. The former writes, "he beareth *argent*, three weavers' shuttles *sable*, tipped and furnish'd with quills of yarn, the threads pendant *or*, by the name of Shuttleworth of Lancashire." The Weavers' Company of Exeter had, in addition, the following charges, a teazel, a pair of shears, [b] a slea,[c] and two burling-irons,[d] from which we see the construction of these objects; and a shuttle of primitive construction may be seen in the curious collection of Mr. Welsh, of Dromore, (Co. Down). In the "strikes" among the weavers in the North of Ireland, about thirty years ago, the shuttles were collected, to prevent effectually any individual from breaking the paction with his fellows.

We have in use the popular verb "to shuttle," meaning to move backwards and forwards, or from side to side; and the game[e] called "shuttle-cock" evidently derives its name from this practice. In the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Shakspeare makes Falstaff put together some odds and ends of Scripture rather incongruously, when he says "I fear not Goliath with a weaver's beam, because I know also life is a shuttle;" and in the old ballad known as *The Good Fellow's Frolic*, a weaver is tempted by the potency of strong ale to pawn[f] his shuttle. A rustic poet, Peter Burns, of Kilwarlin (Co. Down), has mentioned several other of the instruments of his craft:—

---

[z] My spinning wheel is auld an' stiff,
The rock o't winna stand, Sir,
To keep the temper-pin in tiff,
Employs aft my hand, Sir.

[a] *Azure* on a chev. *argent* between three leopards' heads *or*, each having in its mouth a shuttle of the last, as many roses *gules* seeded of the third barbed *vert*. *Crest*, a leopard's head *or*, ducally crowned *gules*, in his mouth a shuttle of the first *Motto*—"Weave with trust."

[b] The clothiers' shears, used in the process of cloth-dressing, and figured in an old drawing of ladies at work, had each blade of a rectangular shape.

[c] This is figured in the *Glossary of Heraldry*, p. 290, as the "slay, slea, or reed." It is a massive wooden frame, the interior of which is twice as long [horizontally] as it is broad [perpendicularly]; and the longer bars are extended at the ends, each of the four projections being pierced with a hole.

[d] This instrument was equivalent to the modern rubbing-stone for giving a gloss, and admitted of being heated.

[e] The shuttlecock struck,
Does backwards rebound,
But if it be missed
It falls to the ground.

[f] The nimble weaver he came in
And swore he'd have a little;
To drink good ale it was no sin,
Though't made him pawn his shuttle.
Quoth he, I am a gentleman,
No lusty country clown,
But yet I love, with all my heart,
The ale that is so brown.
Evans's *Old Ballads*.

"I went to my loom, to see was she in tune,
But from her full soon I was obleeg'd to go,
Neither headles nor jacks, nor slays were eorrect,
The spring staves and treadles were all wrong below."

Another rustic poem, addressed by Daniel Megarry, an operative weaver, to a well-known manufacturer in Belfast, was printed in the *Belfast News-Letter* about 1829. The writer enumerated all his debts, to the amount of a pound sterling, which sum he asked his employer to send him, in payment of work done; one item was for the mending of slays. Gwillim, also, in connection with the subject of weaving, deseribes the wool-card,[g] (somewhat like the modern one, and differing from the "Jersey comb" or "card,") the hemp-break,[h] the slipper[i] fusil or spindle, and the "wharrow spindle."[k] To each of these are appended remarks on the use of the instrument; and it is said that under the same head "must be redueed all manner of tools and instruments pertaining to the several trades of weaving, dyeing, fulling, shearing, &c., as also sueh as do pertain to the several mysteries or occupations of embroiderers, sempsters, and such others." The rule of precedenee among sueh persons was, "that each one is to be preferred before the other, aecording to the dignity of the stuff whereon he doth execute his trade." In 1588, "2 paire of rugge loomes with their ffurniture" were valued at six shillings.

The materials in the olden time were wool, flax, and hemp. The Hebrews also spun goats' hair;[l] and eamica or eamlet derives its name from the eamels' hair used in it. Only a few years have elapsed sinee Mr. Salt, of Saltaire, near Bradford, introdueed the manufacture known as "Alpaca," from the South-Ameriean animal of that name. It would appear that, from the earliest times, women were weavers as well as spinners; though Bezaleel and Aholiab eertainly understood all the processes. Thus "the women wove hangings for the grove,"[m] previous to the time of King Josiah. It was the same in the mediæval period of our English history; and even in modern Scotch the term "web*ster* is feminine,"[n] and shows how the work was originally performed.

Old Tusser, who wrote just three centuries ago [1547], speaks of both flax and hemp in his *Husbandry* for the month of July, and points out the uses for some of the eoarser kinds.

"Wife, pluck fro thy hemp-seed the female hemp elean,
This looketh more yellow, the other more green;

---

g "Marcus Varro maketh mention that within the Chappel of Fortune was kept the very royal robe or mantell of estate which Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, made with her own hands, after the manner of water-chamlet in wave-work, which Servius Tullius used to wear." *Gwillim*, 6th ed. fol. [1724] p. 299.

h This resembles two "erigs," whose teeth lock into each other; the lower is attached to a frame, and the upper, working on a hinge, is pressed upon it.

i This is figured as a long tapering stick, without any knob near its point, and bears the term "slipper." Even till the time that Varro wrote, there was in one of the temples "the wooll that the lady Caia Cecilia did spin, together with the distaff and spindle." *Gwillim, at supra.*

k "This spindle differeth much from those preceding, in respect to the crook above [i.e. at the thieker end,] and of the wharrow [wharrol or "whorle,"] impressed upon the lower part thereof. This sort the spindle-women do use most commonly to spin withal, not at the Torn [wheel or winder] as the former, but at a distaff put under their girdle, so as they oftentimes spin therewith going. The round ball at the lower end serveth to the fast-twisting of the thread, and is called a wharrow; and therefore this is called a wharrow-spindle, where the others are called slippers that pass through the yarn." *Gwillim*, p.300.

l Exodus xxxv. 26.

m 2 Kings xxiii. 7.

n Words of a similar construction, are Baxter (i.e. Bakester), Brewster, Maltster, Songster, Spinster, Tapster.

Use t'one for thy spinning, leave Michell the t'other
For shoe-thread, for halter, for rope, and such other.
Now pluck up thy flax for thy maidens to spin,
And first see it dried, and then timely got in."

The importance of some of these processes to simple people may be inferred from the fact that the operations were assigned in lieu of dates. Thus, in the days of Moses, when we read of the barley and the flax being smitten, we also read that "the flax was bolled;" and in Down and Antrim, to this day, a frequent date is "at the pulling of the flax." Burns has also assigned a similar date, in his *Cotter's Saturday Night*, when the good wife in praise of her kebbuck [cheese] mentions—

How t'was a towmond auld sin' lint was i' the bell.

Tusser, however, tells us not only of the manufacture of thread, shoes, and ropes; he introduces mother word, the primitive meaning of which is lost to all but the scholar. The shoemaker and the tailor are the makers of *new* articles of dress; but the cobbler and the botcher[o] [*quasi* "patcher"] were anciently menders only; and the former word still retains its use. The modern use of "botch," however, is to spoil by clumsiness and want of taste.

When the Israelites arrived in Palestine, the people of the country were familiar with flax; and among the bundles which she was drying on the top of the house, Rahab hid the spies. She let them down by a cord, which was no doubt made of flax; and it appears to have been the same one, which was coloured red, that the men fixed upon to mark the house which they were to spare. We read in like manner in the prophecy of Ezekiel, of "a line of flax and a measuring reed."

There is reason to believe that checked linen, or linen coloured in the yarn, was not unknown in comparatively modern times, before the primitive printed pattern had been heard of called "shower of hail." Mr. James Turner has noticed the fact in the modern Scotch song called *Habbie's Frae Hame*.[p] In *Thady O'Brady*, the bride possesses both wool and flax; and to the mixture of these two only, is the term "drugget" applied in Ireland. It is pronounced "dhrogget;" and I have somewhere read that it took its name from Drogheda, where it was extensively manufactured. In an old poem already quoted, the bridegroom boasts the possession of "a sark maid o' the linkome twine;" which some suppose was woollen throughout, and others think was sack-cloth. Chalmers imagines that it was a mixture of linen and woollen, that is "drugget." [In the laws respecting uniformity, which were given to the Jews, they were forbidden[q] to wear a garment composed of linen and woollen.] There is a story told of a poor woman in Aberdeen who entered a draper's shop, and conducted a conversation in vowel sounds,[r] her object being to ascertain whether or no there was any cotton in a shawl which she intended to purchase.

---

[o] The first cock croweth,
Maids three a clock knead, lay your bucks and go brew;
The next cock croweth,
And cobble and botch ye that cannot buy new

[p] My wheel it gangs roun', and my lint-tap I spread,
Lint that I weave for bibs to my bairn:
The warp shall be blue, and the weft shall be red,
And braw we'll be a' when our Habbie comes hame.

[q] Levit. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 11.

[r] *Woman.* A'oo?—[Is it all wool?]
Shopman. Ou aye, a' oo.—[Oh yes, it's all wool.]
Woman. A'ae'oo—[Is it all one [kind of] wool?]
Shopman. Ou aye, a' ae'oo.—[Oh yes, it's all one [kind of] wool.]

But the subject is not merely associated with poetry. As most of the passages quoted are extracts from lyrical pieces, so the words are wedded to suitable airs. There are also other airs for which the words are not known, some of them ancient and very beautiful. In "Bunting's Ancient Music of Ireland," there are three *Spinning-wheel Songs* given, Nos. 134 and 135 to be sung by women, and 136 by men. Mr. Bunting procured them from a lady in Dublin in 1839, the year before the publication of his volume; they are said to be "very ancient, the authors and dates unknown."—In the same interesting collection is another entitled *I can Weave Linen and Woollen*, No 59; the author and date of which are in like manner unknown. It was procured in 1800 from J. M'Cracken Esq., of Belfast, and probably was not then more than a century old. The weaving of woollen was occasional, but very rare, in rural districts within ten miles of Belfast, till about 1780.

In Ramsay's *Ever Green*, there is a metaphorical poem by Semple, entitled "The Claith Merchant," which tells us some of the qualities of woollen cloth, such as was fit "to be our court men's winter weid." It was "weil twynt and smal," "weil carded and caukit," "weil wrocht in luims," &c. When the nap or wool was long upon it, it was called "cloth of grain;" but when this was worn off, the actual texture of the cloth was apparent, and of course it afforded comparatively little protection. Thus, in the Old English song *Tak your auld cloak about ye*,[s] the old man complains that length of wear had produced this effect upon his cloak.[t] In Burns's *Tam O'Shanter* the witches are represented as having their "sarks" made of "creeshie [greasy] flannen." In an Act passed in 1552 for limiting the times of buying and selling "of wolles,"[u] mention is made of "chamblettes, wolstende, saies, stamine, knitte hose, knitte petticotes, knitte gloves, knitte slieves, hattes, coives, cappes, arasse tapissery, girdles, or any thing used to be made of wolle."

Throughout almost the whole of the Scriptures, mention is made of "linen cloth," and in several parts there is an allusion to merchandise in it.[w] In the time of Moses, both the warp and the woof are noticed; and "fine linen," as well as "fine twined linen," is frequently spoken of. In our own country, the manufacture of the better kind of linen was introduced from Holland, and hence it was called by that name. Just in the same way, earthenware is called China or Delf, from the places of its original manufacture. Even in our own day, lint is sometimes spoken of as "Holland blae" or "Holland white," both the place and the shade of colour being indicated; and the writer has heard "holland" as regularly used to denote linen as the plural term is employed to indicate the contents of the "grey-beard" bottles. Shakspeare has one of his puns on this subject, where he represents Prince Henry[y] as describing a scarcity of linen on the part of Poins:—"the rest of thy *low countries* have made a shift to eat up thy *holland*." In the affecting ballad known as the *Twa Brothers*,[z] the one

[s] Like many others, this is best known through the modern Scottish version of it.

[t] Long time it was of cloth in graine,
'Tis now but a sigh clout, as you may see
It will neither hold out wind nor raine,
And I'll have a new cloak about mee.
It is so bare and overworne,
A crick he thereon cannot renne.

[u] Howell's *History of the World*, quoted in *Beckmann's History of Inventions*.

[w] Exek xxvii. 16; Rev. xviii. 12.

[y] 2 King Henry IV., ii. 2.

[z] He has ta'en off his Holland sark,
And riven it gair by gair;
He has stoppit it in the bluidy wound,
But aye it bled mair and mair.

who is wounded entreats the other to "take off his holland sark" and "rive it" for the purpose of staunching the blood. *The Drunken Wife o' Galloway* is described as having drunk various articles of dress, including her "sark of the hollans;"[b] and in *The Douglas Tragedy*, a lady is represented as having a handkerchief of fine holland,[c] the precursor, no doubt, of our modern "cambric."

It is unnecessary to say that silk at its first introduction was rare and costly. It is mentioned in the last chapter of the book of Proverbs; but the more correct rendering is "all her household are clothed in *double garments*." The term was also frequently used to indicate rare and expensive material, just as the term gold is among metals. In ballad poetry, Gil Morice is represented as sending a message to his mother by Lord Barnard's page,

> Gae show to her this silken sark,
> Her ain hand sewed the sleeve;

and *Fair Annie o' Loehryan*, in going to seek for her lover, will not be satisfied with less than a ship with a golden mast, silken sails, and ropes of taffety![d] It may be mentioned, in passing, that sails of "canvass" are literally sails of "hemp," (*cannabis;*) and they are occasionally depicted on the lymphad or galley that forms part of the arms of the Campbells of Argyle. But the ships of Tyre, in the ancient times, spread forth the "fine linen of Egypt and broidered work,"[e] to catch the breeze. The extent of the prevalence of silk in this kingdom may be traced in the following way. In the early part of the reign of Henry VIII., he wore only the usual cloth hose; but afterwards he obtained a pair of knitted woollen stockings. Before the close of his reign, he procured a pair of knitted silk stockings from Spain; and Thomas Gresham presented a similar pair to Edward VI. In 1561, Queen Elizabeth was presented with a pair by Mrs. Montagu, her silk-woman, and would never afterwards wear[f] anything else. Poins is represented as having two pair of silk stockings. This was quite at variance with the fact in the time of Henry IV., in connection with which he is mentioned, but it would have been correct enough in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, when Shakspeare wrote. In the *Taming of the Shrew*, the servant of Petruchio is remarkable for having "a linen stock on the one leg, and a kersey boot-hose on the other;" and Hamlet is described by Ophelia as with "his stockings foul'd, ungartered, and down-gyved to the ancle."

The Wife of Auchtermuchty, in the old ballad, offers to bribe the ploughman to aid her in her jocular stratagem against her husband, by giving him a new shirt either of coarse or fine linen.[g] In illustration of the terms "round claith" and "sma'" which she employs, it may be sufficient

---

[b] She has drunken her hose, syne has she her shoon,
Her snaw-white mutch and her bonny new gown,
Her sark of the Hollans, that covered her rarely—
Oh! gin my wife wad drink hooly and fairly.

[c] "An' she's ta'en out her handkerchief,
That was o' the Hollan' sae fine,
An' aye she dichtit her father's bluidy wound,
Where the blude ran red as the wine.

[d] The sails were o' the light green silk,
The tows o' taffeta.

[e] Ezekiel xxvii. 7.

[f] Howell's *History of the World*, quoted in *Beckmann's History of Inventions*.

[g] Says Jok, be thou maister of the wark,
And thou sall had, and I sall ka;
I'se promise thee a gude new sark,
Either of round claith or of sma'.

to quote the Ulster expression, "a nimble nine the brother of a sack," in contrast with Burns's expression in *Tam O'Shanter*, "snaw-white seventeen hunder linen." The former would be considered coarse shirting, and the latter fine. But a temptation of clothing comes to us in its most impressive form when it is used for the purpose of stifling the affections; when that which is generally regarded as a means is used not to aid, but to defeat, the ordinary end. There are two quotations of this kind which form an interesting contrast. The one is like the "breathing marble" recent from the hand of a master sculptor, the other is the granite statue hewn by a stone mason. Yet they coincide in sentiment, and each is suited to the class of persons to whom it is specially addressed.[h]

He. And ye sall walk in silk attire,
And siller hae to spare,
Gin ye'll consent to be his bride,
Nor think o' Donald mair.
She Oh! wha would buy a silken gown
Wi' a puir broken heart?
Or what's to me a siller crown,
If from my love I part.[i]

When Sir Humphry Davy was asked what were the best colours for the clothes of an angler, he replied by describing a coat the colour of a salmon's back, and a vest of a sky colour. It was for a similar reason that foresters preferred green; that Highland deer-stalkers imitate the colour of the heath in their plaids; and that Nature makes the Arctic bear white. The best green was formerly dyed at Lincoln and Kendal, and the best blue at Coventry. Shakspeare represents Falstaff as speaking of "three misbegotten knaves in Kendal green;" but the ballads usually speak of Lincoln green. The sheriff of Nottingham was made to sleep in the green-wood, among Robin Hood's men, wrapped in "a grene mantelle;" and in the alleged interview with the king, the outlaw was able to supply him with as much green cloth as arrayed his majesty and his attendants in the accustomed uniform. Scarlet and other brilliant colours were sometimes worn for effect; and kings who delighted in the magnificence and costliness of the Tyrian dye, were known as *purpurei tyranni*. It may be mentioned that the colours in which the ancient Jews delighted, or which they procured most readily, were scarlet, blue, and purple. We read, in our old English literature, of Lincoln "grey;"[o] but the adjective is probably used in its general and not its local sense. A French author speaks of Estanfort [Stamford in Lincolnshire] green; and an Irish ballad informs us that Willy Riley was dressed conspicuously at his trial "all in a suit of green." In the Scotch ballads,

---

[h] *He.* I'll give you fine bavers, and fine silken gowns;
I'll give you smart petticoats, flounced to the ground;
I'll buy you fine jewels, and live but for thee,
If you'll lave your own true-love and folly with me.
She. I want none of your bavers, nor fine silks and hose,
For I'm not so poor as to marry for clo'es;
But if you'll be constant and true unto me,
I'll lave my own true-love and marry with thee.
Flowers of Irish Melody, Belfast, 1847.

[i] Published *cir.* 1790. See Cunningham's *Songs of Scotland*, III. 260.

[o] Then came our Kittie's washen clene,
In new kirtills of grey.
Their kirtills were of Lincome licht,
Weil prest wi' mony plaits.
Chryst's Kirk of the Greene.

the heroine has usually "a green kirtell" and yellow hair; the latter, it may be observed, showing how small an infusion of Gaelic blood there is in the population, or at least in the bardie portion of it. The "hodden-grey[p]" of Burns in *A Man's a Man for a' that*, is more beeoming in humble life; it is more easily proeured; and prudent housewives say "it hides the dirt better."

The term "Isabella-eoloured," is unknown among the peasantry and operatives, but is familiar to the readers of our older literature. Isabella of Castile, whose husband, Ferdinand of Arragon, was besieging a Moorish town in Spain, vowed to the virgin, in a moment of hope and enthusiasm, that she would not ehange her innermost garment till the town had been taken. The siege was protraeted, however, for some weeks, at the end of whieh time the "Holland sark" of her Majesty had assumed the peeuliar hue known as "whitey-brown." In honour of her piety and heroism, this was named "Isabella eoloured."

But to return to the statement at the commencement, few are aware of the extent to whieh our language has been enriehed from the topies we are now eonsidering, and how eompletely many of our eommonest expressions would require to be altered, if we ean suppose that the spinning-wheel and the loom had never existed. The following are examples:—

The sailor "spins a long yarn;" the orator follows "up the thread of his diseourse;" the diplomatist is "entangled in a web" of sophistry; the aeute intelleet, like the Sphynx, "unravels a mysstery;" human life is "a web;"* its thread "may be eut short;"† the dishonest man is "warped[q] in his purposes;" a stag, and sometimes a man, is spoken of as "spindle-shanks." An improvement in modern maehinery is a "spinning jenny;" a fool "weaves eob-webs;"[r] an inseet that erawls over our tables is known as a "spinner;"[s] and a person who is wanting in vivaeity and aeuteness is said to be "slaek spun." An intrieate pieee of business is ealled in England "a tangled skein;" the Seotch say it is "a diffieult pirn[t] to wind;" and the Ulster Irish speak of it as "a ravelled hank." When the order of anything is eompletely lost, the people of Ulster say they have "lost the lees of it," or that it is "all through other," viz., eonfused. And as artisans of almost every kind adopt figurative expressions from the operations in their respeetive trades,[u] so a physieal beating is sometimes ealled a "scutching," and a thorough intelleetual diseomfiture a "heekling." It was remarked of a late professor, who was not only highly intelleetual, but espeeially amiable and irritable, that he "soaped" his students when out of his elass, and "beetled" them in it.

Johnson objeeted to the first line in a Stanza of Gray's *Bard*, as somewhat undignified,

Weave the warp, and weave the woof;

---

[p] What, tho' on hamely fare we dine,
Wear hodden-grey and a' that.

* The web of our life is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together.—*Shakspeare, All's Well*, iv, 3.

† The thread of our Life would be dark, Heaven knows,
If it were not with Friendship and Love intertwined!
Moore's Irish Melodies.

[q] Contempt, his scornful perspective did lend me, which warped the line of every other favour. *All's Well that Ends Well*, v. 3.

[r] Isa., lix., 5. "They weave the spider's web."

[s] Queen Mab's "waggon-spokes made of long spinner's legs."

[t] Lord Crawford says to Le Balafré "How often will you bring me such ill-winded pirns to ravel out?'.—Scott's *Quentin Durward.*

[u] See "A full and true account of the solemn procession to the Gallows, at the Execution of William Wood, 1724." *Swift's Works.* The weaver is not mentioned among the trades.

and Mrs. Thrale[v] tried to modify his criticism by showing the importance of the application,

The winding-sheet of Edward's race.

There are certain similitudes of this class, which suggest themselves readily to an unlettered population. Thus, the "almond tree"[w] or hoary head, is "as white as a streek o' flax;" and the expression "flaxen"[x] is applied in certain cases to the hair of ladies of a fair complexion. Shakspeare has the three[y] cognate expressions "as pale as a clout," "as pale as a shirt," and "linen cheeks;" and popularly, a silly fellow is "not length and count," or "has only eleven cuts to the hank," which is equivalent to "wanting a penny of the shilling." The firmament is not only spoken of as a tent or pavilion, but it is sometimes called a "warp" or "woof"[z] of cloth; when people are too crowded they are said to be "throng in the reed;" and an unusual intimacy is expressed by the term "as thick [or great] as inkle-weavers." A person who unites provincial and vulgar expressions with an affectation of pure English, is said to "speak drugget;" and when he carries a correct analogy too far, he is said to "put in the weft[a] too fine." Shakspeare has "speaking linsey-woolsey,"[b] in the ease of uttering nonsense. A hand or foot unusually large is "as broad as a erig;" a dried herring is "a slay hook," from its resemblance in form to the instrument by which the threads are drawn through the reed; and a farm servant, in an argument, describes unsubstantial flummery as "warped with water and wefted with the wind of the door." The characteristics of a good weaver of the more substantial fabrics are "a hawk's eye, a bear's foot, and a lady's hand;" and as the term "remlit" [remnant] is often restricted to a residuary cutting of cloth, a peculiar meaning is sometimes given to the controversial proverb, "there's a remnant of all to be saved."[c]

The following are some of the more formal proverbs. When a person makes a great exertion to obtain that which may be had with ease, it is said "he goes far to warp, and the mill so near." In the mining districts of England, such useless exertion is represented as "carrying coals to Newcastle." When an old man exhibits signs of rapid decay, it is said "his dhressin's near the lees-rods;" that is, that the present state of things cannot long continue. A person who is without the means of discharging an admitted debt, sometimes pleads that he has "neither reed nor gears, shuttle nor shears;" and another proverb is occasionally appended, "you can't take breeches off a Hielan'man." One proverb contains a punning[d] allusion to the treadle of a spinning-wheel; "a

---

[v] Boswell's Life of Johnson, 1775.

[w] Ecclesiastes, xii., 5.

[x] "Sae flaxen were her ringlets." *Scottish Song.*
His hairs were white like wool. Rev., i., 14; Dan., vii., 9.

[y] She looks as pale as any clout in the 'varsal world. *Romeo and Juliet*, ii., 4.
Pale as his shirt, his knees knocking each other. *Hamlet*, ii. 1.
These linen cheeks of thine are counsellors to fear. *Macbeth*, v., 3.

[z] In the skeleton window pits,
Horror sits;
And exposed to Heaven's wild woof,
Lies the roof.—*Schiller's Lay of the Bell. Mangan.*

[a] Thus, in the avoidance of such sounds as "mate." (for meat,) "table" is called *teeble*, and Zion's time for "favour." [Psal. cii., 13, Zachary Boyd's version] is sometimes sung "her time for fever which was set."

[b] What linsey-woolsey hast thou to speak to us again. *All's Well that Ends Well.*, iv., 1.

[c] Probably derived from Romans, ix., 27.

[d] Proverbs of the same class are "*Slips* are in" [allowable] in dancing:" "Kissing goes by *favour*;" "she's a helpless body who has no *shift*; *Sit fast* is a bad weed" Shakspeare puns in the same way;—"Sir, I would advise you to *shift* a shirt." *Cymbeline*, i., 3.

goin' foot's always gettin' something." When it is intended not to remedy a deficiency till the last moment, it is said "let the want come at the web's end," and of something unimportant it is remarked, "it'll brush off like a weaver's kiss."

Some of these expressions receive a sort of sanction in literature, especially that which is of a popular character. A few examples may be quoted. When a person retires secretly and unceremoniously, as in taking "French leave," he is said to "slip away like a knotless thrid;" the origin of which is obvious. The expression is employed in a Scotch song in which the lady seriously doubts the disinterestedness of her lover's motive.[e] Again, in the sale of yarn, it was usual for both buyer and seller to seize hold of a hank, and the latter retained it or handed it over, according to the issue of the bargaining. Hence probably the expression, "keep the hank in your own hand," which is to say, do not abandon any advantage that you possess. In Ramsay's *Ever Green*, vol. II. p. 197, there is an old poem with the signature "*Quod* Balnevis," the rhyming title of which is

Of heidstrong zouth ill to command,
Advysd to keip a hank[f] in hand.

A well managed plan is sometimes spoken of as "a well spun thread,"[g] and the expression is used in a domestic dialogue given by Cunningham, vol. III. p. 124. A similar phraseology, of an opposite meaning, is sometimes used orally, and is also found in some of our older authors. In the *Towneley Mysteries*, printed in 1836 by the Surtees Society, the play entitled *Secunda Pastorum*,[h] which Mr. Collier describes as "the most singular piece in the whole collection," contains the following:—

Secundus Pastor. Ille spon weft, I wys, ay commys foulle oute.

The following words and expressions may be added, without any danger of exhausting the subject. One man is "a cotton lord," while another is only a "red-tapist;" nor is it creditable that either should "turn his coat." Whatever subject is "on the carpet," neither should "cushion it" or "cloak it over;" but without either standing up "as stiff as buckram," or "tearing a passion to tatters," he should utter his "fine-drawn" theories, or "home-spun" arguments, as the case may be. There should be no "clipping" of the Queen's English, or "stringing loose thoughts," or throwing together mere "odds and ends," or hanging facts on "a rotten pack thread" of hypothesis. The troubles of life cause many to "wear sackcloth," while others are "clothed in purple and fine linen;" some pass on "with a flowing sail" and "flying colours," and life is to them "as soft as

---

[e] Ye're like to the timmer o' yon rotten wood,
Ye're like to the bark o' yon rotten tree;
Ye'll slip frae me like a knotless thread.
And ye'll crack your credit wi' mair nor me.
My Tocher's the Jewel.

[f] Frae Tyme se stank into the Bank,
And Drypoint cums in play;
Ze tyne the thank, Man hald a Hank,
Or all be past away.

[g] Then may our bairns a begging run,
To seek their mister in the mire,
So fair a thread as we hae spun,
Dame, do the thing that I require.

[h] A person called Mak, is represented as having stolen a sheep, and borne it to his own cottage. It was there laid in the bed by his wife, and when the owners came to search for it, it was announced that there had been "an addition to the family." The spurious baby was discovered, and this circumstance gave rise to the witticism in the text, and to many others. There is an incident of a somewhat similar kind in Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Border*, recorded in the ballad known as *Archy Armstrang's Aith*. He hid the stolen sheep in the cradle, and then swore that he was ready to eat the baby he was rocking, if he knew anything of the missing animal.

silk," or "as smooth as satin." But whatever the "texture" of our destinies, or however "chequered" our lives may be, we will not require any "clue" of human craft, if we only follow the "line" of duty. True caution tells us only to go "the length of our tether;" prudence whispers that "a stitch in time saves nine;" while economy and honesty concur in teaching that we should "cut our coat according to our cloth."—In thus "clothing our thoughts," we have no wish "to spin out" too long; we shall therefore "follow up the thread of our discourse," and "wind all up" without delay.

If we accept the term "drugget" as derived from Drogheda, we only act in accordance with a rule of general application. "Holland" (for linen), is a case in point; and we have seen that "kendal" was employed as a noun. In like manner we might also speak of "dunstable" and "kidderminster" as nouns instead of adjectives; and, even in the united Kingdom, we have "worsted" from Worstead in Norfolk, where it was formerly manufactured by the Flemings; and "linsey-woolsey" from the parish of Lindsey, in Suffolk. This subject is a copious and interesting one; but as we must, for the present, dismiss it in a paragraph, all that can be attempted is a mere enumeration. Thus, "dimity" came from Damietta, "diaper" from Ypres, [d'Ypres], "cambric" from Cambray,[1] "damask" from Damascus, "muslin" from Mosul, "shalloon" from Chalons in France, "fustian" from Fustat in Egypt, "arras" from Arras in Artois; "baize," originally "bays," from Baia in Italy; "bockins," [coarse woollen cloth] from Bockin in Essex; and "cordwain" or "cordovan," from Cordova in Spain. Such words as "persian," "paramatta," "orleans," and "padua," belong more to our own times. The reader must not suppose, however, that words of this formation are confined to the mere names of cloths; on the contrary, they are common, but other terms do not lie in our way at present. We may, however, mention "galligaskins," that is Gallic-Gascon hose; and also the word "cravat," which is derived from Croatia. This latter article was first introduced by the Croats when in alliance with the French; so that it crept into fashion, and thence into general use. How strange it is that three such simple expressions as "diapered worsted galligaskins," "damasked calico fustian," and "cambric muslin cravat," should contain allusions to ten different localities in Europe, Asia, and Africa! One of the simplest and least useful of our articles of dress has tasked the capabilities of the human family to contribute their respective parts, from beyond the Euphrates to the basin of the Rhine!

The whole subject of weaving, like many others, was enveloped by the ancients in fable. Thus, of the three Fates, Clotho, who presided over the natal hour, was provided with a distaff; another, who spun out all the events of human life, had near her a large number of spindles; and the third, whose business it was to cut the various threads, held in her hand scissors, and clues of various sizes. Arachne was unusually skilful in working with the needle, but being defeated by Minerva in a trial of skill, she hanged herself in despair, and was changed into a spider. "Closter, the son of Arachne, taught first the use of the spindle for woollen-yarn. "It was," (saith Pliny) "a fashion

[1] Shakspeare represents Virginia, in Coriolanus, as sewing cambrick. i., 3.

and custom at Rome, that when maids were to be wedded, there attended upon them one with a distaff, dressed and trimmed with kembed wooll, as also a spindle and yarn upon it, to put them in mind that housewifery and wifery were to go together."—"Weaving was the invention of the Egyptians, and Arachne was the first spinner of flax thread, the weaver of linen, the knitter of nets. But it seemeth that those arts were at first learned by imitation of silk-worms, spiders, and such like, whose subtle works no mortal hand can match."—[*Gwillim.*]

The changes of manners are often distinctly indicated by the way in which weaving and its products are alluded to. Thus, in a rural broadside called the *Eccles Wakes*, the presumption in dress and manner of the mill-workers in Manchester is severely criticised; but the results are outwardly traceable to regular employment and fair wages. Long previous to such occurrences, a Scottish ballad [k] had alluded to cotton in recording the abduction of Miss Kay, of Edinbelly, by Robin Oge, and Hamish MacGregor, the two sons of the celebrated Rob Roy; and even in August, 1620, the house and farm accounts of the Shuttleworths of Lancashire mention "4 y'des of yellow cotton, att Manchester for the gentlemen's petticoates, iiij^{s}" It was usual, however, to call some of the woollen cloths "cottons." The operations, too, were more easy in the hand-loom weaving of cotton than in that of linen; indeed they were not unfrequently performed by women. Hence, the cotton-weaver, like those who performed subsidiary operations, was often spoken of with a degree of contempt.—The whole class was occasionally treated in the same way. A lyrical melody, which pretends to treat of the times of King Arthur, relates that a weaver stole yarn, and the result was that he was hung in it; nor are the traditions of North Britain much more complimentary. The inhabitants of the Nether Bow, in Edinburgh, were mostly weavers, and were supposed to be rather lax in their notions of *meum* and *tuum*. Robert Chambers, in his *Popular Rhymes*,[l] has preserved one by which the children used to salute the members of this craft. The term "quill-boy" is one of reproach in Ulster, indicating comparative incapacity. A rustic poet there has put into the mouth of a country coquette some expressions[m] by no means complimentary to the weavers of cotton.

It is unnecessary, and would be in some degree out of place, to follow the changes that have taken place in property, wages, and employment. There is a tale of suffering, however, recorded in the popular broadside, in our own day, called *The Downfall of Trade*;[o] the weaver referring specially to his own business. He is often obliged to abandon his own occupation, (and frequently he is unfit for any other), not from any uneasy desire for change, but from his inability to procure a livelihood by it

---

[k] They rode till they came to Ballyshine,
At Ballyshine they tarried,
He brought to her a cotton gown,
Yet ne'er wad she be married.

[l] As I gaed up the Canongate,
And through the Nether-bow,
Four and twenty weavers
Were swinging in a tow.
The tow gae a crack,
The weavers gae a girn,
Fie, let me down again,
I'll never steal a pirn,
I'll ne'er steal a pirn,
I'll ne'er steal a pow;
Oh fie, let me down again,
I'll steal nae mair frae you.

[m] A cotton waver he's like noan,
For he's all wore to skin an' bone;
I would rather ten times lie my lone
Nor cuddle wi' a waver.

[o] When trade it was good, I had money at will.
Since times is so altered my spirits is dull;
For I'm a poor weaver, and sorely I rue,
The first day that ever my shuttle I threw.

The Poor Irishman's Grief for the Bad[p] *Times*, and *The Nabbing of Stanes*,[q] could not have attained their present popularity, if they were not the feeling records of general facts. It is hoped that these "short and simple annals of the poor" will not be without interest to the general reader. Since 1820, the hand-loom weavers of the North of Ireland have often attempted to better their condition, by supplying the greater demand which existed in the West of Scotland. The usual domestic incidents were of frequent occurrence, and a well-known ballad, *The Girl I Left Behind*, records with great correctness and good feeling, the material and matrimonial successes of one of these emigrants. In both respects, however, he had a period of trial[r] and probation. Mr. J. H. Dixon has preserved in his *Ancient Poems, Ballads, and Songs of the Peasantry of England*, one entitled *The Weaver's Garland, or a New School for Christian*[s] *Patience*, which deserves a passing notice. It was composed about 1700, when, in consequence of the passing of the "Lustring Act," there was a panic in the silk trade. The weavers of Spitalfields, accompanied by their wives and families, sung it through London, the dialogue parts being taken by the husband and wife in turn. He is despairing, and she comforts him, and the sentiments are of the most creditable kind. It is still sung, in the same way, when the employment is depressed; and the Londoners occasionally contribute very handsomely.

From every occupation in life, however unpromising, men have risen up and attained distinction. From the factory and the mine, from the ranks of the army, and from before the mast in the navy, there are those who have come to bear a prominent part in the history of their country. We cannot expect that every one who abandons the plough will become a Cincinnatus, or that all who leave the sheepfolds and the bleatings of their flocks will rival "the sweet singer" in poetry, or Ferguson in practical science. But in the honourable roll of those who have benefited humanity, and adorned an humble occupation, let the weaver not be forgotten. He is usually a good subject; he often possesses great intelligence for his position; and he is commonly the depository of such curious[t] lore as childhood revels in. Thom was a weaver; so was Wilson, the father of American ornithology, whose poems have been referred to; and I might add the name of an eminent oriental scholar, lately removed by death. Wilson has given us a poem, entitled *Groans from the Loom*,[u] which shows how irksome the duties are to persons who have higher yearnings; and, there is no doubt, that a false pride,

[p] How often, and how truly, was weaving called the staple trade,
But now the trade is dead and gone, and in its grave is laid;
The best of tunes for poor men's ears, the shuttle's cheerful sound,
Can seldom now be heard at all, upon dear Irish ground.

[q] My loom being idle, and mills on half time,
My family and I soon began to repine:
And hundreds of tradesmen, as skilful as I,
Ev'n a peck of potatoes and meal could not buy.

[r] One evening when I'd done my work,
I rov'd by George's Square,
The mail coach it had just arrived,
And the post-boy met me there;
He handed me a letter, which
Gave me to understan'
That the "Girl I left behind me"
Was wed to another man.

[s] Percy Society's Publications. No. lxii. 1846.

[t] I would I were a weaver; I could sing all manner of songs. *Shakspeare*, 1. *Hen.* iv., ii. 4.

[u] Deploring beside an old loom,
A weaver perplexed was laid,
And, while a bad web was his theme,
The breast-beam supported his head.
Poems, 298.

(which exists less in Scotland than in either England or Ireland,) conceals from us the names of many to whom the loom has proved the first round in the ladder of life. The history and literature of the subject surely deserve to be written; but the present paper,—whatever of suggestion or instruction it may contain,—is only the incidental jottings of one wholly unconnected with the subject. He has thought them worthy of a record, however, not by way of satisfying curiosity, but as a stimulus to the acquirement and contribution of facts. A. Hume.

THE ROUND TOWERS OF ULSTER.

DRUMLANE TOWER, COUNTY CAVAN.

"Alack, and what would good old Mogue there see,
But empty lodgings and unfurnished walls,
Unpeopled offices, untrodden stones?"

Drumlane (*Druim-leathain*, "the broad ridge," or "hill,") is the name of a townland and parish in the barony of Loughtee, and county of Cavan, where are the ruins of a church, and remains of a Round Tower, which are situated near the village of Milltown, and about three miles S.W. of Belturbet. The burning of this place is recorded by the *Four Masters*, as early as the year 1246. Saint Maedhog ("Maidoc," or "Mogue,") is the reputed founder of the monastic church here, of which he was considered the patron saint. Dr. Lanigan, however, considers that Colgan errs in making this assertion; and the only connection he finds of the saint's history with the place is a statement which goes to prove the previous existence of Drumlane; for his parents are represented, after being married some time without issue, as having prayed to God to grant them a son, for which purpose they also gave great alms, and often went to the monastery of *Druim-leathan*, where they used to request the prayers of the holy men who resided there.[a]

Entries of an early date in the *Annals* are found having reference to a religious house here. For example, the *Four Masters*, in 1025, record the death of Duibhinsi Ua Fairchellaigh [O'Farrelly] abbot of Drumlane; and again, in 1059, the demise of another member, it may be presumed, of the same family, Conaing Ua Fairchellaigh, *airchinneach* of Druim leathan, successor of Saint Maedhog, in Connaught, &c. "The O'Farrellys were the hereditary *coarbs* of Saint Mogue, or *Erenachs* of Drumlane till the suppression of the monastery." A good example is afforded by this sept [natio] of Munster, Farrelly, of the peculiar tenure by which church-lands were held under the early Irish system; but it would be out of place here to do more than make a reference to the information

[a] Lanigan, vol. 3, p. 333.

afforded by Dr. Reeves in his *Acts of Archbishop Colton;* by Mr. Porter, the translator of that work, in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology;* and perhaps most of all by Mr. King, in his admirable *Memoir Introductory to the Early History of the Primacy of Armagh.*

It may be interesting to collect a few of the other general notices of this place, now obscure, but at one time important in Irish history, which are found in the Annals:—

The age of Christ, 1261, a great depredation was committed by Hugh O'Conor, in Breifny, and he advanced to Druim-lahan, where a part of his army was defeated, and many of the less distinguished of them were slain.

The age of Christ, 1314, the O'Reillys were defeated at Drumlahan, by Rory, the son of Cathal O'Conor.

The age of Christ, 1343, John MacDuibhne, Archdeacon of Drumlahan, died.

The age of Christ, 1368, Murray O'Farrelly, Coarb of Maidog [i.e., abbot of Drumlane, near Belturbet, Co. Cavan] and Archdeacon of Breifny [i.e. Kilmore, Co. Cavan] died, after a victory over the world and the devil.

The age of Christ, 1369, Murray O'Farrelly, coarb of Saint Maidoc, and Archdeacon of Breifny, died.

The age of Christ, 1391, O'Rorke (Tiernan) with a small body of troops, repaired to Drumlahan, to meet O'Reilly (John);—when the Clann Murtough O'Conor heard of this, they met him, with all their forces, at Belagh-an-Chrionaigh the [road of the withered trees, or brambles] but O'Rorke with his small body of troops defeated them, and made them retreat before him, &c.

This extract is peculiarly interesting in regard to this locality; for it is not difficult to believe that the road now leading to the church and tower is the very passage described in the ancient record.

The age of Christ, 1407, John, the son of Teige O'Rourke, heir to the lordship of Breifny, died in Moyling and was interred in Drumlane.

The age of Christ, 1418, Richard, the son of Thomas O'Reilly, Lord of East Breifny, was drowned in Lough Silean, [now Lough Sheelin] and with him were also drowned his son, Owen Reilly, Philip, the son of Gilla-Isa, son of Godfrey O'Reilly, Deacon of Drumlane, and Vicar of Eanach-garbh, and many other distinguished persons. Finola, however, daughter of Mac Rannall, and wife of O'Reilly, escaped by swimming. [The *Annals of Ulster* call O'Reilly King of Breifny, and state that he went in a cot to meet the English.]

The age of Christ, 1490, the Canon MacTiernan, of Drumlane, died.

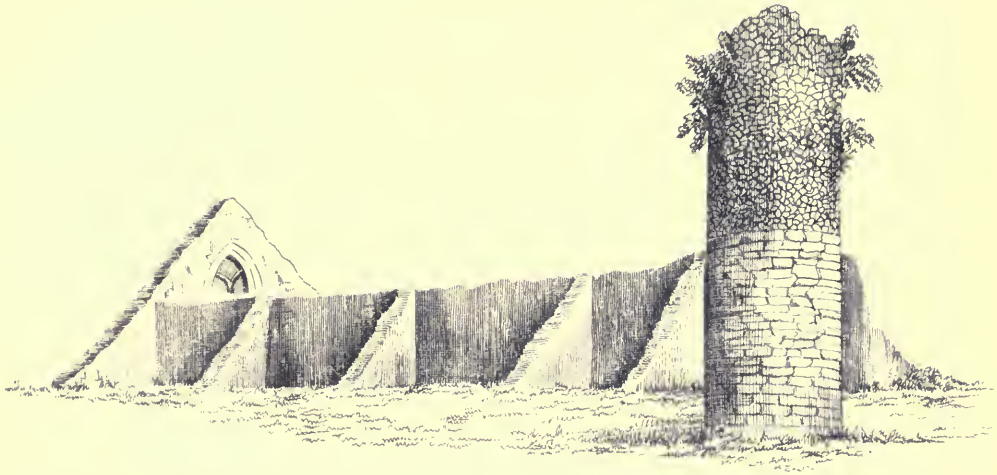
The age of Christ, 1512, Hugh O'Mael-Mocherighe, Coarb of Dromlane, was drowned.

It is not stated whether this "chief of the early rising," as his name is translated by Dr. O'Donovan, was one of the Farrelly family; perhaps he was, as the learned editor just quoted states that "Early" is now the family name representing O'Mulmogherry. In the same year an entry is found of the death of Failghe, the son of Maelmora O'Reilly, slain at Drumlane, by some persons of his own name.

The tower at this place was opened by the writer and Mr. Grattan, of Belfast, on the 26th July, 1844; assisted by Mr. O'Reilly, a Roman Catholic clergyman, residing in the vicinity. It stands in the church-yard, close to the ruins of a former parish-church,[b] and very near the margin of Lough Oughter, one of the many inland lakes found in this part of the country. According to Colgan, it is situated on the boundary of the two Breifnys. At a short distance are the remains of the monastery already spoken of; and the approach to all these ancient structures is by the road already mentioned, *Belagh-an-Chrionaigh.*

[b] It is on the north side; and the church, which is a long building, extends beyond it some distance towards the west.

The *Annals of the Four Masters* use the expression "the great church of Drumlane;" but it seems doubtful whether the remains now standing are those of the building mentioned by them in 1484. It is of considerable length, extending some distance to the east, but much further to the west, of the tower, as shown in the sketch.



It will be observed that the side-walls are strengthened by little buttresses, at short distances apart; and, that the west end, which is tolerably perfect, is constructed in a peculiar manner, but in conformity with the plan adopted in the sides. It consists of a triangle of heavy masonry intersected by the side-walls, so as to cut off a part that corresponds with the buttresses; or perhaps it is more correct to say that the buttresses were constructed to correspond with the projection of the western wall. The reason for giving this great strength to the building is not very apparent. A part of the west window still remains, and fragments of stone mullions. The east end of the church is in ruins; materials having been taken from it for the erection of other buildings. There are small side-windows, one of them exactly opposite the door of the tower, (which faces the church.) It looks towards the south, and is ten feet two inches above the level of the church-yard.

The *Annals of the Four Masters* have an entry, at the age of Christ 1484: the quotation of which has been purposely deferred on account of its connection with this part of the subject.

John O'Farrelly, a canon of the family of Drumlane, and Brien O'Farrelly, a priest, who had commenced building an anchorite's cell at the great church of Drumlane, died.

Persons who have given attention to the discussions respecting Round Towers, will probably recollect that this simple entry has been used as a proof that these buildings were *Anchorite Towers*, and that Dr. Petrie has fully discussed this question in his work. Here it is only necessary to copy the interesting note of Dr. O'Donovan, on the text of the Annals:—"Anchorite's cell. *Clock Aingeoire*, i.e. the stone of the domicile of the recluse. The late Mr. Kennedy, of Killycar, near Drum-

lane, who was maternally descended from the O'Farrelly's, told the Editor, in May 1836, that this *Cloch-Angcoire,* or Anchorite's stone domicile, was a small, low, stone cell, situated near the great church of Drumlane. Harris, in his edition of Ware, states that *Cloch-Angcoire* was the Irish name for the Round Tower of Drumlane; but Mr. Kennedy, who knew the Irish language and the traditions of Drumlane better than Harris, told the Editor that the Round Tower of Drumlane was always called *Cloigtheach* in Irish, and that he always understood that this was the Irish term for *belfry;* and added, that the constant tradition among the O'Farrellys was, that the round steeple at Drumlane was originally built, and always, till about two centuries since, used as a belfry."

The tower, when viewed in connection with the church, as shown in the sketch already given, inclines the observer to consider the opinion, that one object of these buildings was defence, as having some plausibility; and this is confirmed by the very remarkable mode of building adopted in the tower; for the lower part, to the height of twenty-two feet, is constructed of carefully-wrought sandstone, and is equal in execution to the tower of Devenish itself; the stones being fitted to their places with great care. The door-way, which is in this part of the structure, partakes of the same skilful and admirable workmanship; being formed of stones of the full thickness of the walls, which in this part is three feet three inches. Its architrave projects boldly 3 or 4 inches from the general line of the ashlar; and the top, which is arched, is keyed in a workmanlike manner, as shown in the accompanying sketch.

DOOR OF DRUMLANE TOWER.

In the upper part of what now remains of this building, a peculiarity of

construction is observed which deserves to be noticed. After the point already mentioned is reached, a change takes place both in the material and workmanship; the remainder of the tower being built of coarse rubble-work, of the meanest description. As there is no evidence whatever of the lower portion having been repaired or cased at a period subsequent to its erection, there is little doubt that this work, at least what remains of it, now stands as originally erected; another mystery connected with Round Towers. The probable solution is, that the object of the builder was to make the structure a place of defence; and this was fully attained by the plan pursued: for the lower portion would have resisted a degree of violence quite sufficient to destroy the upper part. It may also be noticed that the height of the ashlar-work reaches to about the same elevation as the walls of the church. If the parts had been reversed, the conclusion would have been that the building was the work of different periods; one part exhibiting the first efforts of a rude people, and the other showing unmistakeable evidence of an advanced state of architecture.

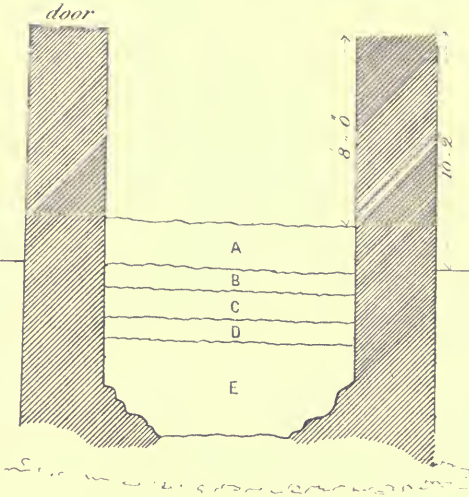
Of this tower about forty feet only now remain. Its exterior circumference at the base is fifty-two feet; at the same part, the interior diameter is ten feet six inches; and, as already mentioned, the thickness of the wall, measured at the door, is three feet three inches. The entrance itself, which is several feet above the level of the ground, is five feet six inches in height, and two feet wide at the sill, tapering to one foot eight inches-and-a-half at the spring of the arch. Above the door, in the upper part of the tower, a small angular-headed window is observed, the top formed, in the most simple manner, by two pieces of sand-stone inclined towards one another and meeting at the top.

On the north-east part of the exterior of this tower some rude efforts at sculpture are observable, which, if not co-eval with the building, possess some pretensions to antiquity. Of these, two figures in low relief may be mentioned, which are named by the country-people, from the rude resemblance they bear, "the Cock and Hen."

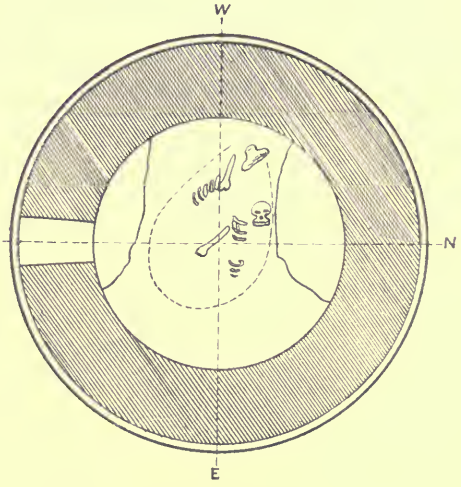
On commencing the examination, the tower was found to be filled, up to within eight feet of the entrance, with a quantity of material which it was necessary to remove. The first two feet in depth consisted of the usual kind of *debris* found in similar buildings; after which about a foot of soft compressible mould, of a reddish-brown colour, not unlike the upper part of a peat moss, was thrown out. This had apparently originated from the decomposition of a quantity of twigs, or small branches of trees. A solid floor of clay was then reached, having distinct traces, over the greater part of its surface, of the sprinkling or coating of lime observed in other towers. In the clay, lying on its side in the north-west quadrant, as shown in the plan, was found the greater part of a human skull.

There were also the principal bones of the skeleton scattered through the remainder, but without order or regularity; being, however, chiefly crowded into a central space, as marked by the dotted lines; with these were also found a large portion of the lower jaw of an ox, and fragments of the upper jaw of a deer or goat, and of a dog; great quantities of bones, considered at the time

to be those of oxen; remains of some small birds; fragments of charcoal and unconsumed peat; frequent traces of decomposed wood; and, in two circumscribed spaces, a mould identical in composition with that which had been last removed. In the patch of mould lying at the northern edge of the floor, a fragment of glass was found, nearly four inches in diameter; being that part known commonly by the name of "the bulls' eye." It became a difficult question to account for the presence of the glass, and the two patches of clay so different from every other part of the floor. Mr. O'Reilly, who had very kindly aided in the inquiries made, directed attention to the fact that, though the greater part of the lime floor remained perfect, yet evident proofs were to be observed of the surface having been partially disturbed subsequent to its original formation, which it may be supposed was at the time of the construction of the tower.—It still remained impossible to account for this fact; but the difficulty was unexpectedly solved, after the close of the proceedings, by a young man, Philip Roden, who, without being aware of our perplexity, informed us that the floor of the tower, just opposite the "Cock and Hen," had been formerly dug into by parties in search of money, who were induced to make the attempt in consequence of an old woman having dreamed that gold was concealed in that particular spot. It is most probable that (as generally occurs in such cases) the parties became alarmed, and did not pursue their inquiry; or that their curiosity was satisfied when they found no gold in the immediate locality of the birds, which seem to have made a deep impression



Section from Base to Door.



Plan shewing Door and Base.

⅛ of an inch to a foot

A. Common debris.
B. Red-coloured mould.
C. Solid clay floor, with coating of lime.
D. Here the skull was found.
E. Chips of sand-stone and traces of fire, &c.

on the old lady's brain. After passing through this floor so full of remains, a stratum was reached composed of chips of sand-stone, lime, sand, &c., ten inches in depth, being evidently formed during the construction of the lower part of the building: a few large bones and fragments of charcoal were also met with. Finally, the excavation was continued in that part where the glass had been found, to a depth of four feet, and the spot was reached where the foundation stones narrowed the interior: nothing more, however, was discovered. Large "spawls" or chips of sand-stone, exhibiting traces of fire, were observed, lying in a material similar to moist peat ashes; and some large field-stones were also turned up. Amongst the ashy material a few minute particles of burned bone, and a part of a nut-shell, were also picked up.

INISKEEN TOWER, COUNTY OF MONAGHAN.

"Those pointed spires that wound the ambient sky,
Inglorious change! shall in destruction lie"—*Prior.*

On the very borders of Ulster, but encroaching somewhat on Leinster, is found the parish of Iniskeen, [the "beautiful island,"] the chief part of which lies in the barony of Farney, County of Monaghan. It is distinguished by the *Four Masters* from other places of the same name in this country by the addition of *Deagha*, the name of its patron saint.

"The river Fane formerly divided here, and meeting again, lower down," says the Rev. G. H. Reade, in the *Transactions* of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, "thus made *Inniskeene*, (called by some 'pleasing island;' but, as it was used as a burying-ground, may mean the island of *keening* or mourning." Mr. Reade mentions a large moat or carn, composed of great stones and covered with earth, containing, very probably, a chamber and passage like the one at Dowth.

Mr. Shirley, in his very interesting account of the barony of Farney, gives the following notices of this parish. "The rectory was anciently appropriate to the abbey at Louth; its value, at the time of the suppression, was 40s. In the fourth of James I. it was found to be of no value, on account of the rebellion in the County of Monaghan; but formerly let for twelve *lagenæ* of butter, and the sum of £2 annually. These tithes, like the moiety of those of Donaghmoyne and Magh Ross, which also formed part of the spiritual possessions of the Abbey of Louth, were restored to the church during the episcopate of Bishop Montgomery, between the years 1633 and 1639, as we have noticed before in the account of the parish of Donaghmoyne. The value of the vicarage of *Iniskeene*, in 1622, was £10; it was held by John Davison, M.A., who was also vicar of Killanney, and resided in this parish "in a house of his own building on temporall lands, for he hath no glebe." The church was ruinous. In 1634 the living was only worth £18 per annum."

"The Parish of Iniskeen, like that of Killanney, is partly in Monaghan and partly in the County of Louth. The church which, although it appears to be modern, is really a building of some antiquity, is in the former county, and contains nothing worthy of notice; the only remains of the

original architecture of the place (with the exception of the Round Tower) being a sculptured head in freestone, much defaced, which may be observed built into the wall of a vault in the eastern extremity of the church-yard."

Close to the church, and not far from the banks of the rapid river Fane, is a Round Tower, the only one in the barony. It is, however, one of the less interesting specimens of these remarkable buildings, having lost much of its original height. It is constructed of hammered whin-stone, the summit (of what remains of it) having been transformed into a modern belfry.[c] The door at the bottom, which Sir Charles Coote mentions in his Survey of Monaghan as remarkable, is undoubtedly modern; the walls are three feet in thickness. The same author gives notices of inscriptions on tombs, burial-places, and caves, in the neighbourhood. Mr. Reade says, in reference to this building:—"Of the Round Tower there remain only forty-two feet, but it must have been one of the highest when perfect, if built in the proportion of six diameters; as it is fifty-one feet in circumference, at four feet from the present surface, which has been raised many feet by interments: it is well and carefully built of very large stones, many of them nearly four feet long, and some eighteen inches deep; they are of the hard porphyritic trap and some other stones of igneous origin abounding in the district, and which are so well exhibited in the cuttings of the Dundalk and Enniskillen Railway alternating with the clay slate, in many spots altering the slates by their intense heat, and inclined with them at all angles up to the perpendicular."

"These large and very hard stones have been formed to the curve of the tower by a heavy pick, or some such instrument; the deep sharp marks of which are distinctly visible at each end of the stone, leaving the centre as in nature. The door, which is placed at the height of fourteen feet eight inches above the present surface, faces exactly the same point as the small old church, S.E. by S.; none of the original stones of the door-way remain, except the sill-flag, which is of very large size, passing through nearly the entire breadth of the wall; there are two shallow drills cut across its depth in front, as if to fit a ladder; its dimensions are four feet six inches long, twelve inches thick, and three feet six inches broad; on the left side of its surface there is also a shallow groove or drill cut along its whole breadth close to the jamb of the wall. The thickness of the wall, at the height of the door, is four feet, and the inside diameter of the tower, near the bottom, is eight feet seven inches at the top of the second floor."

"The tower is divided into three floors, by a projection of the building stones of from seven to five inches; the height of the first floor from the present bottom being fifteen feet, and the height of the second floor twelve feet six inches above that. About thirty years ago there was erected on the top an arch for a belfry, a most inappropriate and unsightly appendage. In order to get a firmer foundation for that purpose, about four feet of the original building was then taken down. Some glass beads of great thickness were found on the summit at that time. This belfry I caused to be removed a short time since, and have thereby probably saved the further dilapidation of this vene-

[c] Removed afterwards by Mr. Reade.

rable structure, as the upper part had bulged out considerably, from the weight of the arch and bell. The whole building was originally coated with cement both inside and out; a small portion of the outside remains, and it appears to be of a much harder nature than that within; it is composed of lime, sea sand, sea shells, and small quartz pebbles, and also contains *charcoal*, which would go far to identify its age with that of the small church before mentioned. One of the original stones, and only one, about one-third of the height, is of granite, which may have been a portion of a boulder from Slieve Gullion, or perhaps from Clermont Carn, about fourteen miles distant, as no granite is found in the neighbourhood. To my mind, this white stone, alone among its dark companions, gives evidence of great antiquity—at least that those who erected this tower were the first builders in stone and mortar in this locality, who naturally had appropriated the lone boulder of granite—a stone so much more easily wrought than the porphyritic whins of the country."

Mr. Reade has the following reference to an inquiry made by Mr. Grattan:—"The sexton who was employed to dig *did* find a skeleton, without any flags or coffin, lying in the earth east and west under a thin stratum of mortar. Unfortunately Mr. Grattan was not present at the moment, and the skull was broken to pieces, so that nothing could be determined from its shape; the portion of the bones which I saw seemed too modern to bring conviction to my mind that they had lain there since the introduction of Christianity—say 1300 years—without coffin or protection from the moist clay around. Some years ago a road contractor made a great hole in the side of this tower to obtain material for the repairs of the bridge adjoining, but was fortunately prevented doing much mischief by Mr. Norman Steele. The breach has been repaired, and a door placed in it. There are no local traditions of any value connected with the tower: the common legend is, that it was built in one night by a woman with three aprons-full of stones, an apron-full for each story; and that next morning some passers by deriding her work, she leaped from the top into a pool in the river Fane, called 'the church-pool,' and was drowned. At the foot of the tower was found a very large stone, of porphyry, with a hole in the centre large enough to thrust the arm through, and which was, I believe, once used for superstitious purposes; in more modern times a pole was placed in the hole, up which the young country-folk used to climb at Easter for some trifling prize."

"There are no windows whatever in the part remaining of this tower. About two thirds of the way up, the builders seem to have exhausted their supply of large stones, and then, after a few courses of inferior materials, to have again procured larger and better. A narrow ledge, or cave-course, at the top, was placed there at the time of the erection of the belfry arch, which ill accords with the lichen-covered walls beneath. On some of the stones inside, the trickling of the rain-drops for long years has formed small marks not unlike *ogham* of a coarse kind."

The following notices are found in the *Four Masters*:—

The age of Christ, 636, Maelduin, son of Ardh, was burned at Inis-caein. [This entry immediately follows the notice of a victory gained by Aenghus Liath, over the same individual] The *Annals of Ulster*, under the year 639, notice this battle, and the flight of the defeated chief; and in the succeeding year, 640, "Combustus Maelduin in insula Caini." The burning does not seem to have been of a dead body.

The age of Christ, 766, Flann Ua Dachua, abbot of Inis-cain-Deagha, died,
The age of Christ, 779 *(recte* 784) Flann, bishop, wise man, and Abbot of Inis-Caindeagha, died.
The age of Christ, 853, Robhartach, Abbot of Iniscaindeagha, a scribe, died.
The age of Christ, 871, Dughal, son of Maenach, abbot of Inis-Caindeagha, died.
The age of Christ, 879, Duibhinsi, abbot of Inis-Cacindeagha, died.
The age of Christ, 881, Conallan, son of Maelteimhin, abbot of Inis-Caindeagha, died.
The age of Christ, 930, Fuacarta, abbot of Inis-Caindeagha, died.
The age of Christ, 961, Cosgrach, son of Donnagan, distinguished bishop, and Airchinneach of Inis-Caeindeagha, died.
The age of Christ, 1022, Lachtnan of Inis-caein, successor of Deagha, died, at Ard-Macha.
The age of Christ, 1085, MacSoilligh, [MacSolly], Airchinneach of Inis-Caein-Deagha, died.
The age of Christ 1178. Under this date the *Four Masters* record the devastation of Machaire Conaill, the plain in which Iniskeen stands, by John De Courcy and his foreigners.

Dr. Reeves, with his usual kind attention to the requests of other inquirers, has furnished the following notices, the result of his MS. researches respecting this place. They are given in the same manner as arranged by him:—

"*Monasterium de Inis-caoin*, c. 5. Est hodie tantum Ecclesia parrochialis in finibus Origelliæ; de qua vide plura in vita S. Dagæi et notis in eandem. *Colg. Acta Sanctor.* p. 348, *a* note 4. The note is on the following passage in the Life of S. Berachus (of Kilbarry,) Feb. 15:—

"Post hæc S. Berachus ad monasterium de Inis-caoin ad patrem suum Dagæum reversus ex farina ista miraculose confecta et postea in alimoniam magnæ multitudinis non sine miraculo adaucta hospites et monachos et multos insuper adventantes pauperes aliunde refecit." Cap. v., *(ib.* p. 345, *a.)*

This refers to the early training of S. Berach, under Dagdus.

There is a short notice of S. Dagæus Episcopus, in Colgan, *Act. SS.* p. 374. (Feb. 19.)

But Aug. 18, is his *true* day in the Irish Calendar.

His Acts are printed by the Bollandists in the *Acta Sanctorum*, (Aug. 18) Augusti tom. iii., pp. 656-662, edited by Johannes Pinius; and are there taken from the *Codex Salmanticensis*, a vol. of Lives of Irish SS., now preserved in Brussels.

S. Dega.—He was born at Insull, in the region of Cianachta, now the baronies of Dulcek in county Meath.

His descent was this

1. Niall of the ix. Hostages.
2. Eoghan a quo Cinel-Eoghain. ob. 465 — now Tyrone.
3. Dallan.
4. Laisre. — Massan
5. Cairell = Dechidu
6. S. Dega, Mac Cairell. — S. Lassara, his sister.

He was christened and brought up by S. Laisre, (or Molaissi) of Devenish.

Dayg means "magna flamma," because "Igne Spiritus Sancti puer ille multum ardebit."

He was a great artificer, and made bells, shrines, and all sorts of metallic work.

From Devenish he went to S. Comgall, of Bangor, for further instruction.

Thence to St. Ciaran, of Clonmacnois.

Thence he went to his own country, and founded Monasterium de Inyscain. S. Columba was there at the time, and blessed him and his church.

He had a monastery called Delenna.

"Hic Dagæus fuit faber tam in ferro quam in ære, et Scriba insignis. Fabricavit autem ccc. campanas, ccc. peda pastoralia, et scripsit ccc. libros Evangeliorum, fuitque primarius S. Kierani faber."

Calend. Cassel., 18 Aug.

(Colg. Act., SS. p, 374.)

Being contemporary, or rather a little junior, to SS. Molaissi and Comgall, his age may be tolerably well guessed."

The examination of the Round Tower which stands near the parish church of Iniskeen, in an ancient burying-ground, was made by Mr. Grattan, of Belfast, in presence of Mr. Reade, the clergyman of the parish, who had kindly consented. The date was 19th November, 1852. Mr. Reade, in his letter to the writer, had mentioned that the remains of jackdaws' nests and other rubbish were removed to the level of the modern door, which is on a line with the surface of the burying-ground. The workmen having disturbed some human bones in the earth beneath, and come to mortar, the operation was suspended to admit of the attendance of some parties interested in such inquiries. Mr. Grattan's notes state that the bones lay irregularly scattered through a mass of decomposed vegetable matter and fragments of coffins, evidently thrown in from the adjoining grave-yard. On removing this, a lime floor was discovered; but, owing to the reckless manner in which the person employed conducted the excavation, the human remains under this lost their greatest interest by the destruction of the skull, of which only fragments could be removed from the clay-heap into which they had been thrown by the sexton, during Mr. Grattan's temporary absence. Proofs, however, remained of a skeleton *in situ*, of which the thighs, legs, feet, pelvis, ribs, and spinal column, were successively uncovered. "Having, (Mr. Grattan reports) searched in vain for any fragments of the skull, beyond the two jaws which I myself dug up, I had the place cleared out where the skeleton lay. The recent body had been deposited at full length, in a position at right-angles with the modern door, that is, about N.N.W., by S.S.E.; the feet having been placed about E.N.E., against one of the stones of the foundation, which projected into the tower. The bones were in excellent preservation; and the entire length of the body, assuming the vertical depth of the skull to have been six or seven inches, may have been five feet nine inches, or five feet ten inches. The teeth are much worn, as seen in the fragments of the jaws preserved. Mr. Reade at first expressed doubts of a body having been introduced at the time of the tower's erection; but he modified this opinion on observing that the lime used on the floor was precisely similar to that employed in the building itself, and which had the peculiarity of being largely mixed with charcoal.

The skeleton was, it will be seen, found in circumstances very similar to those observed in other instances; lying upon the soil at the very foundation, and *beneath a floor formed by a coating of lime or mortar*. It is to be regretted that a skull, which would have been a valuable addition to the collection of ancient crania already made, should thus have been lost by the stupidity of the workman employed."

TORY ISLAND, COUNTY OF DONEGAL.

In the notices given in the first volume of this Journal of the island of Tory, the Round Tower has been described with the other ecclesiastical buildings; so that it will now be necessary to confine the remarks made to a few details of the result of the excavations made on the 7th and 8th of August, 1845.

A number of men were employed for two days making the excavation, of which the following brief notice may be given. The interior was filled with loose earthy matter, or rather granitic sand, such as is commonly found on the surface of the island, having stones intermixed. This continued to a considerable depth, and the first day was occupied in its removal. The stones had evidently formed part of the building, and had fallen when the tower received the injury, now visible, from lightning, according to the belief of the inhabitants, but more probably from the effect of water lodging in crevices, and gradually detaching a portion of the upper part, from which the mortar was washed out. The *debris* mentioned contained no human bones, and only a few vestiges of other animals, such as bones of sheep, &c., left from the food of the builders, or thrown in at a later period. Some fragments, it should also be mentioned, were observed of bones of whales.—About four feet six inches below the level of the door, a part was reached where a number of square holes was observed round the wall, apparently intended for the joists of a lower wooden floor or scaffold; and the first offset or projection of the walls, being nearly on a level with the door, the breadth of the lintel about four inches not included, it follows that the included space between the two first floors did not exceed four feet two inches in height, and may have been a place of concealment for articles of value. The inner diameter, at the same part, was only seven feet ten inches. All the materials described having been thrown out, the *usual floor of lime* was discovered; and, four or five inches beneath, a second floor, composed of large blocks of stone thrown in without order or regularity. A piece of brass, apparently the fragment of some culinary vessel, was found lying on the lime floor; it was very thin, ragged, and much battered, as if torn or broken off by sheer force; it was also greatly corroded. Under the lime floor, but above the stone pavement, a fragment of a sepulchral urn was found; a portion of this having been broken in raising it, a reddish modern fracture was seen contrasted with a dark antique one, thus proving that it was imperfect at the period of the erection of the tower, and consequently had no immediate connection with the purposes for which that building was intended. On raising the pavement already noticed, the upper

portion of a quern was found, as well as several fragments of another. Having excavated to a depth of twelve feet six inches from the bottom of the door, a trench was sunk to a precisely similar depth without;—an experiment we had never previously had an opportunity of making; but neither within nor without were any vestiges of human remains discovered. It may be observed that, as in the case of Devenish, the lime floor was found, though not as a covering either of reliques or of a body interred in a recent state; though lime seems to have been only procurable by the tedious process of burning shells, and it is not easy to imagine why so much care was expended,—particularly when a wooden floor seems to have been laid above the one formed of lime.

RELATIVE ANTIQUITY OF STONE AND BRONZE WEAPONS.

BY THE REV. JAMES O'LAVERTY.

To investigate the social position and civilization of the inhabitants of Ireland in pre-historic times is a work peculiarly suited to this Journal; but the writer who commences such a work must be no closet-antiquary, nor one who follows servilely in the wake of others. He must approach his subject without prejudice; for unfortunately it often happens, that Irish antiquaries have a pre-arranged theory, which they are determined to write out, despite of facts. To arrive at the truth, it is necessary to test the opinions and conclusions of those who have preceded us, by personal investigation, and by a patient and careful comparison of facts.

The science of Archæology is, to speak correctly, new in Ireland, and it is too soon perhaps to pronounce definitely on many subjects embraced by it; it is at present only possible to collect and arrange; and it would be a great movement in the right direction if the individual circumstances of every "find" were accurately published: then there would be a chance that the industrial and artistic history of Ireland might be rescued from the *debris* of the past.

The relative antiquity of the stone and bronze periods in Europe has long been a disputed question. Wilson, in his *Pre-Historic Annals of Scotland*, follows out a theory of the Danish archæologist, Thomsen, and divides the past time into—1st, the Stone Period; 2nd, the Bronze Period; 3rd, the Iron Period; and 4th, the Christian Period. This theory, at first sight, seems very plausible; but it is inconsistent with the account given in Genesis, where we find it stated that Tubal Cain "was a hammerer and artificer in every work of brass and iron," at a period long antecedent to our "Pre-historic times." Indeed it would seem that we place too much reliance on our theories of the gradual development of the arts; in good truth, if they were correct, we must suppose Noë and his sons to have been mere savages; and then the most extended scheme of chronology would be insufficient to educate man to rear the pyramids of Egypt, or to decorate the sculptured palaces of Assyria.

The public works, undertaken some years ago, for improving the navigation of the river Bann, at Portglenone, on the borders of Antrim and Derry, presented an excellent opportunity for investigating the relative antiquities of stone and bronze weapons in Ireland, as the river was, in the progress of the operations, in part turned off its natural course. The residence of the writer in the immediate vicinity afforded him ample means of making observations on this subject. The original bed of the Bann, at the place mentioned, consisted principally of a whitish clay, over which, in process of time, a quantity of sand and small stones, rolled down by the water, had formed a stratum, varying in depth from six to fourteen inches; in this were deposited a vast number of ancient weapons and other objects of antiquity, the depths at which they were found corresponding, it may be reasonably concluded, with the relative ages of the classes of antiquities to which they belong.

Arrow-heads, made of a light-grey flint, were, as a class, found at the greatest depth. These were of two kinds, the barbed, and the lozenge-shaped; but each exhibited an equal skill in their manufacture. Specimens of both kinds were found in great abundance: however, I should say that the lozenge-shaped arrow-heads were more numerous. I have mentioned that the grey flint arrow-head was, as a class, found at the greatest depth: to this I saw one very marked exception, where a thin triangular piece of bronze—a javelin-head, or the blade of a knife—having three holes, by which it was secured to the shaft, and weighing half an ounce, was found with a cuneiform weapon of grey flint; near this, but in a higher stratum, were deposited several barbed arrow-heads, of flint.

The brass and bronze articles were found in a stratum immediately above that of the flint arrow-heads. They were mostly military weapons, consisting of leaf-shaped swords, and a few swords partaking of the nature of a dagger; a bronze scabbard, bronze *skians*, and a great number of spear-heads, some of which had lateral loops, and others rivet-holes; and in the sockets of many of them portions of the wooden shaft still remained, but greatly decayed.

The black cuneiform stone hatchets, and a kind of rude spear-head of red flint, according to the evidence afforded by their position, must be the most *modern* of all the ancient weapons previous to the introduction of iron. Many of them were found on the *surface* of the river's bed, and *none were found below* the bronze articles.

After a careful investigation of the antiquities found at Portglenone, I am led to believe that the earliest inhabitants of that locality came from some country where the art of making stone arrow-heads had arrived at perfection: hence we find no *progressive* development of the art in the arrow-heads found in the Bann. On the contrary, the most finished article is found at the greatest depth, while the rudely formed arrow-head of red flint is found on the surface of the river's bed. We may account for the exceptional case of the bronze weapon found at a greater depth than the barbed arrow-heads, by supposing that the chiefs and rich men were armed with metallic weapons at a period when scarcity of metals compelled the clansmen to shoot from their bows stone-headed arrows. From the fact of the stone arrow-heads not being found in such numbers in the same stratum with the bronze weapons, as they were in that immediately below it, we might conclude that the primitive

warriors, who used them, were conquered by the people who used the bronze weapons. Yet these latter seem in part to have used arrow-heads of stone, as many such were found among the bronze articles; but they were not so well formed, and seemed evidently the work of a different people, or of a people abandoning their old arts, in which they had once been well skilled. I am of opinion that while the people fabricated of bronze their swords, skians, and other weapons, with which they struck or stabbed their enemies, they continued to make of stone, as a cheaper material, all weapons intended to be thrown from the hand, and therefore exposed to be lost. I also think that, having learned by experience that ornamentation and even barbs were useless,—since a piece of sharp flint pushed into a cleft shaft would effect its deadly purpose equally as well as the most expensive barbed arrow-head,—they adopted the cheaper mode of making them. The arrow-heads differ very much in size: some of them, made of red flint, are not longer than a sixpenny nail, and not much broader; such arrows probably were used for shooting birds. A chip is taken off each arrow-head in order to allow it more conveniently to be pushed into the shaft, which for that purpose seems to have been slightly cleft. It was then secured with a small cord wound around the end of the shaft and a part of the arrow-head. It is in this way that the savages of the Polynesian Isles still secure their arrows, as may be seen by a visit to the Belfast Museum. In many instances our Irish arrow-heads, when broader than the diameter of the shaft, have indentations on the sides, evidently intended to receive the cords.

The black cuneiform stone hatchets, being found on the *surface* of the bed of the Bann, are consequently the most modern relics of the stone and bronze periods: they are also the most numerous; for I speak within bounds when I say that at least five hundred of these weapons were found at Portglenone: and with specimens of this weapon the surface of the bed of the Bann seemed almost literally covered. They were not, therefore, as antiquarians suppose, the prototype of the bronze hatchets resembling them in form; some of which, at present in my possession, were found below the surface of the bed of the river. On the contrary, it would seem that, owing to the scarcity and dearness of metals, the stone was substituted for the metallic weapon. They were secured to the handles by thongs or twigs, a method still practised by the inhabitants of New-Zealand. I have seen a portion of a handle found with a cuneiform stone hatchet near Ballymena. It consisted simply of a shaft with a hole bored in it, through which the small end of the hatchet may have passed: it was secured in this position probably by twigs or cords. These hatchets may have been used as battle-axes or as carpenter's tools: that they were used for the former purpose seems scarcely to admit of a doubt; otherwise, how account for their being found in such numbers near the old ford at Portglenone? Carpenters do not throw away their tools when crossing a ford; but soldiers may, for obvious reasons. These hatchets seem to have been formed by rubbing them on a grinding-stone. I have specimens of this weapon varying in weight from 1oz. to 3lb. 8oz. Theorising antiquarians who have never descended into the "navvie's" pit, would pronounce the coarse bronze "celt," full of air holes, and evidently cast in sand, to have been the first rude attempt of the savage inhabitants, to imitate

in metal their older cuneiform stone hatchet; but this theory is contradicted by the relative positions in which both articles are found in the Bann; several celts having been found at a considerable depth. Hence the division of past time in this country into stone and bronze periods is altogether theoretic; indeed the local "finds" in other countries tend to show that it is more plausible than sound. Take for instance the following extract from the *Chesterfield Reporter*, as quoted in the *Literary Gazette*, Number 1482, which describes the opening of a tumulus near Hartington, in May 1845. "The first object met with was a fine flint arrow-head, which was speedily followed by a stone celt hammer of beautiful design and very great variety; this latter was near the skeleton, by the side of which a magnificent bronze dagger was found in the finest state of preservation." Hence it follows that stone and bronze weapons were not the arms of different people, nor of different ages. It is very probable, that, through the whole of the so-called bronze period, that metal was so scarce that it was necessary to economise it; hence our ancestors made of stone their battle-axes, which required both size and weight, and which would, therefore, have been very expensive if made of bronze.

The river Bann at Portglenone, as forming a great natural boundary, must have been the scene of many a bloody engagement between the rival chieftains and clans dwelling along its banks; and their weapons and ornaments, over which it has rolled its waters for thousands of years, suggest many a strange thought. The ruins of Egpyt, the superb remains of Greece and Rome, all speak of death, all belong to the past, yet when you gaze on them, you can trace the revolutions which have occasioned their decay; but of these quaint old relics of the past not a tradition remains,—they tell of races perhaps never sketched by the pen of history. Here were found three stone clubs, and not far distant was found the beautiful stone battle-axe of which an engraving was published in the 3rd. vol. of this Journal, [p. 234.] Until the discovery of the stone clubs, I had no idea that our forefathers were at any period so low in the scale of civilisation; but in every inhabited country of the world, weapons of the most primitive form and construction have been found. The stone hatchets and arrow-heads of the New Zealanders and the aborigines of Australia, resemble those found in the various countries of Europe, showing that man, in his savage state, availed himself of the same resources throughout the whole habitable globe.

The *Boomerang*, still the deadly weapon of the nations both of Australia and Central America, has been discovered in the hands of the sculptured Nimrod at Khorsabad,[a] and of hunters represented in a *basso-relievo* at Thebes.[b] It may have been the crooked weapon of Saturn; it is supposed to have been the club of Hercules; and, if the matter were properly investigated, it would perhaps be shown that it was not unknown to the ancient Celtic nations. St. Isidore of Seville, who died A.D. 636, and who was one of the most learned men of his age, wrote a work called

[a] See Bonomi's *Nineveh*, p. 136.

[b] *Ibid.*—Strabo describes the Belgæ of his time as using "a wooden weapon of the shape of a *grosphos*, which they throw out of the hand, * * * and which flies faster than an arrow, and is chiefly used in pursuit of game." [*Lib.* iv.] The Greek word *grosphos* is generally translated "the point of a spear." I find, in an old Latin dictionary, that the Latin equivalent for it is "grossus" It is worth noticing that the weapon used by the Irish hero Cuchullin was called a "*criosach*." [See *Transact. Royal Irish Academy*, vol. 19.]

Origines, a kind of Etymological Glossary, consisting of twenty books. In this treatise, at the word "Clava," he says:—"*Clava* is a weapon like that used by Hercules; it is so called because it is bound together by iron nails [clavis], and is half a cubit in length. This is also named *Cateia*, which Horatius calls *Caia*. It is a kind of Gallic missile [telum] of extremely flexible material, which, when it is thrown, does not fly far because of its weight, but when it strikes the object it bursts through it with irresistible force: and if it be thrown by a skilful hand, *it returns again to him who threw it*. Virgil makes mention of these weapons when he says:—

'Teutonico ritu soliti torquere *Cateias*.'

Hence the Spaniards call them *Teutones*." [*Origin.* lxviii. c. vii.] Now here we have a weapon described as used by a Celtic people, possessing all the characteristics of the *Boomerang*,—its reciprocating flight, its extraordinary impetus, and its rotatory motion, which is so graphically expressed by the word "torquere" in Virgil's description. In order that the weapon should possess the distinguishing property of reciprocating flight peculiar to the *Boomerang*, it required necessarily to be crooked. Now Silius Italicus, speaking of the arms of some of the Libyan tribes who accompanied Hannibal, says:—

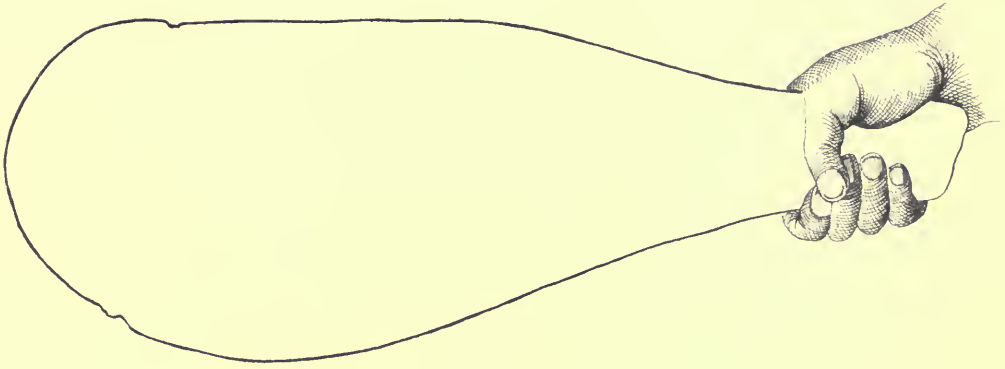
"Panda manus est armata *Cateia*;"
Their hand was armed with the bent *Cateia*.

The word "pandus" is explained in the dictionary "crooked, so as to bend inward or downward in the middle." There can be no doubt, therefore, that *Cateia* was the name by which a weapon similar to the *Boomerang* was known anciently in Europe; and we have seen that it was used by the Gauls, a Celtic people. The question, then, naturally suggests itself, does the word still exist in the modern representative of the old Celtic tongue, the Irish language? In endeavouring to reply to this, it is to be remarked that though a word may linger in a language for some time after the idea it was intended to express had become obsolete, yet it must eventually die out, particularly among an unlettered people. Hence we may expect that the name *Cateia* disappeared soon after the weapon itself had ceased to be used. We still find, however, in the Irish language, several words of cognate origin; *caith*, to fling, hurl, cast; and *cath-thuagh*, a battle-axe. In the South of Ireland, also, the boys have a game, in which a piece of wood, about twelve inches long, is hurled to a considerable distance by the stroke of another piece of wood, the missile being called a "cat." All the foregoing words seem to have their origin in the root "*cath*," a battle.

The stone clubs found at Portglenone, which are about fifteen inches long and six inches wide, weighing about four pounds each, and of an obtuse and flattened form, are now in the writer's possession, and afford an instance of the similarity of inventions produced by similarity of necessities in widely separated parts of the globe. One of them (represented below) very much resembles a Polynesian weapon of bone in the collection of the Belfast Museum; and Meyrick (Plate 150) gives the the figure of a *Patta Pattoo*, or bludgeon, worn in the girdle by the natives of New Zealand, made of a kind of green stone, which also resembles one of the Portglenone clubs. I have not

been able to ascertain at what depth these stone clubs were found; however, little doubt can be entertained that they belong to a remote age.

Considering the beauty of many of our ancient weapons and ornaments, we must be convinced that the state of the Celtic inhabitants of these kingdoms, previous to and at the period of the Roman invasion of England, must have been little understood, or much underrated by ancient writers. Historians may describe them as half naked barbarians, roving, plundering, and existing in the lowest grade of savage life; but how can we reconcile this with their fighting in chariots, their expert use of arms, and their military discipline. The chariots tell of an advance in the mechanical sciences and a knowledge of the working of metals; and when we hear from the Roman writers how the Scotic tribes of North Britain could so systematically keep at bay the trained legionary soldiers, we may be convinced that our ancestors must have then attained a respectable position in the scale of civilisation, at least so far as the arts of war are concerned.



THE BRUCES IN IRELAND.

(Continued from page 12.*)*

Edward Bruce would appear to have been induced to pass the winter of 1315-16 at Ballymore-Loughsuedy, (in Westmeath,) by the Lacys, those traitorous Anglo-Irish barons who principally had instigated him to invade Ireland. This powerful family were descended from a cousin of the conqueror Hugh Lacy, lord of both Meaths, from whom they had obtained the barony of Farbill or Rathwyre, in Westmeath. Walter and Hugh Lacy, peers of parliament, were allied to native chieftains, and seem to have disputed the title of Roger Mortimer, the celebrated Earl of March, to his estates in this kingdom, as being derived through a female inheritor, on the pleas of the then almost absolute feudal rule, and of Gaelic usage, both of which denied inheritance to females; for these traitor lords seem to have hoped to erect themselves into independent chieftains, as many feudal vassals succeeded afterwards in doing. Ballymore-Loughsuedy was the *Caput baroniæ* of Western Meath; and probably was the scene of treasonable counsels the results of which speedily developed themselves. Situated in the centre of the kingdom, this place may have been selected by the adventurous Edward Bruce as a fitting spot where all insurrectionary Gaels and disaffected Englishry might join his banner. His ranks, however, were but slightly augmented; but he daringly pushed forward into the heart of the English pale, and, passing Kildare and Athy, his forces daily thinned by skirmishes, penetrated as far as Ardscoill; but was, on the 26th January, confronted at Skerries, near Athy, by an army raised by three Anglo-Irish magnates, namely, Sir Edward Butler, (the lord justiciary, or viceroy,) John Fitzgerald, (afterwards 1st Earl of Kildare) and Arnold, Lord Power, either of whom, as our oft-quoted native chronicler declares, could easily have repulsed him; but, with national fatuity, they quarrelled among themselves, and retreated. In an engagement that took place at Skerries, the Scots lost Sir Walter Murray and Sir Fergus of Ardrossan, with seventy men;[a] while, on the part of the Englishry, Sir Hammond Grace, "a noble warrior" was slain, whose death, in this battle, has been celebrated in verses which have received an eulogium from the poet-historian of our country. The invaders must have received a severe repulse at this time, for they turned in retreat towards the north; burned the strong fortress, Ley castle, and passed on to Kells. The stage of Ireland, covered with fierce warriors, that small but valiant band that had already crowned their redoubted leader, the insurgent Irishry, and the disunited and wavering barons of the realm—this crowded stage was now made more conspicuous by the presence of the mightiest of the English nobility, Mortimer, lord of Meath in right of Joan de Joinville, the wife he neglected

[a] Clyn.

for his queen, the "She-wolf of France." Having hastened over to defend his vast estates, he assembled a force of 15,000 men, and endeavoured to intercept the invaders at Kells; but, when about to give battle, the traitorous Lacys, with the bulk of his army, deserted him, leaving their leader almost defenceless. This defection, it is probable, was mostly of native Irish, whose prepossessions must rather have been favourable to the claims and views of the Lacys, and to the success of the *Albanachs*, than to the domination of the absentee Earl of March. These recreant Norman-Irish nobles seem, indeed, to have been the primary conspirators by whom the invasion was planned, since a tradition was current in the time of Edmund Spenser that the Scots obtained footing in Ireland principally by their means,. Treason was then spreading among the nobility, of whom only seven would take the oath of allegiance to the King of England! Such was the general defection, that, in a declaration made by the loyalists, it was announced that the Scots, with their traitorous allies, had drawn to them all the Irish, and a great part of the great lords and Englishry. But this adhesion must have been more in intention than in effect. Some probably were waiting to see whether others would openly join the Scots; but all, save a few of the most distinguished magnates, such as Butler of Ormond and Geraldine of Kildare, whose loyalty was presently rewarded with earldoms, may have been ready to accept Edward Bruce as their sovereign in order to remedy the distracted condition arising from absentee neglect. Whatever were the political views of the rebellious, their supineness, and, as well, the inaction of the loyalists, may be ascribed to the unprecedented famine, caused by the extremely,—and, let it be believed,—providentially deficient harvests, which marked the period of three years that the invaders were in the land. Insurrection and civil war, of course, largely diminished cultivation, yet the seasons were unquestionably inauspicious, and Edward Bruce was less defeated by the sword than by the heavens.

The Scots now ranged through the centre of the Pale, marking their course with fire and havoc; and, notwithstanding all they obtained by rapine, suffered so terribly that numbers of them perished. In the spring they retreated by slow and painful marches into the north, "fainting daily with hunger," and did not soon venture forth again. Edward Bruce "remained quiet" for a year, or, as it was said, "reigned" in Ulster. The historian Moore observes that the Scots, "taking possession of Northburgh castle, sat down quietly in their quarters, and Bruce kept his court, and took cognizance of all pleas, as composedly as if it were in times of profound peace." The mention of Northburgh seemingly implies that this fortress was Bruce's head quarters. Our annalist, Grace, states that the Scots had previously taken this place, which is better known as "Greencastle," situated on the further point of Inishowen;[b] a situation so remote that it could not have served as a central post, for which the principal town in Eastern Ulster, namely Carrickfergus, was most suitable; and here, at this period, the metrical narrative says "Schyr Edward the worthy, with all hys chivalry, was liand."

One of Bruce's courts of justice condemned and put to death an Anglo-Irish nobleman, Lord

[b] Colton's Visitation, p. 8.

Logan, whose extraction from the Scottish family (of which was Sir Robert Logan, the companion of the good Lord James of Douglas on his pilgrimage with the heart of Bruce), may have led him to adhere to the invading cause, the desertion of which must have been the reason for his execution: for Edward Bruce, in humanity (a quality for which his illustrious brother became conspicuous, giving freedom to many prisoners taken at Bannockburn who were unransomed, and exhibiting the virtue signally during his military expedition on this country) would hardly have put a prisoner of war to death. Opposite sides seem to have been taken by various members of the Ulster baronial families—a circumstance perplexing to the chroniclers; the earliest of whom, Pembridge, records a subsequent engagement in which John Logan and Hugh Bissett took part; and three hundred Scots, armed in complete mail, with two hundred in "single armour," (that is, only defended by breast-plates,) besides foot soldiers, were slain; but this chronicler leaves it doubtful whether the latter fought for or against the invaders. Another annalist, Dowling, queries whether both Logan and Bissett were with or against the Scots: there were two Hugh Bissetts, both of whom were summoned as peers in 1310; and it may either have been that these members of the same family were at variance, or that they endeavoured, by a not unusual policy, to secure their estate by embracing different sides. Of other traitorous Anglo-Irish barons who had assisted to bring about the invasion, some, discomfited by its failure, endeavoured to clear themselves from the stain of treason. The prime rebel, John Bissett, was removed by a natural death. Walter, Lord de Say, who owned lands in Kells under Mortimer, and had been summoned as a baron, was attainted.[c] John Fitz Nicholas, of Slane, was another Meath rebel, and forfeited his estate;[d] as did Michael of Kylkenan, a baron of parliament, for adherence to the Scots.[e] John, Lord Logan, was not the nobleman put to death; for, besides being in action on the 1st November, he subsequently took Sir Alan Stewart prisoner in battle. Distinguished captives, so far from being executed, were usually detained as hostages. Sir Alan Fitz Waryn, whom the poet terms "the Swaryn," (a designation that baffled his editor,) was taken as a hostage into Scotland by Edward Bruce himself, on the occasion of his making a brief departure in search of succour, which is unnoticed by his countryman bard. Randolph again sailed on the same urgent mission in the beginning of Lent. The brave garrison of Carrickfergus still resolutely maintained their post against repeated assaults; and, in the summer of this year, (1316,) when suffering desperately from privation, would have been relieved by sea, had not the Earl of Ulster, who was in the metropolis, laid an embargo on the shipping, in order to obtain the favour of the Scots towards the liberation of his brother, Sir William De Burgh. At the same time, however, the Earl, as a pledge of his loyalty, attended a great meeting of the nobility, who then, in the words of the annalist, gave their hands to each other, and declared themselves ready to die in defence of their country. About the same date, a powerful northern chief, O'Hanlon, marched against Dundalk for the purpose of chastising the townsmen for non-payment of "black-rent"—the earliest recorded instance of this impost.[f] A still more powerful chieftain, in the south,

[c] Rot. Pat. pp. 24, 26.
[d] Do. p. 86.
[e] Do. p. 86.
[f] "Ad distringuendum," Pembridge.

Donnell Kavanagh, whose clan had boldly proclaimed him "King of Leinster," was, at this perilous period, secured to the service of the state by a similar species of rent, payable half-yearly from the Exchequer.[g] In this manner were the Gaelic chieftains of Ireland divided against each other! What did it avail that Edward Bruce was master of the north, if the south and west would not support him, and if the east was bribed to oppose him? What would it have availed, had he, unsupported, overthrown the English power by fighting a Bannockburn in Ireland, and then found himself as powerless to curb the Gael of the mountains, as the Kings of England's viceroys themselves had proved to be? Were he in possession of Dublin,—the key, indeed, but no master-key, of the island,—would his position have been higher than theirs, who had been withstood by invincible clannish dynasties at each point of the compass? The Irish Gael owed their partial freedom from the English yoke, during four centuries, to the geographical features of their country. And, similarly, the English failed to subjugate Scotland, because the mountain ranges of their petty kingdom were so many natural ramparts. In further illustration of these causes, so remarkable as influencing the histories of both countries, the following paragraph may be adduced from a distinguished periodical:—"A good map is necessary to understand the history of Scotland, the ancient fortunes and present condition of its inhabitants. Why, it may be asked, did Scotland maintain her freedom, whilst Ireland has fallen an easy prey to every invader, to the northern Danes and the English chivalry under Strongbow? This did not wholly arise from the different character of the two nations, but in part, at least, from the physical structure of the lands they respectively inhabited,—a structure only to be seen on the ground itself, or on good maps with the mountains drawn from nature, not from the imagination of the engraver. Ireland, though more compact than Scotland, and fenced in by a wall of water on every side, is yet far less defensible. Her mountain ranges are thrown out to the sea-shore, or separated from each other by wide flat plains, from which they rise like solitary isles in the ocean. Instead, therefore, of forming points of union and defence to the country, they became causes of separation and weakness. From a very early period, accordingly, the island was cut up into four kingdoms, corresponding to the four chief mountain groups, each with its own septs and petty kings, ready in mutual hostility to their neighbours to make common cause with any invader. In Scotland, as a good map would show, the physical formation of the land is entirely different. The mountain chains range from side to side, from shore to shore of the country, forming oft repeated lines of bulwarks which an invader must break through or turn."[h]

Reverting to the details of the Bruce's war, we find it chronicled that the Scots, cooped up in the north, ravaged Ulster during the winter of 1316-17, plundering and burning churches and monasteries; but were so powerless against stone walls, as to be detained more than a year before the petty citadel of Carrickfergus. Sir William De Burgh obtained his liberation, by leaving as a hostage in Scotland a son, who is believed to be the subsequently famous Sir Edmond *Albanach*, ancestor of the Bourkes of Mayo.

[g] Patent Rolls.

[h] Edinburgh Review, xcv. p. 211.

Our native and cotemporary annalist, Clyn, declares that, in this year, all the Irish renounced their fealty, and took up arms. The Gaelic clans of Connaught made an extraordinary effort, under the leading of Felim O'Conor, their *Ard-Righ*, who had hitherto been subject to De Burgh, the feudal baron of Connaught, but who now raised the banner of revolt, and was joined by almost all the Irish of the province, and by several chiefs whose patriotism led them, although not his *Oir-Righs*, to support his attempt to strike a great blow for independence. Their hopes were extinguished on the field of Athenry, which is said to have been the most bloody and decisive that had ever been fought on Irish soil. Not less than 11,000 of the vanquished are stated to have been slain. Their leader, with twenty-nine warriors of his name, fell, to the almost total annihilation of the once potent clan of the O'Conors, who never again, "stemm'd" (in the words of the poet Campbell,) "De Burgo's chivalry." Let us, in faithful antiquarian fashion, transcribe two quaint old MS. accounts of this memorable action.

"1317.—The wicke after St. Lawrens day, in Connaght did insrecion four Irish kings to fight with the Englishmen; and against whome came Lord William de Bourke, and Lord Richard Bremingham, Lord of Anrey, with the power of his country, and fought with the Irish kings. The kings sent poore men to the Englishe Camp, to behold what order, and what they would heire of them, and to understand their doinge; these poore men beholdinge the English eating loaves of bread and redd wine, they retorned and told that they sawe many tall men and strainge———,ne especially in eating their meat:—'we perceive alsoe by them that they leek victaille, for they feede like dogges, for their meat is children's heads, and their drinke is men's blood, with stoute, bold, and gryme countenances, as they were eating fresh butter, or honey and butter together, with none other vitall they have.' The kings perseved this order in all things, and knewe it was breade loves and of wyne they spake of; and so each side prepared themselves to battalle; wheras it was soe fought a long tyme that noe man wyste what side be best went. At benight the Irishe fled, and their were killed of them XI thousand by Anrey, whiche towne was shortly after walled by the spoile that was taken from the Irish men; for every Englishman that wanne a double harnes gaive halfe of his beut to helpe to builde the walls of the same towne."[i]

The second quotation is one of these curious historical annotations with which Sir George Carew has enriched his elaborate pedigrees of distinguished Irish families, contained in MS. No. 635, in the Lambeth collection.

"Sir William Burghe, brother to Richard, Earl of Ulster, and Lord of Connaght, married with the O'Connors, and slewe Cormocke McDermoud at Corragh Kynnetto, for which he was afterwards killed by the McDermouds; he was taken by Edward le Bruse, and carried into Scotland; in whose absence, Phelim O'Connor provoked all Englishmen in Connaght and drove them to Renville, now St. Johns, in Imany; whereupon Sir William's wife went into Scotland, and procured hir hus-

[i] Annals of Ireland, (Query from Book of Howth?) in Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 4789, fol. 158.

band's enlargement, remayning pledge for him there. So the said Sir William came to the Glinns, and hired 1,000 soldiers; and, passing through O'Neile's countrie, came into Connaght, and at Athenry, fought with Phelim O'Connor and Mac Dermot, and Teyge O'Kelly, who were all slaine, viz. the two first in the battayle, and O'Kellye by Dolphin, who met him flying, and slewe him, and by bringing his head, excused himself for not being in the battayle."

In the ensuing spring, on the 2nd February, ("the Purification of Mary,") the treacherous Lacys, whose desertion of their liege, Mortimer, had foiled his efforts against the invasion, came up to the metropolis, and obtained an inquiry whether the invaders "had come by their means;" were acquitted, and took the oath of allegiance.

The King of Scots had now come over to assist his brother, bringing a strong reinforcement of hardy warriors from the recently subjected Western Isles, and doubtless, also, many a brave and noble knight. His poet tells how—

"Schyr Edward of hys come was blyth;
And welcumyt hym with glaidsum cher."

The old town of Carrickfergus was the scene of their meeting. The royal and adventurous brothers now resolved to overrun Ireland "fra end till other;" a bold enterprise, and valiantly performed. The date of Robert Bruce's arrival is variously stated; Grace, with apparent accuracy, dates it the 1st week in September, 1316. A contemporary, Clyn, states that it took place "circa natale Domini." The Four Masters refer it to early in the next year; Archdeacon Barbour makes the southward expedition follow immediately on the King of Scots setting foot in this country; and describes the season of the year, in which the expedition started, in a stanza of some poetic beauty, and presenting a pleasing contrast to his warlike passages:—

"Thes was in the moneth off May,
Quhen byrds syng on ilka spray;
Melland thair notes with seymly soune,
For softnes of the swete sesoun.
And levys of the branches spreds,
And b'oomys brycht besid thaim breds;
And fields are strowyt with flours,
Weill sawerand, of fer colours;
And all thing wor this blyth and gay,
When that this gud king tuk hys way
To rid Southwart."

According to a native authority, the first inroad of the Scots was after Shrovetide, (15th Feb.) being perhaps the van, led by "Schyr Eduuard the bold," numbering some 2,000 men; while the "rereward," under King Robert himself, came up afterwards. The true amount of the force the Bruces commanded is material in accounting for the absence of any great achievement. Barbour subsequently and incidently mentions that "the king had wyth hym weill 5,000, wycht and worthy." The late gifted but poetic historian of Ireland states that the Scottish force was com-

puted at 20,000 men, independent of a tumultuary army of the northern Irish. But a general so vigorous as Robert Bruce, in command of such an army, would hardly have failed to fight a Bannockburn in Ireland. Probably his whole force did not exceed 7,000 men. Yet these audacious Scots were formidable enough, for they were led by their own redoubted king; and many a native baron and chief was sure to join them on the first decisive success. According to the poet, the viceroy of the Englishry had betaken himself—

> "To Dewillyne, in full gret hy,
> With othyr lordis that fled him by,
> And warnysit bath castells and townys,
> That war in thair possessiownys."

The Mayor headed a strong band of citizens to St. Mary's Abbey, where the Earl lay; resistance was made, in which seven of his retinue were killed.[j] Bruce, therefore, marched at once upon Dublin, to seize the metropolis and seat of government. But when close to the walls he was informed that the Earl of Ulster had been suddenly arrested by the chief magistrate of the city; and he immediately called a halt. This arrest was made, according to historians, on suspicion that the Earl had a secret understanding with the King of Scotland; but its object was evidently to hold De Burgh, the father of the Scottish queen, as a hostage who would be put to death if the city should be attacked: and this prompt step produced the intended effect, for Robert Bruce, instantly deciding not to risk the earl's life, turned aside and encamped. That night the citizens burnt the suburbs of the town, and set briskly to work to strengthen the walls,—saving their city by these determined acts: for although it cannot be supposed that Bruce would have consented to an assault, the Scots, seeing such determined preparations, broke up their camp, and marched away. On the fate of the metropolis, on this occasion, depended the existence of English dominion, as observed by Lord Hailes, who declared that the public spirit and intrepidity of the citizens of Dublin ought to be held in perpetual remembrance.[k] This arrest was, of course, justified upon the grounds of suspicion of treason: but so valuable was the great captive nobleman as a hostage, that, although the King of England instantly wrote to desire his liberation, he was detained until the Scots had vanished into the North. Curious as this affair is, it has now been dwelt upon because its real character has been overlooked by historians.

Foiled in striking the severest blow on the King of England's power in Ireland, the Scottish monarch determined to ravage the estates of the noble and loyal viceroy, Sir Edmund Butler, Earl of Carrick and Ormond. On the 24th February the Bruces encamped at Leixlip, remained there four days, and passed on to Naas, where they were joined by the Lacys, who, throwing off the mask, now became their advisers and guides through the country. The Scottish forces continued their devastating progress; they burnt the ancient town of Naas, plundered Castledermot Friary, passed

[j] Whitelaw's Dublin, 169.

[k] Note to Dean Butler's edition of Grace. Having largely availed myself of the valuable notes of this elegantly learned editor, I cannot but acknowledge it, nor, at the same time, refrain from offering the tribute of my admiration of the excellent spirit and graphic charm of the Very Rev. Richard Butler's introductions to his historical editions. [H.]

on to Gowran, and reached Callan about the 12th of March. Thence they marched as far as Limerick, laying waste the entire country, or, in the words of a cotemporary chronicler, "burning, slaying, plundering, and spoiling towns, castles, and churches, in going and returning;" a miserable havoc, in part necessitated by the wants of the Scots, many of whom died by hunger, while the remainder had at length no better resource than to feed on horse-flesh. Whilst the invaders lay at Castle Connell the native English magnates met at the head of their forces, on Loddyn Hill, near that city, upon which the enemy secretly decamped during the night.[1] On the 27th March Bruce reached Kells, in Ossory, passed on to Cashel, and thence to Nenagh, marking his course by a broad train of fired and smoking habitations. Besides thus carrying war into a country subject to England, another purpose with Robert Bruce, in making this expedition in person, was to invite the adhesion of the Gaelic chiefs and wavering Anglo-Irish lords to his brother, who aspired to be their sovereign. Of his success in this respect Barbour gives the following account:—"The Kings of Irschery come till Sir Edward holyly, and their manredyn" (homage) "gan him ma. Bot, giff that it war ane or twa, till Cragfergus thai come agayn, in all that way was nane bargayn." Our poet describes the viceroy, with an army of 40,000 men, as suffering a defeat, which, however is unauthenticated: the Scots avoided coming to any engagement, and did not lay siege to a single walled town. It was in retreating before the viceroy that the chivalrous humanity of the Scottish king was shown to a poor laundress—a well-known anecdote, first recorded by the good old archdeacon, and with a minuteness of detail which proves that his memory dwelt on a story, the preservation of which is honourable to his kind heart. A tale so brief and pleasing will bear repetition. One morning that the Scottish bands were starting from their bivouac in rapid retreat before a superior force, a woman was heard crying wildly; the king, his foot in the stirrup, sent in haste to know the cause, and received answer that it was "layndar," *(lavandiere,* or washerwoman) who, taken in labour, was shrieking in dread of being left in the field and falling into the hands of the enemy. Bruce at once arrested the march of his troops:—"There is no man," exclaimed he, that will not pity a woman in such extremity:"—

> "This wes a full gret curtesy,
> That swilk a King, and sa mychty,
> Gert hys men dwell on this maner,
> Bot for a pour lavender."

Ordering a tent to be pitched for her, he also arranged to have her carried onward when she was able to travel. This perilous halt was misunderstood by the viceroy, who, believing that so cautious a general as Bruce would not risk an engagement unless he had been strongly reinforced, hesitated to attack him; and thus fortune favoured Bruce in fulfilling his humane purpose. Our poet, who generally errs in his statistics, has not much exaggerated the force the viceroy had been able to collect. Naming him the "Warden of Irland, Schyr Richard of Clare," an evident mistake for Richard de Burgh, whom the Scotsman believed had been viceroy—he says:—

[1] Grace and Clyn. It was probably on the occasion of this retreat that Robert Bruce halted to save the suffering *lavandiere.*

"Of all Irland assemblyt he
Bath burges and chewalry,
And hobelers and yhumaury,
Quhill he had near forty thousand."

Sir Edmond Butler's army numbered no less than 30,000 well-armed men; yet did not, as an old native annalist indignantly records, though close to the Scots for many days, attempt to assail them—at first fearing, perhaps, their prowess, and the renowned generalship of their king, and afterwards delaying the attack at the express desire of Mortimer, who had arrived as Lord Lieutenant, accompanied by many English knights, and was hastily preparing to join the army and assume the command, eager to have the glory of encountering Robert Bruce. Before, however, the field could be taken, with this increase of strength, the Scots evaded the enemy by a night decampment; and, passing Kildare, after some severe marches, took refuge in a forest on the Boyne, where they remained several days to recover from famine and fatigue, which, nevertheless, left many of their veterans dead in the wood; and, finally, upon the 1st of May, the month in which the poet erroneously says they started, Bruce led his harassed bands back into Ulster: so that, if the dates given by native chroniclers are to be preferred, the rapid course of the Scots from Carrickfergus, as far south as Callan, then due west to Limerick, and back by Kildare, occupied less than three months:—

"Throw all the land planly thai raid,
Thai fand nane that thaim obstakill maid.
Thai raid ewyn forouth Drochindra,
And forouth Dewillyne alsua,
And to giff bataill nane thai fand,
Syne went thai southwart in the land;
And rycht to Kyncrike* held thair way,
That is the southmaist town perfay
That in Irland may fundyn be."

A generalising historian, Lingard, found it impossible to assign a reason for "this" (as he styles it) "romantic expedition, undertaken at such a season, and without any prospect of ultimate success." It was, indeed, little more than a great Border raid, in a new scene: yet obviously not for the sake of depredation, nor even of mere war; but for the great political object of shattering English power in Ireland, in order that it might not be exerted against Scotland.

(To be continued.)

---

*That is Lymrick, or Limerick

A CONJECTURE AS TO THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF CARRICKFERGUS.

A difficulty occurs in early history, in which Scotia Major and Scotia Minor are both concerned. It is that of our ancient authors having shipwrecked and drowned a monarch who never existed, near Carrickfergus. Such playful liberties were sometimes taken by our Senachies and Fileas to give an interest to their narratives. That our ancient writers had recourse to the invention and decoration of such fables is not wonderful, since our modern journalists are said to be in the habit of enlivening their columns by occasionally burning an ideal child at Cork or Waterford.

I believe it is generally known that the early historiographers of Scotland had recourse to Ireland for much of their information respecting Scottish affairs. That Hector Boethius, in writing his Scottish History, received assistance from Cornelius Historicus, an Irishman, who lived about the year 1230, (and whose life has been written by Stanihurst,) there is no doubt. Hector Boethius was himself given to embellishment, and indulged the unlimited freedom of his imagination in working out narratives from the most meagre materials. He was followed in some respects by Fordun, Major, and even Buchanan. This last-mentioned distinguished Latin poet and scholar was ignorant of, and actually despised the languages of Britain as barbarous.[a] Many of your readers will remember the story of Scotia having obtained its name from Scota, a daugher of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, who married Gathelus, son of Cecrops, King of Athens; and likewise the legend of Fergus I. having been wrecked and drowned in the lough of Belfast. This Fergus is said to have been crowned on the fatal marble chair,[b] at Scone, in the year of the world 3,641, before the coming of Christ 330 years, in the first year of the 12th Olympiad, in the year 421 after the building of Rome, and about the beginning of the fourth monarchy, when Alexander the Great vanquished Darius, the last King of Persia. We read in Buchanan, that Fergus having quieted matters in Scotland, returned to Ireland to quell seditions, which being adjusted, on his return a tempest suddenly arising, he was drowned, not far from the port called from him Fergus's rock, i.e. Knock Fergus. His words are:—"Ipse deinde, rebus in Scotia paeatis, ad comprimendas auctoritate sua seditiones in Hiberniam transiit, rebusque ibi compositis, in reditu, non procul evectus e portu, cui Rupes Fergusii nomen est, coorta repente tempestate, interiit, anno regni sui vicesimo quinto." The absurdity of such mythic notices in the early Scottish history has been ably proved by the Bishop of Worcester, and been replied to by Sir George Mackenzie. Bishop Stillingfleet wrote in vindication of Worcester. Richard Stanihurst says:—"These fabulous dreams happily may move admiration in some old wives, applause to some Abderas, and laughter to the discreete reader. The Scotch had, as other

[a] "Quod ad me attinet, malim ignorare veterem illam anilem priscorum Britannorum balbutiem, quam dediscere quodcunque hoc est sermonis Latini, quod magno cum labore puer didici?' Buchanan, Lib. I.

[b] It is rather singular that the Scottish coronation-stone, now in Westminster Abbey, and the "Stone of Divination," at Clogher (Co. Tyrone), both consist of a species of freestone.

nations heretofore, (though now famous,) base beginning, dusked and obscured with some barbarous rudeness, and this had beene more discretion to confesse, than to vaunt and crake among the ignorant, with boast of their famed doings." Now, if the views of the Bishop of Worcester, Bishop Stillingfleet, and Stanihurst, be correct, we may no more rely on many of the early tales of our chronicles than on the authenticity of the portraits of Scottish kings in the Palace of Holyrood. Every one who is acquainted with the mediæval Irish and Scottish histories, knows how much our bards have been in the habit of giving their fictions the semblance of truthfulness, by narrating merely ideal circumstances, and connecting them with known localities. William Slatyer, in his *History of England*, gives a Latin and likewise an English metrical version of these feigned transactions, acknowledging them to be fabulous. See Ode x., Canz. xiii. The following is his English version:—

"Reuda first reigned, says reverend Bede,
In Brittish Scotland, though we reade
In Scottish Annalls how th' Ægyptian
Pharao's Impe Scota, with her Gracian
Husband Gathelus long did raigne,
With their succession kings in Spaine;
Whence Scots were nam'd! and Brechus King;
Their colonies they to Ireland bring:
From whom the Great Fergusius came,
Whom to her Erchus beares, faire Dame,
Danish Rocha, to her Spanish spouse,
Of Scotland's Kings ennobled House;
He with Goth Alaricke made Rome flame,
Ferguse that gave Craig-Fergus name;
And brought with him so long agone,
Scots gloried in the fatall stone,
Jacob lay on, in the Land of Syon;
With British-Scotsh Kings Armes their Lyon!"

If these narratives of our chronologers are to be regarded as myths, and are only worthy of being placed amongst curious and amusing extracts from our annals, we may, with Dr. Heylin, without ceremony, discard the name of Fergus I. from our historic pages. In dispensing with Fergus, the feigned incident falls to the ground, and we are left at liberty to search for the origin of the name of Carrickfergus in the Celtic language. We know that the Castle of Carrickfergus is situated on a basaltic rock that juts out into the ocean. There can be little doubt that this rock had, in ancient times, been designated "the rock of the sea," in contradistinction to inland crags. The Irish name for "rock of the sea," is *Carraig na Fairge*. Now, might not this Irish name of the rock have been very readily corrupted, and Latinised into Carrickfergus? And might not the term *Fairge* have induced some ancient historiographer, long previous to the time of Boethius, to grace his fanciful tale by drowning the imaginary hero, Fergus, at *Carraig na Fairge*, where a similarity of names gave countenance to the fiction?

To say more on this subject may be unnecessary. In Lough Fergus, in the estuary of the Shannon, there are likewise a *Knockfergus*, and a *Fortfergus*, the names of which have, no doubt, also originated in the Irish words *Cnoc-na-Fairge;* for I have not been able to learn anything of the drowning of a merely nominal king in that noble river.

J. Bell.

LOUGH FOYLE IN 1601.

The following original document is printed from a transcript of a MS. tract in the State Paper Office, dated 12th April, 1601, and endorsed "The Description of Lough Foyle, and the Country adjacent." At the period in question, the navigable estuary of Lough Foyle was a place of considerable political importance and interest to the governments in London and Dublin. The English nation, masters of the northern seas, intended, by means of their newly-established garrison and port of Derry, to "assault the rebel" Irish of Ulster, "in the back;" and thus, attacking the enemy in the rear, preclude them from finding shelter in the fastnesses of Glenconcan and Donegal, which for many centuries had shielded the Gaelic clans from Saxon onslaughts. Besides this, the magazines of Derry were a depôt for ammunition, and, moreover, contained good store of biscuit, salt beef, cheese, and beer, those indispensable viands without which the British soldier could not do battle, but which his active guerrilla foe had often wrested from him whilst under convoy through the defiles of Tyrone.

Among some rough isometric plans which are bound up with the above MS. "Description," are sketches of "The Lyfforde," of "The Island and forte of the Derry," and of "Donnalong." The first plan shows the size and form of the fortifications and buildings in the old fort and castle of Liffer, including "Nel Garve's house," and "*corps de gard*," within the fort, and "the Yrishmen's quartre, horse and foote," adjacent, on the larger island. This arrangement curiously shows the position of the *luchd tighe*, i.e., people of the house, household troop, or *garde du corps* of the chieftain. Our archæologic readers are, doubtless, aware that several instances of the custom of retaining similar armed bands can be pointed out among the northern clans; a topic to which we hope to revert, since it bears upon the interesting question of the Scandinavian origin of the Scotic Gael. With regard to the designation "the Yrishmen's quartre," we conceive that it applied to that division of the government forces which, being of native extraction, encamped separately from the English; as was natural, considering the difference of language and habits. To revert to the Scandinavian question; we may remark that, the surname MacLoughlin, (that of the chieftain mentioned as dwelling at Cahir McEwlyn) signifies Son of the Lochlannach, or Scandinavian. In the eleventh century the chieftains of this name were rulers of the Cinel-Owen, or Clanna-Neil, and resided in the Danish fort called Oileach, now Elagh. They were deposed by the O'Neills in the year 1241. The name of the adjacent castle Garnegall, seems to be *garra-na-ngall*, i.e., the garden of the foreigners. In the same direction we see in the surname of McSweyne, "Son of the Swain," i.e., servant, or slave,

showing the foreign extraction of this Scandinavian sept of galloglasses. Indeed the first Scotic settlers on Lough Foyle appear to have been attracted to its banks by its piscatory wealth. It is mentioned in another "Description of Lough Foyle," (dated 19th Dec., 1600) that:—"From a little short of the Derie all along to the Liffer is an excellent good fishing for salmon, which begins in June, and ends about the end of August. But the best place, where is most abundance and best comodities for casting the nets is amongst the islands between Donnalong and the Liffer." So large was the export of salmon from the territory governed by O'Donnell, that he was known in Spain by the *sobriquet* of "the King of Fishe;" and so great was the consumption of port and sherry by him and his *convives*, that the exported fish paid for wine only. Of the few remarkable passages in the following document, the most so is as to "the Derie," which had, it seems, but a few years previously been notable merely as the dwelling-place of "the Bishope" of the clan O'Donnell: but became renowned, a century afterwards, for that siege which has recently received such life and emphasis from the pen of Macaulay.

HERBERT F. HORE.

"THE NAMES OF ALL THE CHIEF PLACES OF STRENGTHE IN O'DOUGHERDIE'S COUNTRY CALLED ENYSHOWEN, AS WELL CASTLES AS FORTES.

On the south syde of the country, at the coming of the Loughe, there is an ould ruyned castle called Newcastle.[a]

Here dwells Hugh Boy mack Caire, one of the Odougherdie sept.

Next unto the Newcastle, three miles to landwardes, is a churche called Moyvill, with a haven before it.

Here dwells Shane mack Duffe, Hughe Boye's brother.

Next to that within four myles is a small castle called Caire MacEwlyn.

Here dwells Hugh Carrogh McLoughlin, chief of his sept.

Twoe miles above that is another small castle called Garnegall.

Here dwells Brien oge McLoughlin.

Seven miles from Garnegall is the fort of Culmore, where Phelimy og Odougherdie did dwell.

Odougherdie's brother

Three miles above Culmore stands the Derie, where the Bishope dwelt, who is one of the sept of the Gallocars.

From the Derie three miles within the land, towards Loughswillin, is the castle of Elloghe,[b] O'Dougherdie's chief house.

---

[a] Newcastle,—sometimes called Greencastle: but by the Irish, *Caislean nua*, i.e. the new castle. This once large and important fortress was built in the year 1395 by the Red Earl of Ulster.

[b] Elloghe.—*Oileach*, i.e., stone fort; a name, seemingly implying that, at the period of its construction, stone was not usually employed in building. The ruins of Oileach, the original fortress of the chiefs of the north, are near those of the castle.

Sir Henry Docrwa, in his narrative, writes of "Ellogh" a castle of O'Dogherty's, which he had (1600) "newlie abandoned and begunne to pull down." The English knight garrisoned it.

From Elloghe, five miles up into the country, at the syde of Loughswilly, is another castle of O'Dougherdie, called Birt. — Here he had a ward of 40 men.

Next to that, in the Lough to the seaward, is an Iclande called Ench, five miles in length, and one mile from Birt. — The chief dweller here is Doultagh O'Dougherdie.

Over against Elloghe, in O'Dougherdie's country, is a castle and a church called the Fanne, but broken down synce our aryvall. — Here dwells the Bishop O'Galchar.

From the seawardes six miles, is another small castle, called Boncranagh, and a river into the Lough where samon is taken. — At this plaee dwells Conor McGarrot O Dougherdie.

From Boncranagh, seawards nine miles, is another castle, and a church, called Clonmeny, by the sea syde. — Here dwells a priest called Amerson.

From Clonmeny, to seawardes five miles, is another castle, called Carrickbrahey. — Here dwells Phelim Brasleigh Odougherdie.

From Carrickbrahey, to landward one mile, is a small castle, called Caslane stoke. — Here dwells Phelimy Brasleigh's Sonne.

From Caslane stoke to seaward is a country of nine myles in lengthe, called Mallane, wherein is a fort by the sea syde, called Don-Yrishe holde, and inhabited by O'Dougherdie. On the south syde stands another fort called Don-owen. — Here dwells Phelimy Brasleigh's Sonne.

To the southward of the same island standes a church, with a woode, called Donoughmore.

From Donoughmore, a myle northwards, is a church called Caldanylie, and stands upon the sea syde. — Here dwells McShane O'Dougherdie.

Theis be all the chief places rounde about Odougherdie's country called Enishowen. The midland country is most part mountanous, and hath few inhabitants.

MACK-SWYNE A FANNE'S COUNTRY,

over adjacent O'Dougherdie's country, on the west side of Lough Swilly.

From the entrie of the Lough, until you come to a poynt of land a little short of Ench, there is neither castle nor fort, but then uppon a poynt of lande is a castle and an abbey called Ramellan.[c] — Mac Swyn O'Fane's chief countrey house.

[c] Maelan's Fort.

Fyve myles above Ramellan there is a castle of Hugh mc Hugh Duffes, called Ramaltan, standing upon the Lanan, which falleth in Lough Swilly. — Hugh Duffe's owne house.

Three miles above Ramaltan, upon the Lough syde, in a baye is the abbaye of Kil O'Donell, in Hugh mac Hugh Duffe's countrey. — Here dwell onlie Fryers.

Fyve myles above Kil O'Donnell there is a ford, passable at low water, wherein hath sometime bene a fort, called the Fareet of Soloughmore.

Three myles from this ford, towards Birt, standes an abbey called Ballaghan, over against Kil O'Donell. — Here dwell Fryars.

Three myles from Ballaghan, towards Birt, is a point of land, which runs farr into the Loughe, where hath been a strong fort, but now broaken downe, and is called Dunboye. — Here dwells Shane Mac Manus Oge.

Dunboye and the poynt of land whereon Birt standethe maketh a baye, in the bottom whereof stands an olde fort, called Cul mac a Tryne.[d] — This was wont to be held by O'Donnell.

From Cul mac a Tryne runs a bogg three myles in length, to the syde of Lough foyle; in the midest of the bogg is a standing lough, with a fort on the side of the lough called Bonneber, where Alexander McSurlie was slayn. At the end of this bogg to Lough foyle syde is the fort of Cargan. — Here dwells O'Donnell's mother.

Three myles above Cargan stands a fort called McGwyvelin, uppon the ryver of Loughfoyle. — O'Donnell'smother's chief house.

Above McGwyvelin, four miles up the river of Loughfoyle is the Liffer. — Here dwelt O'Donnell.

Four miles above the Liffer standes Castle Fene. — Nial Garve's house.

Four miles above Castle Fene is a fryer's house, called Drumboy.

Three miles above Drumboy stands a fort called Ballakit. — Here dwells Donnell Gallocar, one of O'Donnell's chief counsellors.

Ten miles above Ballakit is Loughfene, upon the river Fene, where the river hath his first head.

Four miles westward from Ballakit is Barnesmore.

From Barnesmore to the castle of Beleek, that stands upon Lough Erne, is twelve miles.

---

[d] The corner of Mac an Treoin, now Castle-Forward.

From Beleek to Ballashanon is three miles. — Here dwells M^c^O'Dongonrye.

From Ballashanon to the Abbey of Asheroe, to the seawards, is one myle. — Inhabited by monkes.

From the Abbey of Asheroe to the Abbey and castle of Donagall, is nine miles. Here is a good haven, and the river Eske falls into it.

Three miles above Donagall is Lough Eske, O'Donell's chief keeping. — O'Donnell's chief storehouse for the warr.

Over against Donagall, two myles on the other side of the water, stands O'Boyle, where the ships used to ryde. — O'Boyle's chief house.

Seven miles from O'Boyle, to the seaward, is a castle called M^c^Swyn O'Bane's Tower.

From this place to the haven of Calboy is three myles. — Here dwells Senechal McGonell.

Fower miles from there stands the castle of Bromoyle, in the lower end of the country. — Here dwells Hugh Boy M^c^Swyne, O'Bane's brother.

From thens four miles is a small haven called Cornetillen. This haven devydes M^c^Swyn O'Bane's country and O'Boyle's.

At the lower end of O'Boyle's country is a castle called Kilmirrish. — Here dwells the Bishop of O'Boyle.

Next to that castle is the haven of Bonabbar. This haven parteth O'Boyle's country, and M^c^Swyne O'Doe's.

And next to that is the haven Conogarhen, with a castle so called. — This is M^c^Swyn O'Doe's chief house.

The next haven to this is Red haven, which parts M^c^Swyn O'Doe's country, and M^c^Swyn O'Fane's. By the syde of this house is the castle of Menryee, a castle of M^c^Swyn O'Fanet's. Small boates maie come from the Red haven to the castle. — Here dwells Alexander M^c^Donologe.

The midland of Tirr Conell is inhabited by the sept of O'Gallocars."

REMINISCENCES OF BELFAST.—No. 2.

Some apology is perhaps due to the readers of this Journal, for introducing into its pages matters not strictly archæological. Neither can the observations, such as they are, be properly called reminiscences, inasmuch as they are not exclusively personal, but drawn, to some extent, from information derived from other, but still generally living sources. The writer, however, certainly does not pretend to produce in them, either from his own recollection or that of others, anything on which could be bestowed the smallest amount of that research and learning expected in archæological works; but being aware that even in such publications great interest has sometimes been attached, at least by certain readers, to the occasional papers of contributors on subjects purely local, or having reference to manners, customs, places, or occupations, that have passed away for ever in our own day or in the generation immediately preceding, and knowing how soon matters even quite recent are forgotten amidst the exciting events of rapidly-expanding towns, he is induced to contribute the few following slight and unconnected notes to the sum of local knowledge, in continuation of his former paper (vol. 3, p. 260). If much research and ability be required to bring to the open day,—to put in their true light,—objects or deeds which the rust of antiquity has shrouded for ages, some credit, though certainly far less in degree, may be conceded to those who endeavour to preserve things that are passing away, before that rust has concealed them from the public gaze.

Some observations were made in the former paper on the great changes that have taken place in the course of years on the public roads and entrances into Belfast. This naturally leads, as a sort of associating link, to remark on the mode of travel in those days as compared with the present. Beginning with that which was always, and which is still, one of our chief outlets, namely, the road to Carrickfergus, the writer has been informed that about the year 1811 the Academy boys, who were accustomed to assemble before school hours at the Church gate in Donegall Street, were rather disappointed if the ten o'clock bell rang before the "Royal Oak" came forward, that they might see the unusual spectacle, and give it a passing cheer. This it appears was the name of the sole conveyance at that time between Belfast and Carrickfergus; at least exclusively, for it is probable the mail-coach to Larne was running at this period. The vehicle named the Royal Oak or Carrickfergus coach, however, is described as having been originally, to all appearance, a private carriage; but it had fallen from its high estate to public uses, and was just sufficient to accommodate three or four inside passengers. Some person will remember whether it was a daily conveyance or

confined to a tri-weekly journey; most probably the latter was sufficient for the travelling wants of the time. It rumbled down Donegall Street with its three or four "insides," the driver apparently quite proud of having accomplished in two or three hours his toilsome journey; and in truth the way, however beautiful and populous now, was in many places both bare and lonely. Who that sees the unceasing movement of private and public conveyances now on that noble line of road—almost a continued suburb of the town—the crowds of passengers carried several times each day to Carrickfergus and the different stations on the railway, would think it credible that so great a change should have occurred in a space of time so comparatively short? Yet a nearly similar statement might be made of the increase of travelling on every great outlet from the town. Indeed travelling at the period now alluded to was a very serious affair, but about fifteen or twenty years earlier more serious still; and a journey to Dublin, for instance, at the era last referred to, was not to be lightly undertaken. The writer has often heard from relatives the usual method of accomplishing the latter exploit, sixty or seventy years since; for it is not possible to be precisely accurate in inquiries of this kind. A journey to Dublin was then generally got over in about two days and a half in a post-chaise, at the small charge of nineteen-pence half-penny per mile. Two or three persons would commonly unite in this venture, reaching Newry on the first night, where, of course, they remained till the following morning; and in this way, if no accident occurred, arrived in the metropolis in the time mentioned. Glancing for a moment again to a period beyond those post-chaise days, it may be mentioned, as a statement worth noting, that a very old inhabitant of Belfast, lately deceased, was accustomed to relate, as one of the most curious things that had come to his knowledge in his time, that the ancestress of two or three of our leading families, (whose descendants, perhaps in the second or third generations, have risen to the highest commercial eminence, and who was herself in business,) was in the habit of going from this town to Dublin to purchase goods, mounted on horseback on a pillion behind her servant. This is no doubt an old story, and probably happened about the same time that linen was carried from Armagh to Dublin for sale on horses' backs, which is, I believe a recognised fact; yet it may not be so long ago either, as I have been informed by a very old person that, in her youth, she had seen pillion-riding practised by ladies of station,—one of title among the number. Leaving these remote days, however, and coming nearer our own time, it may be mentioned that, down to a comparatively recent period, travelling on horseback was quite the usual system for business people; the state of the roads, and the want of public conveyances, rendering it indeed almost the only mode practicable. There are persons living still in towns twenty or thirty miles distant from Belfast, and many of them able to do a good day's work yet, who never thought of any other way of coming to town for business purposes but on horseback. The method of transacting the affair, so far as the travelling part of it was concerned, was after this fashion. A number of the shopkeepers, for instance, or other inhabitants of a town at some distance, would arrange among themselves when it might be convenient to go together, mounted, to their provincial capital, to purchase or sell goods, or transact other business. Their going united in this way was for the

sake of company, or at least it was a very common practice; and if all were not ready at the same time, those who were unprepared would be waited for by the others for a day or two; the "go ahead" principle not being in so much vigour then as it is now, nor was time of so much value. It was but seldom that these travellers returned home on the same day, if the distance were considerable, on account of the fatigue of the journey, as well as the time it occupied; and to inquire whether, on some occasions, like the fragments of a routed army, they found their way to head-quarters again in smaller parties, how and when they best could, might, in Shakesperian phrase, be "to consider the matter too curiously." All this will seem very strange to the present travelling generation, accustomed to the speed, the punctuality, and economy of the railway. Very strange, no doubt, to them it will appear, to be told that there are persons still living who, when occasion obliged them to visit Antrim, found the most easy and convenient way of reaching that town was to go on horseback by the old Shankhill Road, right up North Street, and over the mountain above Wolf-hill. By such mode and by such way (the road by the shore, past the Whitewell, not being much better), was Antrim, as well as the important localities beyond it now accessible by railway, reached within a period of seventy years back, or less. Travelling on horseback for business purposes continued even after stage-coaches were introduced. Nor is this to be wondered at, as the roads, even quite near Belfast, in many instances continued down to a late period almost entirely unfit to be travelled with convenience by wheeled carriages. It is not much more than twenty years ago since the stage-coach between Belfast and Downpatrick required from four to five hours to complete its journey between these two places;—eight to nine weary hours of the day being taken up with the double journey. Old travellers on that road, very little previous to the time mentioned, will recollect when the coach stopped at the Beech hill above Belvoir, and several other hills on the road nearly as bad, where it was expected they would alight to enable the horses to drag the nearly empty vehicle up the steep ascents; and if any of them felt disposed to help the machine forward by a good push behind, the service was not thought altogether needless—at least it was the jest of the occasion. The road spoken of was shortly afterwards, no doubt, improved; and in a few months more I suppose the railway now in progress will be the means of reducing this journey to an hour or less, with the entire absence of all trouble and fatigue. Such will indeed be a contrast to what was stated to me once respecting the County Down roads and method of transport. A most respectable man told me, many years ago certainly, and when the informant himself was at a very advanced age, that in his younger days he had been accustomed to send oats to Belfast market in a sack slung across a horse's back, the distance being about sixteen miles, the roads being unfit for any lengthened journey with the wheeled cars of the day, the only vehicle known:—for there were no carts at the time, either for farmer or common carrier; and all this was in a part of the country distinguished now for its progress in everything tending to prosperity and material advancement.

But we must not lose sight of our town, our more special locality, in gossiping about these County Down roads and carriages. The old Corporation of Belfast was a sort of a myth—one of those unsub-

stantial things of which a good clear view could never be got. The members had, in a manner, no corporate identity; they were destitute of cloaks and cocked hats, without which, of course, no civic importance could be. Many of those dignitaries were non-resident; and the whole affair, though constituted under an ancient charter, had dwindled into the most perfect insignificance. There was certainly a chief magistrate called a Sovereign, who possessed some rights, and exercised magisterial authority. There was also very frequently to be seen, I remember, as a representative it may be supposed of the entire corporate body, an old man called a Sergeant-at-mace; but what the mace was like, and whether he possessed such a bauble at all, were subjects of frequent discussion among the juvenile population. These remarks are intended to be introductory to a circumstance rescued from forgetfulness, and which is of itself sufficient proof of the powerlessness or neglect of the old corporation, and of the very ineffective way in which things were done forty years ago. It is unnecessary to say that such a body as a day police was then unknown, but there actually was a time about that period when there was no night police. In consequence of the frequency of street robberies accompanied with violence, a number of the respectable inhabitants voluntarily enrolled themselves as watchmen to guard the town, and in parties of three or four individuals perambulated the streets during the night, holding their head-quarters in the old Exchange, now the Belfast Bank; and when those who had been out on duty, striking terror to evil doers, came in for rest, others proceeded to perform the same round. It has not been communicated to me how long this continued, whether it was the exclusive night force, or was auxiliary to a few hobbling old men with long grey coats and big wooden rattles, who either then or afterwards constituted the police. It is probable there were no other guardians of the night whatever than those respectable inhabitants who united for this necessary and useful purpose. Two of them, the writer is aware, (and there may be others) are still living; and the book containing the record of the proceedings of this volunteer force is yet in possession of an old and respected merchant of the town.

But if the Sovereign and the other members of the corporate body did not attract so much notice in those days as might have been expected, not so the town Bell-man. This functionary was in constant requisition, exercising his calling as if in a small country town full of petty cases and interests. Belfast then was in fact a small country town in comparison with its present greatness; and it is only among a community limited in point of numbers, and not spread over a very extended space, that the services of a bell-man could be suitable or effective. However, so it was—the bell-man was a reality. He wore a cocked hat and a long blue cloak with a yellow border. In this costume, which from some unaccountable cause soon lost its freshness, but with which he was perhaps furnished every year, he was accustomed to proclaim auctions; to announce that a boat of fresh herrings was on sale at Custom-House Quay; where cheap oaten meal was to be had; that a little girl had strayed away from home, giving, at the same time, a most minute account of the dress and appearance of the runaway; or that such an article had been lost, and offering a reward for its discovery; with the invariable addition "that no questions would be asked." These statements may all

appear very trifling and unworthy of record, but really the change from such a state of society in an inconsiderable number of years, to the present civic importance of Belfast—so populous, and with so many great establishments, while the active and influential members of its community know generally nothing of the past history of the town which is the scene of their labours—should not be altogether unmarked. The particular instance brought forward is not mentioned on account of possessing anything remarkable in itself, but merely as one indicator of change and progress. Indeed the time was, and not very distant either, when all the people in the town seemed in a manner to know one another; when the few magnates among us created quite a sensation on their appearance in the streets; but now the magnates are so numerous that they are quite undistinguishable in the crowd. There would also seem to be an entirely changed state of feeling, both on matters on which it is forbidden here to make any comment, and likewise on social questions. As an instance of the latter I have just time to remark that it is little more than forty years ago since two men were publicly executed on a scaffold erected in Castle Place, in the most public part of the town, for attempting to destroy the inmates of a house in Peter's Hill with an infernal machine. Half a century earlier perhaps the heads of culprits would have been exposed, as matters of course, on spikes above the town or castle gates. The modern instance occurred, however, as related, and is only introduced here as a proof of the altered state of public feeling, as no such exhibition would now for a moment be thought of or tolerated; and I could mention many little pieces of domestic history pointing with equal distinctness to the changes which time produces. Thus, there was once a busy little mart of a book-shop in North Street, near the corner of Rosemary Street, which would now and then be closed up; on which occasions this notice would appear on the door, "Gone to Dublin, and will be back in a few days;" indicating both a very easy-going way of doing business, and that even in the book line the Irish capital was in a great measure the centre of supply. Let not this be wondered at, for there were no steam-boats; and even so lately as the winter of 1822 I knew an instance of a person being three weeks at sea before his passage was made from Belfast to Liverpool. Such cases were probably not rare; they formed effectual bars to any considerable intercourse; and direct trade of the smaller class of dealers with England or Scotland, now so general, was then all but unknown. I mentioned just now, what the curious eye might have detected at certain seasons and at a certain period of our town's history, on the book-shop window. On another closed shutter again, or perhaps on several, but in a more obscure locality, so well as I am informed,—the time being a fine sunny day in the month of July,—this notification might be seen, "Gone to the Races"!—so small and simple were Belfast people in these good old days. As in other large towns, the locality, and even the very residences occupied by the gentry or principal inhabitants of one generation become the shops and warehouses of the next, to descend again in some instances, and as time advances, to tenancies of a still lower character. It is unnecessary to say that Donegall Place was until lately the residence of that extinct body, the aristocracy of Belfast. At another period again, High Street contained the dwelling-houses of some of the most important families. So did

Donegall Street, Castle Street, and some others; and even in North Street, it is not yet half a century since ladies might have been seen carried to evening parties in sedan chairs, (vehicles now, at least for that purpose, unknown in the town,) their tottering bearers enabled to see their way by the aid of a few public oil lamps which shed their feeble rays across the street.

The supply of water has always been a fertile source of trouble in rapidly increasing towns. The increase of inhabitants is indefinite, at least cannot be calculated on, and an over-abundant supply has not generally been provided to meet the wants of a subsequent time. Our town, of course, has not been free from the consequences of this perhaps inevitable course; but it also stands conspicuously forward as having, in its day of small things—at a very early period indeed—provided its inhabitants with water by artificial means. In the early part of the last century, underground wooden pipes were laid down in the streets, to convey water from the Tuck-Mill dam for the convenience of the inhabitants. I am not sure that anything of the kind was done so early in Liverpool, or in some other great places which have even exceeded Belfast in rapidity of growth. It is also to be noted, that this early water supply was probably to a great extent the result of private enterprise, being generally attributed to one of the Macartney family. These wooden pipes, however, continued to be serviceable down to a recent period. I remember two establishments, and there were probably others, which received water from this source; and I have seen many of these wooden pipes finally taken up. It must, no doubt, have been an entirely insufficient supply for the wants of the town; but the more recent history of the means taken at different periods to supplement it does not come within the scope of the present paper. I can only refer by light touches to matters of minor importance, and not at all to such a serious subject as pipe-water. Thus, many now rather grave personages in our streets will recollect when in their school-boy days there were two public fountains in Fountain-Street, (from which that street derives its name,) and from which water was carried by the inhabitants of the adjoining localities for domestic uses, their houses being unprovided with it; and also when that indispensable article was very generally conveyed through some of the streets by carriers, for sale, in casks, on small carts, drawn by donkeys or old horses, the owners ringing little bells to announce their approach. It was retailed by the bucket; and I believe that for some very highly-prized water there was, till lately, a revival or continuation of the more ancient and general practice.

The present subject is capable of great enlargement. There are many notices, for instance, regarding certain branches of trade and manufacture which have either become extinct, or have altogether risen up within memory. Flax-spinning, which has probably contributed more than any single cause to make Belfast what it now is, dates only from the year 1829. The cotton manufacture is, as is well known, much older; and persons have told me that they remember horse-power in Waring Street being employed in spinning cotton, at the same time that there were large establishments operated upon by a more powerful agent. Many will recollect also the sugar-houses in Sugar-House Entry, and elsewhere, and probably several other branches of manufacture, which,

like states and empires, have had their periods of rise, decadence, and fall. Then again the rapid increase of the population is a subject worth taking a note about. An old inhabitant who died about two years ago, informed me, that when he came to Belfast as a youth to serve his apprenticeship, the utmost limit then put on the population of the town was 12 or 14,000.—But it is perhaps unnecessary to continue these rambling recollections any further; what has been written will serve to explain the nature of the information considered to be worth preserving, and may induce others to relate their reminiscences, and probably to bring forward some facts far more interesting than any which could be recorded by the present writer. G. B.

LETTERS ON IRISH ANTIQUITIES.

BY A CORNISH MAN.*

LETTER I.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

Sir,—Living, as I do, at such a great distance from the several head-quarters of Archæological science, I am debarred from all opportunity of meeting individuals who have devoted themselves to that growing branch of national education, and of asking them questions which I do not find answered in the antiquarian publications of the day to which I have access.

As my present difficulty lies more particularly in those articles composed of flint, both elegantly formed as well as rudely shaped, which are said to be found so abundantly in Ulster, I trust you and your readers will pardon my curiosity in seeking information respecting them and their origin—their antiquity—their *loci*—and indeed every fact which relates to their discovery.

Before I ask any questions relating to their antiquity, I should like to know if there be any reason to suspect that the local guides at the Giants' Causeway ever themselves manufacture flint arrow-heads, knives, or spears? And if they do, what tools or methods they adopt for manipulating the flint, or for preparing it before-hand? I am the more curious about this matter, because the London antiquaries appear at present to be divided in opinion as to the genuineness of quantities of articles made of flint which have been recently sold by certain individuals in Yorkshire; who, however, assert that they find the things ready made to their hands in the ground, and that they do not manufacture these articles, not knowing, in fact, how to make them.

Now comes my question:—Can you or your correspondents give us any exact information of the *loci* where it has been stated large quantities of flint articles have been found in Ulster? and where, from the enormous quantities of chips or spalls of flint found, it would appear that regular manufactories or workshops of flint weapons and implements existed formerly?

* We have received a number of letters from our Cornish friend on this subject, and, as they open up a variety of interesting questions, we have determined on publishing them. We are glad to find that our fame has reached to the "Land's End." Edit.

I have myself either read or heard of places in the South of France where it was manifest that such factories of flint weapons, tools, and utensils, had formerly existed; and I once saw a French book, full of plates representing all sorts of flakes of flint, which the author, working on his fancy, like an imaginative child peering into the glowing coals of a clear fire on a winter's evening, had persuaded himself were representations of everything above, upon, and beneath the surface of the earth! And out of his own imaginings had constructed a theory of the flint trade conformable to that of those natural philosophers who would deduce a man, by *easy* stages, from an oyster, a bat, or a dodo! So it is with our French *savant*, whose theory leads him, and all others who adopt it, into the absurdity that a certain thing found in the South of France, made of flint, and which was exceedingly similar in shape to our iron hatchet with a wooden handle, was the pre-historical original of the iron hatchet and wooden handle now in common use. The theory which I hold leads me, I confess, to infer the very contrary, and to believe that the flint hatchet and handle, both in one piece, was a marvellous work of art, of the same date with other things of the same finish, and made to imitate the iron hatchet and wooden handle, and thus prove what could be done with flint of first-rate quality by a master-workman in that material.

The very same line of argument which leads me to infer that the flint hatchet with a handle, was a copy of an iron hatchet and wooden handle, leads me also to conclude, that some, at least, if not all, of the nicely shaped flint arrow-heads found in Ulster, are imitations of iron arrow-heads; which, being composed of a dearer material, went out of use and were replaced with flint arrow-heads made for trade by people who sold them cheap, or at least cheaper than iron arrow-heads of the same size and pattern. Now, I want facts—to help out, to correct, or to deny my inference, so far as flint arrow-heads, &c. are concerned. Some of them which I have seen are perfect masterpieces of the craft, which is from its ingenuity certainly worth the trouble of re-discovery, if this has not already taken place in Antrim and Yorkshire.

I have spoken to some American travellers, and asked them questions as to the manufacture of flint and obsidian arrow-heads on that continent; but have received little or no information on the subject beyond the inference that copper tools were necessary to form flint arrow-heads. Now, if this could be proved, it would place the flint arrow-heads, found in Ulster, in a later category than copper tools and weapons, as in America.

If the guides at the Giants' Causeway now manufacture these things of flint, do they use iron clamps to hold the flint in? Do they chip it with iron or steel hammers? In a word—how do they make them? If we could answer this question, we might not only infer, either that the flint articles which are now making such a sensation in London, were or were not ancient; but in either case, that they still were later in point of antiquity, than the metallic tools used in their fabrication. With some it is simply a question of progress in the arts; the substitution of a cheaper material for a dearer one, in a case where the article manufactured was to be lost or wasted on an enemy.

I would argue the point of the relative antiquity of the flint arrow-heads and iron arrow-heads

with the French and Danish antiquaries, (and I believe some Irish ones,) on the principles of that common sense which we act upon ourselves in every case where we substitute a less expensive material for one more costly. I admit I want facts; and I look to you for such as will bear upon this question.

Do you know of any examples of objects in metal, iron, copper, or bronze—found in the same place with flint articles? I have heard of one where the arrow-head was of the broad barbed kind. It had been injured by fire; but along with it, and in the same heap of bones in the urn, was a small scale of copper, which, with the arrow-head, had probably been overlooked by the person who put the bones into the urn. In this case the little fragment of copper may have been an arrow-head also; and, as compared with the flint arrow-head found with it, was a very inferior weapon; the flint arrow-head being an improvement on its softer metallic companion.

I want people to inquire, and think on these matters. I am one of those who would, if he could, recover the truth which lies at the bottom of the well of "Milesian" antiquity, of which we read in Dr. Keating's history of Ireland for the Irish.—I am Sir, your obedient servant,

TREVELYAN.

LETTER II.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

SIR,—In continuation of the subject of my last letter, I may here state, that a friend of mine, who visited Ireland a few years since, told me that the question of the absolute antiquity of many things made of stone of different kinds, and sold by the guides to the visitors at the Giants' Causeway, had been settled definitely by an Irish antiquary, a friend of his: for this gentleman had actually discovered one of the guides hard at work, polishing one of the basalt "celts," which he would no doubt offer for sale in the course of the same day.

These celts, or hatchets, generally made of trap-rock in that locality, are of different sizes, and usually shaped like an almond kernel, frequently with the pointed end imperfect. It has been said that the linen weavers in the North of Ireland frequently use these stones for flattening or beetling the threads in a piece of linen, so as to make it look evener in its texture than it really is; and, that when a weaver cannot get a celt ready made to his hand, he manufactures one, so perfectly like an ancient specimen that the most skilful antiquary would be deceived by the imitation.

We want you and your correspondents to inquire into this matter. I can readily understand why a linen weaver should polish the surface of a stone celt, which had been weathered and made rough by exposure to the sun and rain perhaps for eight or ten centuries, or even more, and thus adapt it to his particular use; and, I can also understand why a poor guide at the Giants' Causeway should polish a stone celt, as by doing so, he might calculate on obtaining a few halfpence more for it than if it were rough and with a surface like any common field-stone; but I cannot go any further

in my imaginings, if stone celts are to be found in quantities ready made in the ploughed fields in that neighbourhood, a fact which has been repeatedly asserted, and, so far as I know, never contradicted.

It strikes me that the Irish antiquary's argument in favour of the guides fabricating the antiquities which they sell at the Giants' Causeway, will not hold good as against the individual whom he detected polishing the celt, nor against the class to which that individual belonged. If it did, an ignorant Hottentot might accuse Sam Weller and his craft of making all the boots, shoes, &c., which they ever polished, provided one of the class was detected in the act of giving the finishing touch to a lady's slipper.

I wish our professed antiquaries would speculate less, and establish or develope facts more. I know of no science, so-called, where facts are more wanted than in British antiquarianism, including in that general title the study of Irish, Scotch, and Welsh antiquities.

It is to publications like yours that we must look for authentic information. In Ulster, you have, no doubt, many individuals who are able to enlighten our darkness on the subject of the stone implements so generally found in the North of Ireland. At the time of the meeting of the British Association in Belfast, I visited a most interesting collection, formed for the occasion, of Northern Irish Antiquities from a great many parts of Ulster, and exhibited in the Museum of your town. Amongst these I particularly remarked a great collection of stone and flint articles, exhibited by a Mr. Bell. Surely he could tell us, or could ascertain, the exact circumstances under which many of the objects in his collection were found. Other individuals, not collectors, could assist him in this work, and also give information as to the finding of other articles accompanying them, which might explain the method of making them, and throw light also upon the question of their real and relative ages.

It would be well, too, that the best specimens of ancient art, both Danish and British, in flint, and likewise Mexican ones in obsidian, should be shown to some of our best gun-flint makers, and a premium offered for the best imitations of these things in flint that they could produce; it being understood that the parties to whom premiums were to be awarded should previously exhibit and explain the process they had adopted in making them. If this were done, we should be much better able to go into this subject, and speculate upon it or argue on it as a distinct and original thing in itself, or as an art coupled more or less with the progress and development or decay of other arts, whose antiquity might or might not be partly settled by other evidence.

If pre-historic antiquities are to be studied scientifically, we must bring all the ancient facts that can be found to bear upon them, each to help out all the others; we must then confront these with the facts and knowledge which belong to our own period, in order to judge the past by the present; and finally come to conclusions, not dogmatically, but problematically, prepared to adopt any new facts that may have been overlooked, or that may not yet have been discovered, although these may disprove or greatly modify the conclusions arrived at. I have heard of professing antiquarians disingenuously hiding and denying facts which told against their speculations. Let

us act on different principles. In the present inquiry we want all sorts of facts, both ancient and modern, relating to flint and stone weapons and tools, to be put on record, so that we may hereafter collate them with each other, and draw our own conclusions respecting them.

The Bible contains some notices of stone instruments which may be of use in an argument concerning the relative antiquity of stone and metallic objects. Thus the notice in Exodus [iv., 25] "Zipporah took a *stone*," or "sharp stone," if correctly rendered, is a valuable fact in its way, if it be borne in mind that Zipporah was a Midianite, and that the ancient Egyptians, (and it has been said the Jews also,) used flint knives, for certain purposes, long after the ordinary introduction of the metals for cutlery.

In Exodus xxi., 18, we read of a stone used as a weapon, apparently in the hand, as the "fist,"—that is the closed but empty hand,—is immediately mentioned after it. Here, if our gloss be admitted, we might infer that the stone alluded to was one of those nice handfuls of stone with a cutting edge, which so many of our stone celts supply; and that the use was to cut and bleed surgically, as well as to stun an enemy. Stones of this kind could also be thrown from the hand; and likewise by means of a *radius* or handle. And that handle might have been held in the hand, or been propelled like the arm of a *balista*, with a coil of cord or other elastic material; and thus, we may have had the table-sling of the Irish, and probably of other people, a mechanical contrivance for casting hard stones or stone celts. This, like everything belonging to our subject, requires to be examined.

The late Mr. Kemble has stated, that the Saxons used stones as missiles against the Normans in the battle of Hastings; and, as the table-sling appears likely to have been in use in Ireland till about the same time, it may be well to have the locality of that battle examined for stone celts, which, from their material, if used on the occasion, must be found now mixed up with the surface soil.

The passages in 1 Sam. [xvii., 49, 50, &c.] which relate to the use of the sling by David, have been probably misunderstood by modern and southern writers, who have supposed that the sling alluded to was the common *funda;* but an attentive consideration of the words used by Goliath to David, ("Am I a dog, that thou comest to me with staves?") prove clearly that it was a stave-sling he used on the occasion, and not one made of leather. Chaucer has understood the facts rightly, and so explained them.

Writers on the so-called stone period should make themselves up as to the shape and construction of the stone-sling; the table-sling or *Crann-tabhuil* of Ireland, mentioned by Keating, as the great weapon of Cuchullin; the hand stone; the stone to be thrown with a thong to it; the stone fit for the *funda* or leather sling; the stone to be fixed on a pole; and also the other methods used at present, and which were, or which might have been used formerly, for converting stones of different shapes and qualities into cutting, piercing, and stunning implements and weapons, and into wedges for cutting, splitting, and working timber, bone, skin, &c. We require facts of all kinds relating

to these matters, which will directly or indirectly elucidate the modes of making and using the stone articles found in Ireland, and especially in Ulster, as well as elsewhere in Europe; and we require also to know all that has been ascertained respecting the use and manufacture of stone implements in modern times by uncivilised tribes of people, discovered by Europeans to be destitute of iron and steel, the materials used by us, and also by various ancient nations, for cutlery.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant, TREVELYAN.

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

EXCLUSION OF WOMEN.—In the account of the Round Tower of Devenish [Journal, vol. 4, p. 282] an extract is given from an old Icelandic author, mentioning that into a certain island in one of the Irish lakes no female of any animal (including the human species) was allowed to enter. This rule seems also to have been enforced in various parts of Europe. The following extracts from Curzon's *Monasteries of the Levant*, shows that it is still in existence, even in the nineteenth century :—

"No female animal of any sort is admitted on any part of the Peninsula of Mount Athos; and, since the days of Constantine the soil of the Holy Mountain has never been contaminated by the tread of woman's foot. On this peninsula are twenty-one monasteries. One of the monks of the monastery of Simopetra, a magnificent looking man, of thirty or thirty-five years of age, did not remember his mother, and did not seem quite sure that he ever had one! He had never seen a woman, nor had he any sort of idea what sort of things women were, or what they looked like. He asked me whether they resembled the pictures of the Holy Virgin, which hang in every church. These pictures are all exactly alike, stiff, hard, and dry, without any appearance of life or emotion; and do not afford a very favourable idea of the beauty of the fair sex. He listened with great interest while I told him that all women were not exactly like the pictures he had seen, and that they differed considerably one from another; but I did not think it charitable to carry on the conversation further, although the poor monk seemed to have a strong inclination to know more of that interesting race of beings from whose society he had been so entirely debarred." ORIENTALIS.

CROSS OF CONG.—A controversy is published in the *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, [vol. 3, 1st Series, p. 417, and vol. 1, New Series, p. 37], respecting the correct reading of the Irish inscription on the Cross of Cong. Mr. O'Neill, (author of the beautiful pictorial work on the Crosses of Ireland,) objects to the copies and readings given by Dr. Petrie, in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* for 10th June, 1850, and states that he himself, having made an accurate transcript of the entire inscription from the Cross itself, is enabled to point out several errors made by Dr. Petrie. Dr.

O'Donovan, in reply, defends Dr. Petrie's version and translation. One point particularly dwelt on by Mr. O'Neill, is, that a name, *O'Dubdenit*, which appears on the cross as that of a bishop, is converted by Dr. Petrie into O'Dubthaigh, and translated O'Duffy. Dr. O'Donovan asserts that no such surname as *Dubdenit* ever had any existence in Ireland. In reading lately Ussher's *Sylloge Veterum Epistolarum Hiberniearum*, I met with a passage which seems to render it highly probable that Dr. O'Donovan has stated this too rashly. It is as follows (translating from the Latin):—"Virgilius, an Irishman by birth, and of noble family, was appointed by Pope Stephen, and Pepin King of the Franks, to the See of Juvavia [Episcopatus Juvaviensis]; but was retained by the king for nearly two years, on account of his uncommon learning and piety: afterwards being honourably dismissed with recommendations to Ottilo, then Duke of Bavaria, he accepted the bishopric from him. For two years more, however, he declined being consecrated, and had the pontifical acts performed by his own priest, *Dobdan*, a Greek, who had followed him from home. * * * I should be surprised at reading of a Greek having come from our Ireland, if I did not know that at Trim, in Meath, there is in existence a church which is called the 'Greek Church' to this day." [*Sylloge*, MDCXCVI., p. 46, Edition of 1696.]

We have here a name, recorded as connected with the ecclesiastical body in Ireland, which agrees perfectly with the name occurring, according to Mr. O'Neill, on the Cross of Cong, excepting only the last syllable; and, if we consider that it was a *Greek* name, and that the Greek mode of forming patronymics was by affixing the termination *ides*, we shall by this process have *Dobdanid-es*, a word which would become according to the Irish orthography (rejecting as usual the last syllable of foreign words) *Dobdanid* or *Dobdanit*—the very name in question. SENEX.

An obscure expression in Shakspeare has been very well explained by T. H. P., in the last Number of the Journal [vol. 5, p. 92] by a word in the Irish language. Allow me to mention another example which may be explained from the same source.

Mr. Knight, in his *Pictorial Shakspeare*, at the following passage in Coriolanus, [Act 3, Scene 1]—

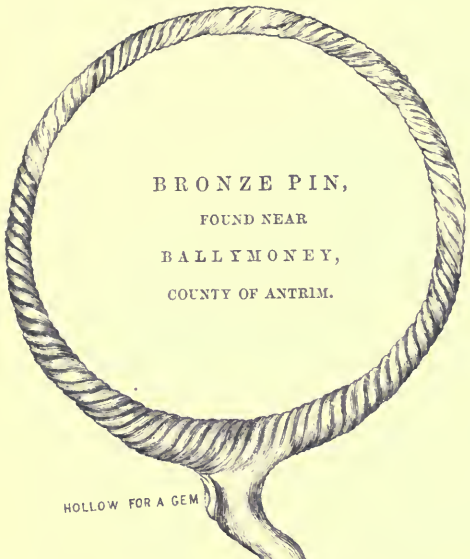
"*Sicinius.* This is clean *kam.*
Brutus. Merely awry. When he did love his country
It honoured him;"

has a note in which he says:—"We take this to mean—'nothing to the purpose.'" He is evidently ignorant of the real meaning of the word, although the expression "awry," used by Brutus, might have led him to it. There is no difficulty in explaining it, if we recollect that in Irish the word *eam* signifies "crooked."

But the real difficulty seems to me to be why Shakspeare, an English writer, should be found employing pure Irish words. SENEX.

I beg to protest against the use of the word *Kist-van* as applied to stone sepulchral chambers in Ireland. The word is Welsh, and signifies a "stone chest," but is totally unknown in Ireland. Even a corrupt form of the word has been authorised by being printed in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy [vol. 4, p. 188, and elsewhere], namely, *Kiswain*. This is surely making "confusion worse confounded."

ANTIQUARIUS.



The Bronze pin or *Dealg Fallainn*, which is here represented of the full size, is an example of a very remarkable and unusual form; differing materially from all those generally found in Ireland. The metal of which it is formed is cast bronze of the usual dark colour. As the cavity under the ring has evidently been occupied by a precious stone of some kind, it is not unlikely that the whole has been covered with gilding, although no traces of this now remain. It seems improbable that a gem would be worn in a pin formed merely of bronze. This specimen forms part of the collection of Antiquities made by the late James Bell, Esq., of Prospect, near Ballymoney.

[Edit.]

"Augustinians" and "Augustine Canons."—*The Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry* contains in the "Memoir of the City" two very strange inaccuracies; and as this is a work which is looked upon as a high authority,—quoted before juries and in Archæological publications,—and as it is the main object of all Archæological societies to elicit truth, I have presumed that your Journal would be freely open to any remarks having this tendency.

My attention has only been directed to that portion of the work which is referred to in the Index under the title "Antiquities of the City," pp. 24-26, and to this, therefore, I confine myself.

Now the first error—which is so glaring that it might almost be thought typographical—is at p. 25, where the Dominican convent is styled an *abbey*. The only answer to this is that there never has been an *abbey* of Dominicans, or "fratres predicatores," as the mediæval writers more usually called them. The next inaccuracy, and the one which has prompted me to make this communication, occurs a few lines further down the page, in the notice of the "Augustinian Church," where the writer confounds in one line the *Augustinians* with the *Canons Regular of the Order of St. Augustine*. Now it is somewhat remarkable that it should never have occurred to the able translator and annotator of the *Metropolitan Visitation of the Diocese of Derry* (printed in the 1st vol. of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*) that the Augustinians are altogether a distinct and separate order from the Augustinian Canons; and that, during the middle ages, both orders were often to be found in the same city. This alone has created great confusion, contradiction, and lengthened argument, amongst the historians of Bristol; and the consequence is, that some of them have made a similar mistake

to that of the writer in the *Ordnance Survey*. There is this difference, however, that whereas the latter had no *local* authority to guide him, the former actually possessed the evidence of an eye-witness, William Botonen, *sive* Wyrcestre, an antiquary of Bristol, who lived in the middle of the 15th century, and whose notes and measurements of both churches (Augustinians' and Augustinian Canons') have been carefully preserved;* and what is still more important, the names of the founders, the exact site, and the time of the foundation of both houses, are also given. From all which we deduce, 1. That the Augustinians possessed only one house in the city of monasteries; 2. That they were comparatively poor and insignificant; 3. That they were *inside the walls* (the Canons being *outside*); 4. That they did not establish themselves in Bristol before the close of the 13th or early part of the 14th century; and lastly, that they were quiet and retiring, making no appearance either in the annals of the city or the inquisition of the bishop of the diocese.—With such evidence as this, and in the absence of *proof* that the Augustinian Church of Derry belonged to the Canons of St. Augustine, I see no reason why we should doubt that the Augustinians possessed a convent in the City of Derry.

I refer you to Fosbroke's *History of Monachism*, Leland's *Itinerary*, and the *Itinerary of W. de Wyrcestre* already alluded to, for farther evidence as to this small monastic Order, which has been so much overlooked.

Derry. E. W. Godwin.

Looking over some back numbers of this *Journal*, [vol. 3, p. 323], I lately met with a query respecting the meaning of "cantle," a word scarcely obsolete at the present day, as I suspect it still holds a place among the mysterious technicalities of the *modiste*. Cantle means a corner, a subdivision, a small piece cut off from a larger, and evidently is the old English form of the French *chanteau*, which Boyer explains as a "*morceau coupé à un grand pain*. In Beaumont and Fletcher's *Queen of Corinth*, the word has a very similar signification:—

"Do you remember
The *cantells* of immortal cheese ye carried with ye?"

Stanihurst thus uses the word in the "Epistle Dedicatory" to the continuation of his *Chronicles* of Ireland:—

"Betaking your lordship to God, I crave your attention in perusing a *cantell* or parcell of the Irish Historie that here issueth."

Dryden gives the word *cantlets*, as a diminutive of cantle:—

"Huge *cantlets* of his buckler strew the ground."

I have somewhere met with the verb *scantle*, meaning to divide, but cannot give a reference at present; it is no doubt the parent of the word *scantling*, as applied to timber. I would not go so far as to say that our English *county* is a near relative of the French *chanteau*, though it seems very probable that a Swiss *canton* is. Several other French words are Anglicised in a similar manner, the *cau* changing to *l*, as castle, mantle, mackerel, morsel, &c.

As another instance of *cantle*, I may adduce the ballad of Ryems, King of North Wales, which was sung, or intended to have been sung, before Queen Elizabeth, at her last and memorable visit to Kenilworth Castle. According to

* See Original in the British Museum, and Nasmyth's Ed. "*Itinerarium W. de Wyrcestre.*"

the ballad, Ryems was not content with conquering eleven neighbouring kings, but he also subjected them to the degradation of having their beards cut off, to form a fringe for his robe of state. The eleven beards, however, did not completely furnish forth this singular robe; there was a corner (or cantle) left without fringe. So Ryems sent a herald to King Arthur, with the following rude message:—

"King Ryems of North Gales greeteth well thee,
And bids thee anon thy beard thou him send,
Else from thy jawes, he will it off rend;
For his robe of state is a rich velvet mantle,
With eleven kings' beards border'd about,
And there is room yet left in a *cantle*,
For thine to stand to make the twelfth out."

Kenilworth connects Shakespeare, Elizabeth, and Scott. The innumerable anachronisms of the latter are nowhere so thickly scattered as in the romance of Kenilworth. To cite but one instance, several of the characters speak about Shakespeare, and quote his dramas. Elizabeth also speaks of Shakespeare to his friend and patron, Lord Southampton. Yet not one of Shakespeare's plays was written when the Queen visited Kenilworth. Lord Southampton was then an infant "mewling in his nurse's arms;" while the bard himself was, "with shining morning face, creeping unwillingly" to the grammar school of Stratford-upon-Avon. Romance may supply the less public incidents to which History cannot well stoop; but it should never be permitted to over-run the established landmarks of chronology. W. Pinkerton.

Lisnegarvey.—Origin of the Name.—[See vol. 1, p. 42.] In a pamphlet published in 1691, *(A True and Impartial History of the most material Occurrences in Ireland during the Last Two Years,)* is the following: "We marched beyond Lisburn: this is one of the prettiest inland towns in the north of Ireland; the Irish name is *Lishnegarvah*, which they tell me signifies the "Gamester's Mount:" for, a little to the North-East of the town, there is a Mount moated about, and another to the South-West. These were formerly surrounded with a great wood; and thither resorted all the Irish outlaws, to play at Cards and Dice. One of the most considerable among them having lost all, even his cloaths, went in a passion, in the middle of the night, to the house of a nobleman in that countrey, who before had set a considerable sum on his head; and in this mood he surrendered himself his prisoner, which the other considering of, pardon'd him; and afterwards this town was built, when the knot of these rogues was broke; which was done chiefly by the help of this one man. The town is so modern, however, that Cambden takes no notice of it." R.

Old Fire-places.—In the town of Ballyclare, (County of Antrim) Mr. John Connolly, a few years ago, made the following discovery. I furnish his own account of it:—While levelling his garden, he had occasion to remove mould to the depth of two feet. In doing so he laid bare about thirty feet or upwards of flat stones. It turned out that these formed the covering of a passage about twelve inches broad and fourteen deep. The bottom and sides were carefully formed of similar stones. One end of the passage had no appearance of intentional closing; but the other was stopped up by a large stone. Against this stone a fire evidently had been kept for a considerable time, and a quantity of ashes of turf remaining showed that the stone remained

in the same place where the fire had been kept up. No conjecture can be formed concerning the use to be made of such a place, either in ancient or modern times. Mr. Connolly says, the stone, against which the ashes lay, was the regular well-known "back-stone" of by-gone days; if so, no high ideas of antiquity ought to be suggested, as the class of houses in which it was used was not of the most remote kind. Until the approach of the present century the accompaniments of a kitchen fire were generally a square pavement of broad flat stones, on which the fire rested; the square from three to ten feet on the side. Very frequently the fire was a "round-about-fire;" implying that persons could sit in a circle entirely round it. In such circumstances a large undressed log of bogwood, called the *dais*, lay "beyond the fire," that is, between the fire and the gable. Three or four of the cold-rife, or the worse clad, by some instinct always discovered the dais, and occupied it. When not so occupied, the dais never failed, in long winter evenings, to afford a comfortable corner to a whole batch of noisy youngsters.

When the fire was so near the wall as not to admit the dais, a "back-stone" became an indispensable requisite. This was a stone not less than two feet high, a foot and a half broad, and one thick. Against this stone the huge turf fire was raised: the result was that any one became able, by its colour, wear and tear, to recognise a back-stone. Such was the stone described by Mr. Connolly.

The "brace" was another accompaniment of the more improved kitchen fires. This was an enclosure to conduct the smoke to an aperture left in the roof for its egress. The brace was formed of upright stakes, and interlaced with briars, twigs, or willows; and then covered outside and inside with prepared clay. This brace was square, and, in some of the oldest houses, was ten feet each side at base, but narrowed at the top to two. I never saw a brace which would permit a man six feet high to pass under it without stooping.

But the farm-house brace was not without its interest to others besides the antiquary; for, if it preserved within it the soot of past centuries, it had more, it had its large, ponderous, yellow, toothful flitches; its quarters of hard and dry hung beef; its tasty mutton; and its strings of long puddings, both black and white.

The space between the round-about-fire and the gable possessed not only attractiveness, but really was requisite; and the little servant boy knew that it was his duty every evening before dark, with his "peat-waight," to place there as much clipped bog-fir and turf as would be requisite for the remainder of the evening. This supply occupied the space between the dais and the fire; and some one, stretched at full length upon the heap, supplied the fire with turf and bog-fir, and thus furnished light to the industrious knitters and spinners surrounding him. To this space was applied the appellations "Aboon the fire;" "Ayont the fire," &c.; and here was located that ruling power whose influence was all-important in the domestic circle. To this the poet alludes in the following lines:—

> "I will tell you if you please,
> What will keep the house at ease;
> Gie the bairnies bread and cheese,
> And th' auld wife a sneeshin;
> The auld wife ayont the fire, she dies for want o' sneeshin."

These are now matters of the past.

William Millen, Belfast.

Every one knows that, besides the sculptures discovered in Assyria, there has also been found a large number of clay tablets, six or seven inches in length, and covered with inscriptions in small arrow-headed characters. These are catalogues of the animals hunted by the king, of the birds which enlivened Assyria by their song, &c. In addition to these, however, there are large hexagonal prisms, also covered with inscriptions, containing the annals of Assyria. From these documents, prisms, tablets, and bricks, a new light has been thrown on ancient history. It now appears that Asiatic history must be entirely reconstructed. One thing certainly has been ascertained, viz., that, two thousand five hundred years before Christ, all Southern Asia was overpowered by a people speaking the Scythian language. Now, does not this perfectly harmonise with the ancient history of Ireland, as given by Keating? He says:—"The laws, customs, and manners of the Scythians were received by the other nations as the standards of policy, civility, and learning; and they were the first after the flood who attempted to reform mankind," &c. In other words, is not history, as handed down by our old Irish annalists, now proved by these recent discoveries to be more truthful than the received Grecian history? C. M. O'Keeffe.

Great Military Hospital at Belfast.—[vol. 4, p. 84, note.] The following extracts from an old pamphlet published in 1691, allude to this Hospital:—

"As for the Great Hospital at Belfast, there are 3762 that died in it from the first of November [1689,] to the first of May, [1690,] as appears by the Tallies given in by the men that buried them. There were shipt at Carlingford and Dundalk 1970 sick men, and not 1100 of them came ashore; nay, so great was the mortality, that several ships had all the men in them dead, and nobody to look after them whilst they lay in the Bay at Carrickfergus."

"The general had his head-quarters at Lisburn; and the Hospital was ordered to be at Belfast, which is a very large town, and the greatest for trade in the North of Ireland; and the inhabitants have lately built a very famous stone Bridge, but the Wars coming on, it is not as yet quite finished."

"The feaver was very violent at this time all the North of Ireland over; insomuch that it was impossible to come into any house, but some were sick or dead, especially at Belfast, where the hospital was. I have sometimes stood in the street there, and seen ten or a dozen Corps (of the towns people) go by in little more than half-an-hour." R.

I take the liberty to inform you that Crosses of the peculiar form of the one engraved in the 2nd volume of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, [page 114,] are of Spanish make, and, I believe, not uncommon; for I know of two in the Museum at Oscott, in the neighbourhood of Birmingham, and I have seen two others. They are smaller than the Youghal example, and not, like it, reliquaries; but all have the legend, Dne Memento Mei. They are, I believe, connected with the history of St. James, King of Arragon.—

Since writing the foregoing I have visited the Museum of Oscott, and tried to get at the Spanish Cross, but unfortunately the lock of the case was spoilt and we could not open it. However, it is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, has engraved upon it a Crucifix, and the legend I N R I and Dne Memento

Mei. The other side of course I could not see. These crosses came from Spain, and are modelled after a famous cross called the Cross of Caravaga. There are two stories respecting its origin, differing only in their commencement, and in one circumstance afterwards. The first says that a Moorish king (of Murcia and Valentia), Abuzeit, held in captivity a Christian priest: the king asked him one day what he did when he celebrated Mass: the priest explained it to him, and on the king's expressing a wish to witness the ceremony, he consented to perform it if the proper means of celebrating it were provided. The king asked what was necessary, and the priest gave him a list of requisites, forgetting, however, the cross. When all was provided and he came to the altar, he noticed the deficiency, and stopped. The king inquired why he did not go on, and the priest replied that it was unlawful to celebrate Mass without a cross on the altar. "Is it not that which I see there?" said the king: and the priest turning round saw that one had been placed upon the altar, (the second story says it was brought by angels) and he then celebrated in presence of the king, who immediately expressed a desire to become a Christian, and ceased henceforward from persecuting them. This must have been about the year 1125. The cross thus supposed to have been miraculously brought has been preserved ever since with great veneration, and its form (a cross with double transverse arms) is a favourite one in Spain to this day.

I may mention, besides, that I have seen in the treasury of the Sisters of Notre Dame at Namur, in Belgium, a beautiful cross of this very form. The cross itself is of Byzantine work, and is decorated with circular enamels: 1. An altar prepared for Mass, but without a cross, and the Greek word Hetoimacia (the Preparation). It may have been made with reference to this very story. 2. St. John, 3. St. Mark, 4. St. Paul, 5. St. Matthew, 6. St. Peter, 7. St. Panteleemon, 8. St. Gabriel. The foot of the cross is French work of the 12th century.

I might furnish some further particulars on the same subject, if desirable, but the above may suffice at present. Daniel Hy. Haigh.

Erdington, Birmingham.

Three Legs of Mann.—In a former notice the attention of readers was drawn to an old Roman medal, having on it the three legs of Mann. The following extract refers to the same device. It is from the Chronicle published by Camden:—"The Scots afterwards under Robert *Brus* recovered it, and Thomas *Randolph*, that Scottish hero, as long after Alexander Duke of Albany, wrote themselves *Lords of Mann*, and bore the modern arms of the Kings of the Isles, viz., three human legs, armed, conjoined, and bending the knees, such as appear naked on the ancient coins of Sicily, to denote the three promontories. For before (as I find on the seals of the kings) they used a ship with sails furled, with the title of *Rex Manniæ et insularum*—King of Mann and the Isles." E. G.

Hugh O'Neill.—Some interesting though casual references to this remarkable man are found in English works, and are worth preserving;—for instance:—In the *Penniles Parliament, or thread-bare Poets, for all Mirth and Wittie Conceits*, published as early at least as 1608, we find a few words that show how much this chief's name occupied men's minds in those days:—

"In like manner we think it necessary and convenient that there shall be great noise of wars in taverns, and wine shall make some so venturous as they will destroy TYRONE and all his power at one draught." H. P.

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

BREAK OF KILLYLEAGH.—[Queries vol. 1, p. 140.] A query respecting this engagement between the English and Irish forces, in which the latter were victorious, remains unanswered. In a scarce pamphlet published in London, 1691, entitled *A True and Impartial History of the most material Occurrences in the Kingdom of Ireland, during the Two Last Years, with the present state of both Armies*, written by "An Eye-witness to the most remarkable passages," I find the following notice:—

"A little before this [King James's landing in Ireland, March, 1689], the Protestants in Ireland were in daily expectation of arms, ammunition, commissions, and some forces from England, and it's more than probable, that if they had got them, or not hop'd for them, the business had cost neither so much blood or treasure as it since has: yet some advised not to make any show of discontent, till they had an opportunity, and were in a condition to make their party good, by the arrival of succour from England. But the greater part, impatient of delay, began to list men, and with what arms they could get, to make a show of forming an army. Against those in the North, Lieutenant-General Hambleton marched, with about one thousand of the standing army, and nigh twice as many Rapparees in a distinct body: they met at Dromore in the County of Down, and on the 14th of March, the Protestants were routed with no great difficulty; and no wonder, for they were very indifferently provided with arms, ammunition, and commanders, nor was their discipline any better. This was called afterwards the *Break* of Drummore, (a word common among the Irish Scots for a Rout.) At the same rate were others served shortly after, at a place called *Killeleigh*, under one Hunter; and them that resisted had the same fate at several other places." SENEX.

ROUND TOWERS.—The following furnishes an answer to E. G.'s inquiry [vol. 4, p. 170] as regards one of the Towers in his list. On the 18th May, 1850, Sir William Betham read to the Royal Irish Academy a notice from a MS. in the British Museum in the handwriting of Sir James Ware, in which it was stated that Dr. John Leslie, Bishop of Raphoe, when building an episcopal palace there, pulled down a Round Tower or pyramid which stood at Raphoe, and discovered the bones of a man beneath it. Sir William observed that this letter demonstrated the existence of a Round Tower formerly at Raphoe. ERIONNACH.

EARL'S MEADOWS.—At p. 22, vol. 4 of this Journal, is a query respecting the origin of the name, "Earl's Meadows," as applied to certain lands. In the *Itinerarium* of W. de Wyrcestre, lands bordering the river Froome, on the East side of Bristol, are repeatedly alluded to under this title

The district is still known as "Earl's Mead," and the principal house in the neighbourhood, which was for some time my residence, is still called "Earl's Mead House." The origin of this name, which has been handed down unaltered from the 15th century, is to be traced, I believe, to the fact of the property having been originally annexed to the governorship or lordship of the Castle of Bristol, which, under the Saxons, was always held by the Earl of Gloucester.

Londonderry. E. W. Godwin.

Ploughing by the Horse's Tail.—If Ollamh Fodhla [vol. 4, p. 275] will look into O'Reilly's Dictionary for the word *seisreach*, he will see that the old Irish plough had six horses. The ploughing was not shallow: it was deep, as is evident from the traces or furrows which it has left on the tops of our hills. The horses being many, their labour was light, notwithstanding the depth of their ploughing, and the peculiar mode of attaching their team. The Irish race of horses was a fine one, as is evident from the many passages which occur in Irish literature, and in the Brehon Laws, descriptive of a good horse. The metrical account of Richard II.'s Invasion tells us that M'Murrough's horse was worth 400 cows: and Ware says, (commenting on this passage) "observe the price." If we consider that it is a bad cow that is not worth £3, M'Murrough's horse was valued at £1,200 at least. C. M. O'Keeffe.

St. Aidan's Church.—In reply to the query of Senex [vol. 4, p. 274] I beg to inform him that Aidan was an Irish bishop, sent from Iona to preach the Gospel in Northumbria, at the request of King Oswald, A.D. 635. Bede gives him a high character for diligence and piety; though he qualifies it by finding fault with his want of communion with the Roman missionaries, then in Kent. By the labours of Aidan and his compatriots, Chad, Finan, and Dimna, Christianity was established in every shire north of the Thames, save Norfolk and Suffolk. Aidan, in conformity with Irish usage, fixed his see at Lindisfarne (Holy Island.) The last bishop of Lindisfarne, Colman, on the adoption of the Roman usages by King Oswy, after a discussion at Whitby, retired to Ireland with his clergy and many Saxon priests and nobles. He became Abbot of Inisbofin [the Island of the White Cow] according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, AD. 667. The English who accompanied him founded "Mayo of the Saxons."

London. W. M'C.

In reply to Mr. Pinkerton's query about Fisher's engravings of Belfast, [vol. 5, p. 92] I beg to state, that I am informed by a friend, that he recollects seeing one of these engravings in a collection of prints preserved in the Armagh Library. He thinks it probable that the whole four will be found there. R. L.

QUERIES.

Story, in his *History of the Wars of Ireland*, which was published in 1693, says, (p. 194) speaking of military operations in August, 1691: —"Brigadier Leveson, with 700 horse and dragoons, went into the County of Kerry to reduce the Irish in those parts; which some of the inhabitants, in other places, will needs call the most natural Irish in the kingdom; and yet they say *every cow-boy* amongst them *can speak Latin*."— I have often heard of this peculiarity of the peasantry in some parts of the South of Ireland, and I think it is noticed by travellers who visited the country at the close of the last century. Will any of your readers be kind enough to explain how it originated, and what object a working man could possibly have in acquiring a knowledge of a dead language: likewise to mention at what period the practice ceased, or if instances are still met with of individuals among the peasantry who know Latin. ANGLICUS.

According to the popular theory, the Irish, or Gaels, were the aboriginal savages of the continent of Europe. This theory is based upon the unquestionable fact that rivers and mountains in Europe bear Irish names. If the Irish came from the continent,—if they occupied the whole, or nearly the whole surface of Europe,—how does it happen that there is now no relic of so widely spread a race still lingering in some corner of that continent; that no tribe is found, however small, speaking the Irish tongue, hidden among the folds of her mountain ranges where they may have taken refuge? How did they alone come to be so widely exterminated, while we find a remnant of the old Iberians (the Basques) still occupying the North of Spain, and a fragment of the Bretons occupying a corner of France? Is such an extermination probable? How does it come to pass that no people on all the European continent term a mountain *sliabh*, while there is such a people in Tartary? If any of the races now existing on the continent of Europe had given their present names to the rivers and mountains, which are admittedly Irish, would not one of their words for a mountain be *sliabh?* This argument alone seems to me fatal to the hypothesis that the Irish or Gaels were the aboriginal savages of Europe. C. M. O'KEEFFE.

Can any of your readers inform me what is the origin or meaning of the expression "Black-mouthed Presbyterians," often used when speaking of that class of Dissenters in Ireland?

R. L.

I wish to inquire whether artificial caves have been discovered, and to what extent, in any of the earthen mounds so numerous in the North of Ireland, and which are commonly known by the name of Danes' Forts? Also, whether their use has been ascertained; whether sepulchral or otherwise? R. L.

Is the English word "clock" derived from the Irish *clog*, a bell? If not, from what is it

derived? I think the derivation is likely: because Dean Swift has said:—

"England, confess this land of mine
First taught thee wisdom human and divine;"

that is to say, the Saxon pagans of England received the arts of civilisation from Irish missionaries; and these probably were the first to introduce bells. The most noticeable part of a clock to a rude people would be its bell, which sounded the hours; and the name of that part would come in time to be applied to the whole machine.

C. M. O'Keeffe.

What is the origin of the expression "clap-trap," applied frequently to describe anything said or done merely for effect? C. A.

The following brief notice of "pearl-fishing" in the River Bann is given in Payne's *Universal Geography*, published in 1794:—"The river Band, famous for its pearl-fishery, * * * * rises from the mountains in the County of Down."—Can any person tell me when this fishery was carried on, and to what extent?

R. L.

What is the origin of the expression "to go a wool-gathering?" Cailin.

At what period were the present names given to the thirty-two counties in Ireland? and from what were they taken? In most cases, no doubt, the name of a chief town naturally suggested a name for the whole county; as Dublin, Cork, Limerick, &c.; but in some instances this was not so. For example, what suggested the names Mayo, Kerry, Fermanagh, Meath, and Tyrone? In some of the counties the towns which bear the same name are now insignificant places; as Louth, Antrim, and Leitrim. Curiosus.

I have the authority of Ware, [cap. 7, p. 40] and Ussher, and O'Flaherty [*Ogygia*] for stating that, in the Council of Constance (Constantiensi) held in 1477, when a question arose about precedency, it was decided that there are or ought to be four Empires in Europe—1, Rome; 2, Constantinople; 3, Ireland, 4, Spain. On this occasion two authors were quoted in support of the decision—namely, Albertus Magnus, and Bartolomæus Anglicus. Now, query, what do these writers say respecting Ireland? What are the passages which the Council quoted? And was Adrian the Fourth's Bull annulled by this decision of the Council of Constance?

C. M. O'Keeffe.

What were the Irish *Rapparees*, of whom we often find mention in histories of the wars between the Irish and English? Anglicus.

"I went abroad into the country [near Newry] where I found the houses deserted for several miles. Most of them that I observed had Crosses on the inside, above the doors upon the thatch; some made of wood, and others of straw or rushes, finely wrought: some houses had more and some less. I understood afterwards, that it is the custom among the native Irish to set up a new cross every *Corpus Christi* day; and so many years as they have lived in such a house, as many crosses you may find. I asked a reason for it, but the custom was all they pretended to."—*Old Pamphlet*, 1691.—

Perhaps some of your readers can explain this, and say whether any such custom still remains near Newry, or elsewhere in Ireland. R.

Peat Bogs.—It has been ascertained, I believe, beyond a doubt, that peat bogs *grow*, when sufficient moisture is present; and that they are not merely a deposit left by floods. Can any of

your correspondents inform me whether the *rate* of growth has been determined in any instance? The question has a close connection with Irish archæology; because, the annual average growth being once known, we can approximate to the age of any objects found at a given depth in a bog. SENEX.

PEAT BOGS.—Our bogs are well known to contain numberless trees, the remains of our ancient forests. I beg to propose the following queries regarding the circumstances under which these trees are found; and will feel obliged by the answers of any correspondents who may have turned their attention to the matter.

1. Do the trees appear to have grown in the places where they are now found prostrate, or to have been brought there by a flood or current?

2. Do their tops point in nearly the same direction, and what is this direction?

3. Have any marks of cutting or burning been discovered on stumps?

4. Are trees, or stumps of trees, ever found erect in their growing position, and at what depth?

5. Can any authentic instance be mentioned of stumps and roots being so found, and below them, at some depth, other trees, either overthrown or in their growing position? and at what depth did this occur? W. MILLEN.

Can any one explain the following entry in the *Annals of the Four Masters*:—"The age of Christ, 1171. The Cloictheach [Round Tower] of Telach-aird was burned by Tighearnan Ua Ruairc, with its full of people?" Who were the people? If ecclesiastics, this fact would have been mentioned by such pious persons as the annalists. Why did the people crowd into the Tower? What part of the structure was burned? Dr. O'Donovan, the Editor, says, in a note to the passage (not, however, referring to the fact here recorded):—"This Tower fell about the year 1760. The editor was acquainted with an old native of this district who saw this steeple standing." H. P.

GRIST MILLS.—In a chronological book called the *Tablet of Memory*, published in London, it is stated that "Grist-mills were invented in Ireland, A.D. 214."—What is the authority for this? H. P.

WHEAT.—I am not aware that it has been yet ascertained at how early a period wheat was cultivated in Ireland. Oats, rye, and barley seem to have been common over all the Northern and Western countries of Europe from the most remote historic ages. The climate and soil of Ireland are quite suitable for their growth; but it is well known that vast tracts of land here are totally uncapable of producing wheat; while there are many of our seasons so wet and late that, even in the more suitable soils, it is a precarious crop. Although now extensively cultivated, it is known that its first introduction into various parts of Ulster, took place within the last two hundred years.—Now, have we any documentary evidence to show that wheat was known in Ireland previous to the introduction of Christianity? Is it not highly probable that it was first brought to this country by the monks or early Christian missionaries? SENEX.

THE HIGHLAND KILT.—The opinion now generally received is that the Highlanders of Scotland are the descendants of an early colony from Ireland—no doubt from the *North* of Ireland.

Now, are we to infer that the peculiar customs and usages which have always distinguished them are those which they brought with them from the parent country? Their language is the same, or very nearly the same as the native Gaelic of our Ulster mountains and islands. Their family names, their division into clans, their music, in fact most of their peculiarities, can still be observed, *mutatis mutandis*, in the more secluded parts of our northern province, and no doubt throughout all the mountain districts of Ireland. But their remarkable dress, so different from anything now to be met with in Europe, is quite unknown among us; is not apparently alluded to in any ancient works descriptive of Ireland; and is not even mentioned in our native traditions. The *plaid*, chequered with bright colours, may possibly be a remnant of old Irish costume; but the *kilt* does not appear at any period to have been a part of our national dress. On the other hand, this garment seems so very unsuited to the chilly climate of the Scottish Highlands, that we can hardly consider it an invention of the people themselves after their arrival in their new country. It is more likely to have been a form of dress handed down from remote generations, and adhered to with that pertinacity which so distinguishes the Celtic races in the retention of ancient customs. But if so, why are no traces of it found in Ireland?—I beg to inquire, through the pages of this Journal, whether Scottish antiquaries have been able to discover a period when the kilt was not worn by the Highlanders, or whether the presumption is in favour of its having always formed a part of their national costume.

SENEX.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF SPINNING AND WEAVING.

"Weave, brothers, weave! Weave, and bid
The colours of sunset glow!
Let grace in each gliding thread be hid,
Let beauty about ye blow;
Let your skein be long, and your thread be fine,
And your hands both firm and sure;
And time nor chance shall your work untwine,
But all, like a truth, endure!"—BARRY CORNWALL, *Weaver's Song*.

There is probably no part of the United Kingdom in which a greater interest is felt in spinning and weaving than the North of Ireland. The weaving of silks and woollens is unknown there, it is true; but the various fabrics manufactured from flax and cotton exist in abundance. The flax is cultivated and dressed on the spot; the yarn is spun by mechanism, or occasionally by hand; the cloth is woven usually within the people's thresholds; and specimens of all kinds may be obtained, from the coarsest sack-cloth to Lurgan-french-cambric. This last term contains within itself the history of the manufacture, which originated at Cambray, was brought to great perfection in France, and is produced in large quantities and good quality at Lurgan. A similar remark applies to the term Dunfermline-irish-holland.

Every manufacture which has existed from remote antiquity has a literature of its own; and the facts which archæology brings to light from time to time are occasionally relieved from their prosiness by the lights and shadows of poetry. This is particularly the case in treating of domestic manners, implements, and the materials of costume and ornament; or of the instruments of war and the chase. The history of the sword, for example, is the history of human progress, from the time of the "mighty hunter" till the invention of gunpowder. Shortly after the latter date it was practically superseded, except as a personal ornament, or symbol of authority; and the allusions to it in literature are now metaphorical, instead of literal and descriptive.

The present remarks, however, do not aspire to be any such lofty and important record. They are rather a blending, *currente calamo*, of facts, philosophy, antiquarian literature, and natural suggestion, on a subject which is interesting more or less to every one. This article was originally intended to precede that on the Popular Literature which is associated with the subject; but, for the sake of convenience, the order was inverted.

The two great wants of men have ever been food and clothing; and the unequal facilities which exist for procuring them afford occupation to the various inhabitants of the globe. In every clime we must (to adopt the illustration of Liebig) supply coke and water to the engine; and everywhere, but especially in the temperate and colder regions, the only animal which Nature has sent into the world unclothed finds it desirable and necessary to clothe himself. The order of progress may be stated briefly as follows:—fig-leaves, skins, wool and hair, flax and hemp, cotton and silk. Dr. Watts, in his *Divine Songs for Children*, gives utterance to a common-place but beautiful thought. He is rebuking human pride in articles of dress, and reminds us that the poor sheep[a] and silk-worm were decorated long ago in those very habiliments which now excite our vanity.

It has been inferred, not only from the nature of the case, but from the Hebrew term employed,[b] that the earliest dress was woollen; and that it was a continuous piece, about six yards long, and two or three wide. It thus bore some resemblance in shape to a Scotch plaid, and was used for a variety of purposes, like the blanket of an American Indian in modern times. By day it was a garment such as Shem and Japheth spread upon Noah[c] their father; by night it was a covering or wrapping,[d] such as is still used by sleepers in the open air, in all our colonies of the Southern hemisphere; and occasionally it served the purpose of a pocket or wallet.[e]

The "fine linen of Egypt" was worthy of its title, both absolutely and relatively. The specimens which have come down to us, swathing mummies of the oldest class, present different degrees of fineness; but there is much which would have been regarded as fine linen, even in this country, little more than a century ago. What must it have appeared to the pastoral people of the surrounding districts, with whom cloth was more rare, coarse, and costly, and who manufactured it with difficulty and imperfection! The question respecting the material of mummy-cloth was long a doubtful one, but is now no longer so. Mr. Pettigrew mentions[f] that Dr. Ure had arrived at the conclusion, from chemical and microscopic reasons, that the whole of that which is brought from Egypt is made of flax; and the subject has been investigated by many others, with a like result. It is asserted, however, that the mummies which reach us occasionally from Mexico and Central America are enveloped in cotton.

Some facts of importance on this subject were elicited by the researches of James Thomson, Esq., F.R.S., of Clithero. It has been ascertained, for example, that in most, if not all, of the Egyptian cloths, the threads of the warp are double, while those of the weft are single; and yet that in a square inch there are a greater number of threads of the warp than of the weft. From the increased strain which they have to maintain in the manufacture, the former are stronger even with our-

---

[a] How proud we are, and fond to shew
Our clothes, and call them rich and new!
Yet the poor sheep and silkworm wore
That very clothing long before.

[b] Professor Hurwitz, quoted in Bischoff's Comprehensive History of the Woollen and Worsted manufactures, vol. I. p. 12.

[c] Genesis, ix., 23.

[d] Exod. xxii., 26. 27. "If thou at all take thy neighbour's raiment to pledge, thou shalt deliver it to him by that the sun goeth down: for that is his covering only; it is his raiment for his skin; wherein shall he sleep?"

[e] Exodus, xii., 34.

[f] History of Egyptian Mummies, p. 91. n.

selves; but our improved instruments admit of the weft being beaten up more closely, so that it usually exhibits a greater number of threads in any square section.

An anecdote, which Mr. Pettigrew relates, shows how little there is new under the sun. An action was entered by one Englishman against another, in consequence of the infringement of a patent for a peculiar mode of twisting thread. The defendant pleaded that the process was an old one, open to all mankind, and known to many scholars. He produced in court a piece of mummy-cloth; and, showing that the thread was twisted in the same way, as a matter of course secured a decision in his favour! How curious it is, too, to see fragments of domestic linen, carefully patched and darned, enveloping limbs that walked the earth probably "ere Romulus or Remus had been suckled." A French historian starts off from the line of his narrative to descant upon the fact that a lady's glove was found among some ashes in a sacked town, which Charles the Bold had left a heap of "blood-stained ruins." And it would be easy to write a homily on the domestic affection of the ancients, taking for our text a patched sheet or darned table-cloth from the mummy-room of an Egyptian museum.

Some of the Scriptural allusions to spinning and weaving are full of beauty; but commentators should make due allowance for the difference in manners and customs which has taken place. The infant wits of some of your readers were no doubt sadly puzzled to know how the staff of Goliath's spear could be "like a weaver's beam;" for the "stand-point" of comparison, (as some of our verbal importers would say,) was the yarn-beam of a cottager's loom in the Valley of the Lagan. Of course that would be too unshapely and unsuitable even for a giant's capacious hands; but a reference to the oriental loom, whose beam is about the size of the flag-staff on a turret, gives the correct idea. Milton is less liable to be misunderstood in a similar illustration, because he comes nearer to us in the fact of comparison. Speaking of Satan's spear, he says:—

> ——"To equal which, the tallest pine
> Hewn on Norweyan hills, to be the mast
> Of some great admiral, were like a wand."[g]

In like manner, the conduct of Delilah appeared inexplicable. She is represented as "weaving" the locks of Samson, and fastening them to the pin. The correct expression appears at first to be "plat" or "plait,"—"weave" being a euphuism; but in reality the locks were *woven* literally,[h] and the whole of the tiny web and loom were carried away. It was a smaller achievement than that of some ordinary women, who can lift a smith's anvil by their "back hair."

When Job says[i] "my days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle," there is a double force in the

[g] Paradise Lost, I., 292.

[h] "In order to have some idea of what is here told, the reader must here know (1) that the looms of Palestine were extremely simple; (2) that they were worked by women; (3) that the web was narrow, little more, perhaps, than a hand's breadth; (4) that the woof was driven into the warp, not by a reed, but by a wooden spatula; (5) that the end of the web was fastened to a pin or stake, fixed probably in the wall, or driven into the ground; and, (6) that Samson was probably sleeping, with his head in Delilah's lap, when she wove his hair into the web." *Boothroyd.* Judg., xvi., 13, 14.

[i] Job, vii., 6.

similitude :—the instrument moved rapidly, and it had but a short distance to travel. It is almost needless to say that the shuttle was then rapidly passed from hand to hand, as in modern times it was pitched and dexterously caught. The flying shuttle, driven by the "pluck-stick," was invented by John Kay, of Bury, in 1738; and it in its turn has given place to more improved machinery. It was not in general use till 1756; and but a few years have passed away since some of the old people survived who remembered its introduction in the North of Ireland. Crowds came to witness the new process of weaving; and a woman called Isabel Catherwood, in the parish of Magheralin, was enthusiastic in her admiration of it. Clapping her hands, she exclaimed in Scoto-Hibernic phraseology—"Weel, weel! the warks o' God's wondtherful, but the contrivance o' man bates him at last!"

But to return to the antiquity of cloth, specimens have reached us, or at least indications of their existence, under circumstances much less favourable for their preservation than those in which the mummy-cloth is found. Mr. Wright mentions, for example, that in a Roman coffin found at York, the remains of a female were discovered; and in the casting of fluid lime which was poured over the corpse at its interment, the texture[k] of cloth is discoverable, and the colour a rich purple. Mr. W. C. Trevelyan thinks,[l] however, that the colour is attributable to the presence of iron from nails, and not to the decomposed cloth. In another sarcophagus, obtained between Heslington and Grimston, the texture of cloth is likewise discernible in the impression on the lime; and there were other indications that the remains were those of a female of rank.[m] To these facts it may be added that Mr. Roach Smith[n] has discovered indications of wool in connection with Roman implements found in London.

Perhaps we may notice, as next in the order of time, the Anglo-Saxon graves examined by the Rev. Bryan Faussett just a century ago. From 1757 to 1773 he continued a series of researches among the ancient cemeteries of Kent, such as has never been excelled for extent and accuracy of detail, though he almost preceded the infancy of archæology. His valuable collection of objects is now in the possession of Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., Liverpool; and his manuscripts have been published[o] under the very able editorship of Mr. Roach Smith. Mr. Faussett himself assigned the third and fourth centuries of our era as the date of the deposits; Mr. Smith prefers the fifth and sixth; the late Mr. J. Mitchell Kemble assigned the seventh, eighth, and first half of the ninth; and Dr. Robson,[p] of Warrington, in an able review of the whole facts, is inclined to coincide with Faussett. But whatever way be the data, it is sufficiently curious that objects in metal, deposited

[k] The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon, p. 308.

[l] Notes and Queries, vol. viii.

[m] Wellbeloved's *Eburacum*, quoted by Wright.

[n] "The traces of the domestic occupations of the female part of the household, found among the Roman remains in Britain, are not very numerous. Much of their time was probably employed in spinning and weaving. In Mr. Roach Smith's museum, may be seen a number of small implements of wood, found in excavations in the City of London, which, from the circumstance that when brought to light the remains of wool were still attached to them, were no doubt used in the manufacture of cloth." The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon, p. 342.

[o] Inventorium Sepulcrale, &c., 4to, 1856, with numerous wood-cuts and plates.

[p] Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. ix., p. 85.

in the earth from 1000 to 1500 years ago, still show traces of the cloth in which they were originally enveloped, and enable the observer to say whether its texture was coarse or fine. Thus, on the 11th and 12th of April, 1760, at Gilton, a pilum and basta both "had some very coarse cloth visibly adhering to them, or, more properly speaking, turned into their own iron, by the rust perhaps."—[Nos. 13, p. 8; 23, p. 11; 28, p. 13; 66, p. 22; &c., were in general coincident in character.] A small iron chain "had some coarse linen cloth adhering to it," [p. 111;] and a sword-blade "seemed to have been wrapped in or lain upon some linen cloth which still adhered to it," [p. 112.] It is unnecessary to quote more of the detailed[q] account.

The Abbé Cochet has presented us with a similar work, entitled *La Normandie Souterraine*, respecting the explorations of the Roman, Frank, and other cemeteries of a period partly pagan and partly Christian. There are many interesting details scattered through the book, demonstrating the presence of textile fabrics in various materials, especially in connection with the Franco-Merovingian cemetery at Londinières. The account of the burial of St. Gall, given by Gregory of Tours, where the corpse is represented as re-invested with the usual clothing, and the frequent finding of dark greasy vegetable mould round the skeleton, appear to have suggested the idea.[r] In 1847 two beautiful little fibulæ[s] were found in a woman's grave, enveloped in linen and canvass, the very materials to which the *Caleti*, the ancient inhabitants of the district, are represented by Pliny[t] as devoting their attention. A single quotation will suffice to place the matter in a proper light;[u] and it may be remarked that the phenomena are common to various countries of Europe.

One should explain, in calling America "the new world," that it has been discovered that Iceland was known to certain Irish hermits, *circa* A.D. 793, and to Gardar, a Swedish-Dane, seventy years after. With this modification it may be said that the antiquaries of both the old and the new world have laboured very successfully to illustrate the clothing of some of our Scandinavian forefathers. It is related that in 1004, Thorvald Ericson was slain by the Esquimaux, in Vinland of the modern America; and that he was interred at a spot which his companions called Krossanes[v] (cape of the cross.) Another venturous viking, Thorfinn Karlsefne,—whose son Snorre was born in 1008, at the mouth of the modern Fall River, in Massachussetts,—had some severe encounters with

---

[q] There were 594 graves opened at seven places. In 20 of these cloth, or the traces of it, were discovered; in 1, silk; in 1, thread; in 52, fibulæ or pins for clothing, or both together; in 16, shears; in 2, bodkins; in 2, needles, and in 11, spindle-whorls.—Analysis of the contents of *Inventorium Sepulcrale*.

[r] La Normandie Souterraine, p. 209.

[s] Ibid, p. 267.

[t] Caleti . . . . vela texunt, Nat. Hist. xix., 2.

[u] Quel usage pourrait-on attribuer à ces agrafes, à ces fibules, à ces epingles de bronze, d'argent, d'or et de pierreries? N'est il pas évident qu' elles servaient a rattacher les vêtements de l'homme, après sa mort, comme elles les avaient souteuu pendant sa vie . . . Il y a plus, nous avons trouve mille fois des traces incontestables et encore parlantes de ces mêmes vêtements. Toutes les haches montrent, sur un côté, une ou deux couches d'étoffes de laine, provenant de la robe ou du manteau qui enveloppait les jambes du guerrier. A Londinières, j'ai trouvé des tissus de laine sur la lame d'une lance, et deux fibules de bronze encore enveloppes de toile de lin ou de chanvre. Ce que j'ai constaté a Londinieres, à Envermeu et dans toute la vallée de l'Eaulne, MM. Rolfe, Wylie, Neville, Akerman, et Roach Smith l'ont observé également sur les Anglo Saxons, M. Troyon sur les Helvètes, M. Baudot sur les Bergondes, et MM. Houben et Lindenschmidt sur les Francs ripuaires.—*La Normandie Souterraine*, p. 225.

[v] Rafn's Antiquitates Americanæ, p. 6.

the same people,[w] in which it is possible that some of his followers were slain. On the 26th of April, 1831, or eight centuries and-a-quarter after these events, a skeleton was turned up at the latter spot, with some of the flesh still undecayed, and the shield, clothing, and ornaments, all more or less decomposed. This is the veritable "Skeleton in Armour," which is made to tell its own tale, in a well-known poem, by Professor Longfellow.[x] It has been minutely described by Dr. Webb, of Providence;[y] and no doubt is entertained that the body is that of one of the ante-Columbian discoverers of America. The cloth enveloping the body appeared to have a checked pattern; and the whole was enclosed in what we would call coarse matting, but which is described as cloth of bark. The specimen, which has shreds of bark for the warp, has in certain parts rushes for the woof; and these are not inserted simply or separately, but in a cord which consists of three plaited. Other portions of the stuff appear to consist altogether of rushes.[z]

While this sheet is passing through the press,[a] another curious specimen of cloth has turned up. In some excavations connected with the Priory of Coldingham in Scotland, the early history of which is minutely associated with that of the North of England, the remains of two of the Priors were brought to light. It would appear from the newspaper accounts that the body of Ærnald, who died in 1212, was enveloped in leather carefully sewed; and that the remains of Ralph were folded in coarse woollen cloth, which still remains. Now Ralph became Prior *circa* 1198,[b] [the newspaper account says 1202,] so that for about six centuries and a half this material has resisted the destructive powers of the earth. This fact gives a great degree of interest to such notices of cloth as occur in the simple but accurate records of their religious house which have come down to us. Almost every year there was a stated[c] purchase of such coarse cloths as were likely to be used, and a corresponding record[d] that there were then enough.

The primitive machinery for spinning thread and weaving cloth may be seen still in India; where the Hindoos, with whom labour is cheap and the sense of touch very acute, succeed in producing the most choice specimens by very simple means. The rude teak-wood wheel, with occasionally a wooden spindle, may be regarded as the first attempt at machinery, but the distaff is still extensively used.

---

[w] Rafn's Antiquitates Americanæ, p. 6.

[x] "Speak! speak! thou fearful guest!
Who with thy hollow breast,
Still in rude armour drest,
Comest to daunt me!"
* * * * * * * *
"In the vast forest here,
Clad in my warlike gear,
Fell I upon my spear,
O, death was grateful!"

[y] Memoires des Antiquaries du Nord, 1840-44, p. 104.

[z] Rafn's remarks on the Letters of Dr. Webb, and Dr. Smith. *Ibid.* p. 119.

[a] May, 1857.

[b] The Correspondence, Inventories, Account Rolls, and Law Proceedings, of the Priory of Coldingham; printed by the Surtee's Society, 1846.

[c] Computat [pretium] pannis laneis et lineis." In the year 1343, they appear to have tried cotton instead of wool, for the record on that occasion is "pannis sericis et pannis lineis." Cotton had been introduced into China from India in 1280. [see Carding and Spinning Master's Assistant], and the place referred to is probably the same mentioned by Milton:—
"Sericana where Chineses drive
With sails and wind their canv waggons light."

[d] "Mappae et manutergia sufficiencia." In the accounts for 1362 there appears to have been no purchase "pannis laneis aut lineis," and in 1363 there is no mention of "sufficiencia." There is, however, a purchase "pannis ineis et canebo." Correspondence and Inventories, Appendix.

The machinery for effecting these objects has always been simple, in our own country, until the introduction of steam. The distaff has been described; but its top was sometimes made a little thicker by projecting rods, so as to give a greater fulness to the flax; and the stick itself was made shorter. In an old English illustration it is made to stand with the lower end in a socket, and the middle part is caught by a hook, so that it can revolve and present each side to the spinner. In short, the old distaff is the parent of the modern "rock;" and if the shank of the latter were a little elongated, they would not differ much in appearance.

The spindle was a round stick or metal rod. When the thread was sufficiently twisted, it was wound upon this, as coarse bands are still made in cottages from tow or wool. When the spindle was pretty well filled, it was necessary to prevent the thread from becoming unravelled by shuffling down from the centre to the end. A knob was placed on one end, therefore, of wood, stone, or metal; which served the same purpose as the end of a spool or bobbin. Large numbers of flat and round stones, varying from an inch to two inches in diameter, are found where antiquities are usually procured, and their uses were long unknown. It was generally supposed that they were amulets; but the opinion now is that they were used on the spindle. Examples occur frequently in tumuli of the North of Europe, of France, Germany, and in almost all parts of Great Britain and Ireland. The proper name has been already applied—spindle-whorl; but the Germans use the term "spindel-stein;" some are of *terra cotta*.

When a wheel was used, it was at first one like that used for winding. The rim was turned by one hand, and the thread was spun by the other. This was held at an acute angle to the spindle and beyond its point, till it was sufficiently twisted, and was then thrown into the direction of right angles, so as to be wound on. Gradually the rim came to be turned by a treadle and crank, the former of which was called the "going fut," [going foot, or moving foot.] This improvement liberated the right hand of the spinner. When a "heck and fliers" were introduced, the thread was placed at right angles on the spindle or spool, without any special movement on the part of the person employed; and such other additions as were necessary followed, of course.

The domestic revolutions of the last twenty years have been fatal to the spinning-wheel. The leathern bottél, the quern, and the pillion, have already found a place in public and private museums, in lieu of that which they have been obliged to surrender in the list of furniture. Nor is it enough to say that the spinning-wheel must at length take its place beside them. Specimens of the more ancient kinds are already found there; and the citizens of London were gratified, a few years ago, by an exhibition of the manners of their grandmothers, where a spinning-wheel at work on a cart formed a prominent part of a public procession.

The spinner, however useful, was subject to rule in her own department. An unmarried woman was denominated a "spinster," and in legal documents she is yet so described. The reason was, that she was considered unfit for marriage until she had spun a set of "napery,"* as the Scotch say; that is,

* In ale ne wyne with homle leve ne fatnesse.
Foul not this naprie for no reklesnes.—Lidgate; *Stans Puer ad Mensam.*

a set of bed, table, and personal linen. Even when the task had been accomplished for years, she was still by courtesy supposed to be engaged at it, if she had not been given in marriage. Nor did the task end at the altar, for in another form it was only commencing there. Tradition records that some of the earlier Scottish ministers who settled in Ireland after the "Plantation of Ulster," were very strict in their charges to the bride on this subject. The expressions of one are still remembered :—"What your husband brings in at the dore, see that ye dinna let gang out at the windore. An' ye maun spin linsey-woolsey to cover the bairns." The usual limit was a hank in the day; but something depended on the degree of fineness. It is to the twelve cuts composing a hank that Burns alludes in his *Twa Dogs*, when he says

"A country girl at her wheel,
Her dizzens done, she's unco weel."

The spinners of Strabane, however, in the County Tyrone, long famous for the quantity and quality of its linen yarn, had a saying that they "would not set a stool to a woman who would spin less than two hanks in the day."

An illuminated Bible in the Imperial Library at Paris, represents a lady at her distaff. She is seated on a bench in the open air, with [apparently] a basket beside her. The distaff, which—judging from her own height—is about five feet long, passes under her arm; and at the top of it the bunch of flax is tied by two parallel bands. The fusil or spindle hangs from her right hand, with which she is spinning the thread.[e]

Another illustration from a French work, represents the wife of King Tarquin and her maidens occupied in their domestic pursuits. One of them is seated on a triangular stool, with her combs or cards. She sits opposite to a standard about three feet high, called the combing stock, to which the shaft of the card or comb is attached. This latter, in form known as the "Jersey-comb," resembles an agricultural hay-rake, except that the shaft is about a foot long, and the teeth about five or six inches. In short the combs or cards of our mediæval ancestors were equivalent to one row of teeth in the modern "heckle;" and, in this case, two other cards graduated in fineness lie on the ground beside the operator.[f] This reminds one of a curious story[g] told in the ancient Sagas. It is said that Erinar Sockeson persuaded Arnold of Norway to become Bishop of the distant colony of Greenland, in 1123; and, on their voyage to the place, they were driven by a storm into Iceland. As the Right Reverend father rode up from the shore to his clerical hostelrie, a woman ran up to him and asked him in the most familiar manner to fasten a tooth in her card. Being a sensible man, and a good deal independent of artisans, he carried a little hammer in his wallet; and having fastened the iron pin with a mixture of gravity and good nature, he passed on amidst the surprise and plaudits of the crowd.

The last mentioned illustration contains a spinster beside the cradle, and reminds one of the

[e] From a series of papers in the *Art Journal*, by Thos. Wright, Esq., illustrated by F. W. Fairholt F.S.A. Volume for 1854, p. 141.

[f] Ibid.

[g] Translated from a Saga in *Greenland's Historical Monuments*, volume II. Mémoires des Antiquaries du Nord, 1840-44, p. 83.

division of labour indicated in a popular song.[h] Here the distaff is kept in a perpendicular position, in a frame like that of a cottager's candlestick. The lady sits before it, spinning with the right hand, and passing the thread to the left, from which the spindle depends.

In Israel Van Mechelin's print of "the Virgin Ascending the Steps of the Temple," there is the representation of a female work-room.[i] Two are spinning from perpendicular distaffs; one stands up, and the other sits on a curious triangular chair, with a support for the back at one of the angles. The latter appears to be a person of importance, for a rosary and a small bag or pocket peep out from beneath her apron; and beside her is a small basket containing four or five well filled spindles. Two others are engaged in cutting out cloth for working; one using the shears. These in general construction resemble the sheep-shears or loom shears of modern times, but they have the square points which are usually attributed to the heraldic cloth-workers' shears.

Pictures like these send the memory back to scenes of classic story. They remind us of the lay of Virginia, who

> ——"warbled gaily to herself, lines of the good old song,
> How for a sport the princes came spurring from the camp,
> And found Lucrece combing the fleece under the midnight lamp."[k]

The illustration given at this passage, and that which is selected to represent the troubled dream of Sextus,[l] are both elegantly adapted to the subject by Mr. George Scharf, jun., but they are not from antique designs, and therefore are interesting merely as pictures. Such pictures are suggestive, however, of earlier scenes recorded in the Iliad and Odyssey; and of others in Hebrew literature. In the beautiful acrostic, for example, which closes the book of Proverbs,[m] in describing the virtuous woman, the writer gives us a charming picture of the domestic occupations of the olden time. I quote from the edition of Dr. Conquest:[n]—

> "Prov. xxxi., 13. She seeketh wool, and flax,
> And worketh willingly with her hands.
> 15. She riseth also while it is yet night,
> And giveth food to her household,
> And her orders to her maidens.
> 19. She putteth her hands to the spindle,
> And her hands hold the distaff.
> 21. She is not afraid of the winter for her household;
> For all her household are clothed with double garments.
> 22. She worketh beautiful vestments for herself;
> Her clothing is fine linen and purple.
> 24. She maketh fine linen and selleth it;
> And delivereth girdles unto the merchant"

---

[h] "The one can card and the other can spin,
I'll marry them both, says Bryan O'Lynn."

[i] *Art Journal*, 1854, p. 365.

[k] Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome, 4to edition, 1847.

[l] Ibid. Battle of the Lake Regillus.

[m] It is confined to the last twenty-two verses.

[n] The Bible, with nearly 20,000 Emendations. Longmans, 1841.

One may contrast with this interesting picture of a Jewish fireside, a modern sketch; it is German, but not confined to Germany. Schiller, in his *Lay of the Bell*,[o] describes the matron:—

> "She winds round the spindle the threads at her leisure,
> And fills odoriferous coffers with treasure,
> And storeth her shining receptacles full
> Of snowy white linen and pale-coloured wool,
> And blends with the useful the beauteous and pleasing,
> And toils without ceasing."

The loom of the Hindoo is employed in the open air, usually under a spreading tree. The top of the gearing is fixed to one or two pliant branches, and the operator, sitting on the ground, cuts a hole for his feet. In this he plies the treadles by cords attached to his toes; and his long shuttle, like a lady's netting-needle, passes the thread and drives it up into its place. His yarn is extended between two sticks fastened in the ground near him, but he cannot roll up the part woven, and the continuity of the piece is the same throughout the whole operation.[p]

From the construction of the Egyptian looms, as shown at Thebes, it appears that they were both vertical and horizontal. The labour was performed by men; but among the Greeks and Romans it was performed by women. Among the Greeks and Romans, weaving was a trade in the large towns; and it was also extensively practised as a domestic occupation. Mr. James Yates,[q] who has paid much attention to this subject, states that they understood "checks,"—indeed had great varieties of pattern; and that they were much farther advanced than our mediæval ancestors. The Greek loom was vertical, and so is the modern Icelandic one.

And here it may be interesting to notice a primitive loom found in the Ferro isles, figured in Worsaae's recent work descriptive of the contents of the Royal Museum at Copenhagen.[r] Two posts are planted in the ground, each about seven feet high and with its upper end forked. They are three or four feet distant, according to the intended breadth of the cloth, which is here exactly a yard. Across these the beam lies, and from it the yarn is suspended, the lower ends of the threads forming a series of balls, reaching to the ground, and keeping the threads in a state of sufficient tension; or perhaps stones are here represented serving as weights. The two sets are separated in the usual way; the thread is beaten upwards, and a narrow line of cloth is woven close to the beam. When necessary it is rolled on the beam and made fast, and a corresponding portion of the yarn is unwound from the balls. In the representation, the web is clearly intended to be a striped one. The instrument like a sort of "bat staff," inserted among the threads, is obviously the shuttle: it is 22 inches long. It does not very clearly appear how the sets of threads were made to pass and repass at each throw of the shuttle. Beside the loom stands the corresponding distaff, a staff of about six feet long, on the top of which the strike[s] [*vulgo* "stthreck] of flax is fastened. A copy of Worsaae's engraving is given here.

---

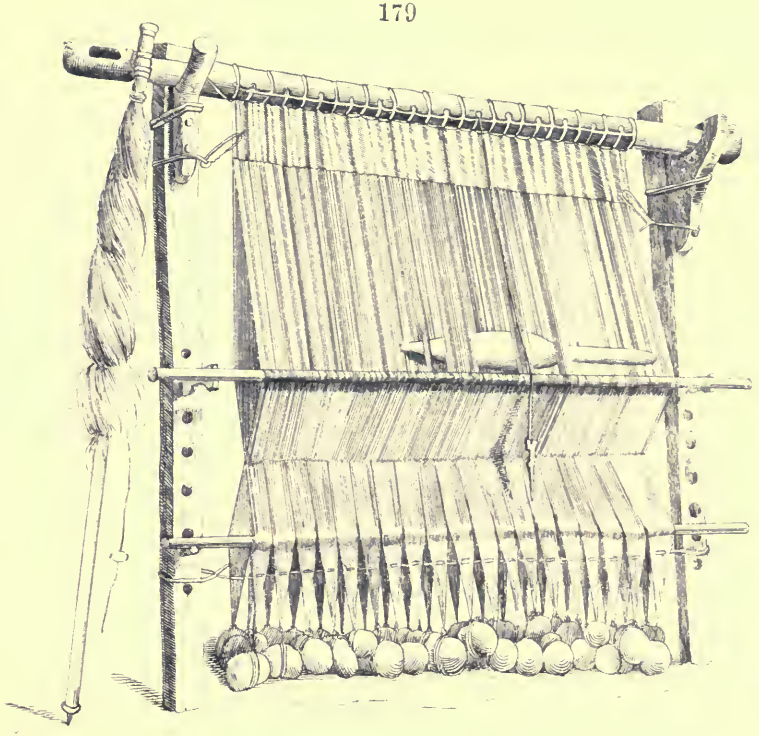
[o] Mangan's translation.

[p] Mill's History of British India.

[q] See Textrinum Antiquorum, and Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities.

[r] Afbildninger fra det Kongelige Museum for Nordiske Oldsager i Kjöbenhavn. 1853.

[s] "This pardoner had here as yelwe as wax,
But smoth it heng, as doth a strike of flax."
Chaucer, Prologue to Canterbury Tales.



There are two mediæval illustrations of weaving in the volume already quoted,[1] both of which are interesting. In one the wife of King Tarquin is seated at the loom, with the crown on her head; and the operator is placed in front of her, or a little towards her left side. From the middle of the horizontal beams (which rest on four feet, and lying between the cloth and yarn beams form an oblong frame,) rise two perpendicular pieces about forty inches high, connected by a light pole at the top. Between them the whole of the gearing is fastened; but the details do not appear. There seem to be three treadles. The lady is in the act of pitching the shuttle; and the whole operation appears to take place in the open air.

In the other illustration, taken from Erasmus's *Raine of Folly*, 1616, but derived from much older originals, the spectator is placed by the right side of the weaver. She is a lady, and sits on a chair, made of interlaced bars, and folding up, very like garden seats or the yellow-wood chairs known at present as American. She works inside a house, for a panneled door is seen over the loom. She wears a cap of striped material, in shape very like the bonnet of a quakeress; her sleeves are rolled up to the elbows; and a band passing over her gown behind appears to suspend a pouch for quills or pirns at her left side. The loom is worked by two treadles; the web is a plain one; and there are several folds of cloth round the beam. She holds the shuttle in the left

[1] *Art Journal* for 1854.

hand, and with the right is driving up the thread with the comb or reed. There are no "slays," nor is it suspended in any frame. The gears are united by a cord at each end, which passes over a pulley, and thus each is drawn down and up again in turn. These pulleys supply the place of the modern "jacks." The pulleys themselves are suspended over the cross-bar described in last paragraph, and the other ends of the two cords support the reed. There is a pin through the cloth-beam, at the right side of the weaver, evidently to aid in rolling on the cloth as it is woven; but there is no appearance of "row-head," "bore-staff," "rubbing-stone," "weights," "dressing-board," "wheel or swifts."

Macaulay gives us a peep at an ancient Roman fire-side, and assigns occupation to the various members of the household.[u]

> "The young and old in circle
> Around the fire-brands close;
> The girls are weaving baskets,
> And the lads are shaping bows;
> The good man mends his armour,
> And trims his helmet's plume;
> And the good wife's shuttle merrily
> Goes flashing through the loom."

We have undoubtedly gained in the conveniences of life, by the simplifying of manufacturing processes, and the cheapening of products; but it is questionable whether we have not retrograded in the minor morals of social life, by the sacrifice of domestic occupations and the destruction of scenes such as are described here.

On the subject of colour there is still some mystery. The ancients used the term "purple" in a general as well as in a specific sense; so that it indicated at times scarlet, red, brown, shades of blue and green, and purple proper. It was like the chameleon among animals, but varying within certain limits. A people of taste uncultivated, or but slightly so, have always a strong partiality for gaudy colours. The "coat of many colours" was Jacob's present to his favourite son;[v] and almost every nation has adopted some form of the check or stripe, the former of which has been a great favourite in comparatively modern times with the Caledonian Gaels. Any one may observe, too, on a Sunday or holiday, in Wales, the most striking contrast of colours. Davy Morgan has his coat, waistcoat, and pantaloons of three separate colours, each the most intense of its kind; while Jenny Jones who walks by his side, has a hat black as the raven's wing, a cap which rivals the snow of Plinlimmon in whiteness, a yellow kerchief, a green gown, and, the skirt of this last being tucked up, we have a glimpse of a crimson petticoat, as brilliant as if dyed with the celebrated red of "Bristow."

The ancient Britons painted their naked bodies; and this may be regarded as an approximation to clothing. Even to the present day, savage tribes spend much time in tattooing and otherwise ornamenting their persons; adopting uniforms and varieties precisely as other nations do in their clothing. The natives of Australia have the same dots and stripes on their bodies and on their

[u] Lays of Ancient Rome;—Horatius.

[v] See also 2 Samuel, xiii. 18; and Judges v. 30.

weapons; and it is not difficult to recognise the members of different tribes when their peculiar "brand" is known. The "Boobies" of Western Africa never knew the luxury of a cap or hat; but they paste their hair thick with ordinary clay, which the heat of the sun bakes into a hard cake, and they are thus effectually protected from a *coup de soleil*.

In the earliest historic times, the sheep of Ireland were more usually black than white, but the contrary is the fact at present; and hence the conundrum of school-boys, about white sheep eating more than black ones. When linen came into use, it was usually stained yellow by vegetable substances which are still currently used by housewives. Hence the "saffron-coloured shirts," which were known so recently as the time of Elizabeth; and, in illustrations of the Highland clans, they are represented as in use at a much later period. The shape of the garment, as described and represented pictorially, is more like that of a surplice than of a shirt.

In primitive times we are told that "Adam delved and Eve *span*;" but this cannot have been the Arcadian period, spoken of by Goldsmith, "when every rood of ground maintained its man." It is certain that when Heraldry became a "science," i.e., conformable to a well-known system of rules, the enthusiasm of its cultivators led to statements of a singular kind. One gravely records, for example, that the shape of a gentleman's shield (like the spade on a playing card, and known as the "heater shape") is derived from the shape of Adam's spade; though in Ulster that is the shape reserved for the shovel. The same authority states that the lozenge form used by ladies, (like the "diamond" on a playing card) is derived from the shape of Eve's full spindle! Truly, the Wicklow guide is not the only person who could "invint as many lagends over night, as would sarve the quality durin' the day."

In ancient houses of importance, in the mediæval period of our history, there was a "weaving-room," as regularly as a nursery or pantry, or as there was a "scriptorium" in a monastery. To this the ladies of the family retired to ply their usual avocations; and it was only by the introduction of the division of labour that the apartment came to be dispensed with. As the process improved, weaving became more and more a trade; yet the generation has not passed away in which thrifty housewives used to say that no linen was like that which was made at home, and that the sound of the loom was "sonsy" in a house.

In the enumeration of trades in many portions of our old English literature, there is no mention of the weaver; or he is mentioned in a somewhat secondary manner. The brewer and the baker who contributed to the production or preparation of victuals, are always mentioned, as a matter of course. In the *Chester Mystery Plays*,[w] which were acted at the Whitsuntide period, by the different guilds, or sets of artizans, several trades are mentioned, apparently of small importance. Thus we have Cappers, Sklaters, Corvisors, [shoemakers], fletchers [featherers of arrows], Bowyers [bow-makers], Stringers [rope-makers], ffusterers [carpenters], Shermen [cloth-workers]; or some-

[w] Wright's *Chester Mystery Plays*, vol. i.; edited for the Shakspeare Society, 1843. The quotations in the text are from the *Proemium*, the date of which is 1600.

times several of the trades combined to represent one play, as the Cappers and Linen Drapers, to perform "Balaam and his asse;" and ffletchers, Bowyers, Cowpers, Stringers, and Iremongers, "Christ's doleful death." In general one trade represented one play; as the Smiths, "Christ among the Doctors;" the Glovers, "the Death of Lazarus;" the Bowchers, "the Story of Sathan that Christ wouldc needes tempte," "set out as accostamblie, with the devill in his fethers all ragger and rente." The "Wavers," as they are called in the margin, have a whole play to themselves, the last of the set:—

"The cominge of Christe to geve eternall judgement,
You, wavers, last of all, your parte is for to playe."

The present article has so grown upon the writer, and there is such a large mass of interesting matter which must necessarily be omitted, that he can only glance at the subject of price, on which abundance of materials had been prepared. It is curious to examine into it, but of course no correct inference can be drawn unless we take into account the different value of money. There is a pair of royal "continuations" which have occasioned considerable trouble to commentators, on this head. The genuine old English ballad, quoted in the second Act of *Othello*, assigns them to King Stephen, who reigned about the middle of the twelfth century.[x] The Scotch version attributes them to King Robert; but there were three of this name whose reigns extended over a century, the earliest being 150 years after Stephen.

English Version.	*Scotch Version.*
King Stephen was a worthy peere	In days when our King Robert rang,
His breeches cost him but a crowne,	His trews they cost but half a crown.
He held them six-pence all too deare,	He said they were a groat owre dear,
Therefore he called the taylor lowne.	And ca'd the tailor thief and loun.

In the household book of Sir Thomas l'Estrange of Norfolk, in 25 Henry VIII. (1533) "4 peyr of knytt hose" cost "viii.^{s};" and in 1538 "two peyr" for children "i.^{s}." In the parish of Kingston-upon-Thames, the play of *Robin Hood and Maid Marian* used to be regularly performed; as it was in various other parts of England, according to some at Whitsuntide, and according to others at St. Martin's day. Mr. Lysons, in his *Environs of London*, gives some curious extracts from the Kingston parish books, showing the price of cloth at various periods. They are quoted by Ritson in his introduction to *Robin Hood*.

1 Henry viii.	For Kendall for Robyn Hode's cote,..	£0	1	3
"	For 4 yerds of Kendall for mayde Maryan's huke* ..	0	3	4
"	For 2 payre of glovys for Robyn Hode and mayde Maryan,	0	0	3
11 Henry viii.	Paid for three broad yerds of rosett[y] for makying the frer's cote,	0	3	6
13 Henry viii.	Eight yerds of fustyan for the mores[z] daunsars cotes, ..	0	16	0
28 Henry viii.	4 yerds of cloth for the fole's cote	0	2	0
"	2 ells of worstede for mayde Maryan's kyrtle,.. ..	0	6	8

In the curious old poem[a] of *Hardy Knute*, written by Lady Wardlaw in 1718, in imitation of

[x] Stephen, 1135-46; Robert I. of Scotland [Bruce] 1306-29; Robert II. [Stewart], 1371-90; Robert III. [Stewart], 1390-1406.

[y] Russet.

* Gown or habit.

[z] Morris-dancers.

[a] In celebration of the battle of Largs, 1263, which decided that the sovereignty of the Western Isles should belong to Scotland and not to Denmark.

much older ones, mention is made of various articles of dress, including a green boddice and an apron diced with needle-work. In more modern times, however, various articles of dress in use in the middle ranks of life are mentioned and occasionally described. It is unnecessary to quote examples; it may suffice to give a single verse from the old song of *Nae Luck About the House*, especially as the sentiments expressed are very beautiful.[b]

The following entries are from the records of Coldingham already alluded to:[c]—"A.D. 1335. In iiij ulnis de canabo, pro summo altari xiiij^{d}"—"1343. In pannis et fururis emptis, xxxiij^{l} vj^{s} viij^{d}"—"1345. De xxiiij^{l} receptis de vj saccis lanæ venditis."—"1364. De xv^{l} xj^{s} iiij^{d} receptis de iiij saccis et iiij petris de lana, pretium sacci lxiiij^{s}, et agnis decimalibus venditis, pretium capitis iiij^{d}." There is a great deal of valuable information on the subject of price in mediæval inventories; and Mr. Harland has grouped much of it around his account of the "House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe." The following is extracted from a document of the date, September, 1587. It is by Roger Columbell of Darley Hall, Derbyshire, and is entitled "Stuff bought at Darby, against my daughter Fanthes weddinge, God prosper hyr!" "In primis, a cote cloth of j yerd di* and qu. 17s. 6d. 18tene yards of lace, prise 6s; di j oz of sylke 1½d; for halfe j elne of mockade for Fanthe, 14d.; for half one elne of lawne for her, 3s. 3d.; for fringe and lace for a peticote, 2s.; for four elnes changeable taffetta for her gowne, 54s; for lace, silke, and ffrindge for the same gowne, 38s.; ij payre of Jersey hoose, 13s. 4d.; hoose ij peyr 2s.; crull fringe for my wyves peticote, 2s. 8d."

A few additional facts must suffice, for the present at least. In one of the Middle English Glosses published by Mr Halliwell and Mr. Wright in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, we have the actual terms which were used in the time of Edward II.[d] They were apparently collected to enable a Saxon to employ the Anglo-Norman terms of his richer neighbours; and they do not occur in alphabetical order. There are other terms alluding to the operations which were performed on the various kinds of cloth, of which the most interesting of course are the references to the domestic[e] processes. Some of the instances in which persons connected with cloth are mentioned are satirical, as in the poem by Friar Michael of Kildare,[f] written about the commencement of the fourteenth century. It

---

[b] O gie me down my bigonets,
My bishop-satin gown,
And rin and tell the Baillie's wife
That Colin's come to town.
My Sunday shoon they maun gae on,
My hose o' pearl blue;
It's a' to pleasure my gudeman,
For he's baith leal and true.

[c] Printed for the Chetham Society, Parts I. and II.

*Demi.

[d] Heehele, *serences*
a toppe of flax, *de lin de toup.*
wind the yarne, *desernes le toup.*
rok, *palet.*
spinnel, *fusil.*
to relend, *trauiller.*
rel, *trauil.*
weven, *tister.*
a elewe, *un lussel.*
windes, *wude.*
mulne spinel *(molu par le) fusil.*
to the rel, *au trauil.*
vir-hirne, *le fusil.*
the yerne, *filere.*
werpen, *peru le hai* (?)
spooles, *tremes.*
a webbing szaly, *une lame.*
Rel. Antiq., II., 78.

[e] "Loke well to your lawne, your homple and your lake.
That ye washe elene fro mole and spotts blake:
That wyn nor oyle nor yit non ink disteyn
Keverchef or clothe."
Godwhen's Treatise for Lavandres, Rel. Ant., I., 27.
"A woman ys a worthy thyng,
They do the weshe and do the wrynge,
'Lullay, lullay!' she dothe the synge,
And yet she hath but care and woo"
Harl. MS., *Rel. Ant.* I., 275.

[f] From Harl. MSS., *Rel. Ant.*, II., 176.

refers to the people of his own neighbourhood, and therefore is doubly interesting to the Irish reader.

Hail be ze, marchans with zur gret packes
Of draperie avoir-de-peise, and zur wol sackes,
Gold, silver, stones, riche markes and ek pundes.
Hail be ze, tailurs, with zur scharpe schores,[g]
To make wrong hodes, ze kittith lome gores.
Azeus mid winter, hot beth zur neldes[h]
Thoz zur semes semith fair, hi lesteth litil while.

A poem by the same author, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1829 by Sir Frederick Madden, was printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxii. It was translated by Mrs. McLean, better known as L. E. L.; and both the original and the translation are printed under the title of "The Entrenchment of Ross," in the late Mr. Crofton Croker's "Popular Songs of Ireland."

Le Mardi prochein suant apers,	Tuesday came, coat makers, tailors,
I vont taillurs e parmters.	Fullers, cloth-dyers, and "sellers:"
Tenturers, fulrurs, e celers,	Right good hands, these jolly blades,
Bele gent sunt de lur mesters,—	Were they counted at their trades.
I vont overir cum dit devant;	Away they worked like those before,
Mes ne sunt tant de gent,	Though the others numbered more;
Mes bien sunt iiij cens,	Scarce four hundred did they stand,
Sachez pur veir, de bele gens.	But they were a worthy band.

An act of theft on the part of a native Irishman was the influencing cause of the entrenchment of the town; and as the facts related by Stanihurst and quoted by Holinshed and others are connected with cloth, they are given below.[i]

I hope that other departments of this general subject will be investigated by some one on the spot, familiar with the processes, and to whom the materials for their history are accessible. I have endeavoured to show that the subject is not only interesting in itself, but might be made extremely useful by way of illustration; and in this I venture to hope I have to some extent succeeded.

A. Hume.

---

[g] Shears.

[h] Needles.

[i] "There repaired one of the Irish to this towne on horssebacke, and espieng a peece of cloth on a merchant's stall, tooke hold thereof, and bet the cloth to the lowest price he could. As the merchant and he stood dodging the one with the other in cheaping the ware, the horsseman considering that he was well mounted, and that the merchant and he had growne to a price, made wise as though he would have drawne his purse to have defraied the monie. The cloth in the meanwhile being tucked up and placed before him, he gave the spur to his horsse and ran awaie with the cloth, being not inbard from his posting pase, by reason the towne was not perclosed either with ditch or wall.—The townesmen being pinched at the heart that one raseall in such scornefull wise should give them the slampaine, not so much weieng the slendernesse of the losse as the shamefulnesse of the foile, they put their heads togither, consulting how to prevent either the sudden rushing or the post-hast-flieing of anie such adventurous rakehell hereafter." *Croker*, p. 280.

Errata.—Page 172, last line of text, for "Whatever way be the data," read "Whatever may be the date." Page 173. line 3, for "basta," read "hasta." Page 176, line 28, for "Erinar," read "Einar."]

LETTERS ON IRISH ANTIQUITIES.

BY A CORNISH MAN.

Continued from page 155.

LETTER III.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

SIR,—I do not know whether it has ever occurred to yourself or any of your correspondents to take a large collection of Irish stone implements, (including all sorts of things composed of flint, basalt, and other denominations of stone,) and group them into classes and varieties; and then to collate them with each other, and with iron and bronze articles found in Ireland; and thus, not only compare form with form, but ascertain the law or custom which determined the forms, and the abstract number of them. Were this done carefully, we should have developed the types under which every individual object might be placed, like shells in a museum. Such a systematic arrangement, composed of one specimen of each class, with a few others representing varieties belonging to each class, &c., would, in a scientific point of view, be extremely valuable.

I had great hopes that this work, or one similar to it, would have been ere now realised by some Irish or British antiquary,—not himself a collector,—for this reason, that the collector, looking more to the *number* of specimens, than their intrinsic *worth* as scientific specimens in a series, will convert accidental differences (analogous to difference of age, &c., in shells, plumage in birds at various stages of development, and so forth) into distinctions where none were intended by the people who made the articles originally. To make a proper classification of stone objects found in Ireland, the person who essays to do it must have both an artistic and a mechanical eye, to enable him to detect the rules which guided the manufacturer of the article. Having discovered the rule, then comes the question of the specific use to which the thing made was intended to be applied, or to which it is probable it might have been applied, if something else more applicable for that purpose is not found in the collection.

I have not yet seen such a series completed, but I have seen some attempts at it: and though not all that a scientific man would wish, yet it is quite manifest from the attempts made at such classifications, that the actual number of specific objects in the largest collections of Irish stone articles—take, for example, Mr. Bell's collection, exhibited at Belfast, and that of the Royal Irish Academy

in Dublin—is extremely small, though to an ethnologist of great interest. Not that they indicate progress or development of the arts generally in Ireland, amongst the people who fabricated these things, but that they supply evidence that, on the whole, the arts were falling off, the supply of metallic iron and bronze failing, and the art of substituting flint and stone for them advancing. Thus, I would infer that a people had fled or emigrated to Ireland from the continent of Europe, (or perhaps from Africa, as the typical forms are more African than European,) rather than that a naked and untaught man had set to work in Ireland to manufacture barbed arrows, and stone hammers and axes, with holes or eyes in them, accidental counterparts of iron arrows and hammers: as well as lozenge-shaped spear or javelin heads of ground flint, of the identical shape of a class of spear-heads which, by their indented and engraved ornaments, prove to demonstration that the bronze belonged to a people using *steel* tools, and which though made of bronze, apparently very impure, come down (in the language of the Danish antiquaries) "late into the Iron Period!"

It strikes me that, whether we accept the Biblical account of the descent of mankind from the individuals saved in the Ark, or adopt the theory of Agassiz that there were several distinct *loci* of creation on the surface of the globe, we must, from the evidence supplied by the stone articles found in Ireland, deny altogether the theory of progressive development in that country of the arts generally; though admitting the fact that some of the ancient Irish, like the modern ones, had their wits about them when they substituted flint and stone for iron and bronze, when these metals became dear or scarce, or when it was more economical to use the one than the other.

A few years since, when I made a tour in Ireland, I found the poor people using potatoes stuck as weights upon skewers, to serve as bobbins employed in twine spinning; and I was told that it was no uncommon thing to see candles stuck in potatoes instead of sconces, in the windows of Dublin, on the occasion of general illuminations; but surely, if those potatoes so applied had possessed durability, and remained to our time in the places they were thrown away, and were now discovered, they would furnish no proof that the oldest distaff weights in Ireland were potatoes, nor that a slice of potato was the original type of a candlestick in that country! The fact is, that spindle-stones were in use in Ireland, as such, before potatoes, candlesticks, or illumination-sconces existed there; and so in like manner were arrow-heads *of iron*, before these beautiful and exact *imitations* of them in *flint* were manufactured in that country. These arrow-heads were, beyond doubt, intended for use; and, whether well or ill made, and no matter how rudely or imperfectly their typical forms are developed, they indicate no more, as bearing upon the question of general progress of the arts in Ireland, than the chips of flint picked up on the site of the battle of Marathon prove the low state of the arts amongst the Persians at that time, or the fragments of gun-flints found on the site of Waterloo prove that the English, French, Belgians and Prussians, who fought that battle, were a pack of savages and entirely destitute of material progress in the arts.

I confess, the more I look into the Danish theory of "development," either in Denmark or any other European country, the less am I disposed to adopt it. The higher forms of their flint objects,

—their daggers for example,—appear to my eye to be *copied* from bronze implements, and their hammers, properly so called, copied from iron hammers. In metal, things shaped like them would have been serviceable as tools and weapons; but, made in stone, they are only *patterns* to make iron hammers after, or they were intended to be used as typical hammers, and, as such, possibly presented as votive offerings to Thor, the God of the Hammer. In cases where the hammer represents a canoe, it might indicate either that the person offering it had been saved at sea, or that he was a fisherman, or that he gave it to a deity under whose protection it was believed mariners were especially placed. This is all rational enough; but it is absurd to admit for one moment that a hammer which never could give more than one blow without breaking in two, could have been originally designed to be used at all as a real hammer, and as such be considered as evidence of material progress through a series of "stone and metal Periods."

The same reasoning will apply to the stone hammers found in Ireland; most of them that I have seen, from the great size of the eye, being evidently patterns, or typical forms of hammers, and not working tools. There are, however, several exceptions; where the eye is small as compared with the stone head. One of these, which I believe was found at or near Killylcagh, county of Down, is said to be very similar to a species of stone hammer used commonly in India for driving wooden pegs into the ground, for fastening tent ropes and tethering animals. The other kind, with a very short head, and beautifully formed and polished convex faces, is apparently a goldsmith's spreading-hammer; and, as such, supplies evidence that hammers of this kind, though made of porphyry, do not belong to the stone period of the northern antiquaries at all, but must be placed chronologically on the same shelf with articles made of thin laminæ of gold, composed of stone and metal.

The late accomplished archæologist, Mr. Kemble, denied Mr. Worsaae's application of the Danish theory to Danish implements. My object is to deny its application in Ireland also; and I feel assured that when we shall have fully developed a sufficient quantity and variety of facts bearing upon the pre-historic annals of Europe, we shall find the evidence everywhere the same in favour of emigration from other places, and of a falling off in the industrial arts consequent upon that emigration, whether it was to the extreme north or west, or to the midland districts. The traditions of Spain, relating to Tubal Cain, appear to be connected somehow with another tradition, probably true, that it is to Spain we are to look for the development of the arts of working in iron and brass—and if so, probably in silver, gold, &c. Whether this be so or not, it is time that the attention of European archæologists should be directed to the pre-historic annals of that country, as bearing upon those of other parts of Europe where the facts discovered appear to indicate a falling off from a higher to a lower state of civilization, such as we observe in our own time amongst emigrants cut off from intercourse with their parent stocks in Europe and Asia.—Yours, &c., TREVELYAN.

THE "OVERTHROW" OF SIR JOHN CHICHESTER AT CARRICKFERGUS, IN 1597.

BY WILLIAM PINKERTON.

It is not for the purpose of recording an event of paramount importance, but rather of preserving an interesting episode in the Irish history of the period, that I have collected the following papers, relating, more or less, to the complete defeat of the English forces under Sir John Chichester, by the Scotch and Irish followers of Sir James MacSorley Boy MacDonnell, near Carrickfergus, in 1597. And I have mainly been induced to do so by accidentally reading the very graphic description of the affair, as given by Lieutenant Harte, so different from the meagre and erroneous accounts of it that have hitherto been printed. The late Mr. M°Skimmin, a praiseworthy and pains-taking antiquary, to whom all credit is due for his unwearied exertions to preserve the flickering light of the past among a people wholly engrossed by the present, relates, in his *History of Carrickfergus*, the story of Sir John Chichester's defeat in the erroneous words of Lodge—probably the only accessible, but the worst possible, authority he could have consulted. Lodge, in his *Peerage*, speaking of Sir John, says:—"He lost his life in an enterprize against the MacDonnells in the following manner. James MacSorley MacDonnell (after Earl of Antrim) hid a strong detachment of Highland foot in a cave, about four miles distant from Carrickfergus, whilst he advanced with a small body towards that place; and, braving the garrison, Sir John Chichester made a sally, when MacDonnell, seeming to fly, till he had brought Sir John to the place where he had formed his ambuscade, turned upon him and his party, who, being instantly surrounded with the fresh troops, was defeated; Sir John was taken prisoner, and beheaded upon a stone at the head of the Glynn."

Now, James MacSorley MacDonnell never was Earl of Antrim[a]; the story of the cave is as erroneous as it is absurd; it must have been a spacious cavern, indeed, that held a strong detachment of Highland foot! nor was Sir John taken prisoner, but killed on the field, when gallantly endeavouring to rally his men. Yet Lodge, going further, adds, in a note, the following well-known and often-told anecdote, which it is almost a pity to spoil, for "*se non è vero è bene trovato.*"—

"In K. James's reign, MacDonnell going one day to view the family monuments in St. Nicholas' Church at Carrickfergus, and seeing Sir John's statue therein, asked—'How the de'il he came to get his head again, for he was sure he had once ta'en it frae him!'"—

[a] Even our Ulster King of Arms, following the blind leadership of Lodge, in the very last edition of his *Peerage* (1857,) says that Sir John "lost his life by decapitation, having fallen into the hands of James MacSorley MacDonnell, Earl of Antrim.

Nevertheless it is a myth. Before James reigned over Ireland, MacDonnell was gathered to his fathers; and, as he died unreconciled to the English government, he had too much respect for his own head to venture it within the walls of Carrickfergus, even to witness the monument of his quondam antagonist.

Sir John was the youngest brother of that renowned soldier and statesman, Sir Arthur Chichester, who subsequently became the first Lord Belfast, and founded the fortunes of the Donegall family At what period Sir John first served in Ireland I have been unable to ascertain; but he was knighted by Lord Deputy Sir William Russel in 1594; and Sir Ralph Lane, the Irish Muster-Master General—of whom I shall presently have more to say—in a letter to Lord High Treasurer Burghley, dated September 1595, writes:—

"I canne not omytte to certefye yor. l^{p}. our Sergeante Maior, Captn. John Chychester, hath carryde hymselfe in all services with singulare comendacion."[b]

In the latter part of June, 1597, Sir John was appointed Governor of Carrickfergus. It was a most critical period; Tyrone was in the height of his power, and, as Fynes Moryson informs us, "all the North was in rebellion, except seven castles with their towns or villages, all but one lying towards the sea, namely, Newry, Knockfergus, Carlingford, Greencastle, Armagh, Dondrum and Olderfleet." Not only the exigency of the time, but the actual state of the garrison of so important a stronghold as Carrickfergus, required a superior and energetic officer. For several months previous to Sir John's appointment, a serious quarrel had existed between Charles Eggerton, Constable of Carrickfergus, who had held the post with credit for several years, and Captain Rice Mansell, the Sergeant-Major of the garrison. Indeed Mansell had gone so far as to depose and arrest Eggerton, his superior officer. While these dissensions reigned within, the enemy prevailed without, and Belfast castle,—at that time, however, a comparatively unimportant post,—fell into the hands of Shane McBryan. If the quarrel between Eggerton and Mansell caused the loss of Belfast castle, it also lets us know how the event occurred. For the wife of Eggerton, being in London, soliciting the Queen's interference in her husband's favour, received a letter from one Anthony Dearinge, dated Dublin, 27th June, 1597, which, among other public and private matters, thus relates the capture of the castle of Belfast:—

"One ensigne Pullen had the gyfte of Bellfast castell, whoe in culler of this charge, robbed the people, and took theire gudes round a bouete hym, to mayntayne his drunkenesse. And beinge drunck from his chardge at Knockfergus, and a carswose[c] sent hym by Shane McBryan, to loke to his chardges, wolde not forsake his wyne poots to serve her ma^{ty}; but lyinge still at Knockfergus, drinkinge, his owne man, named John Aloylon, gave the castell of Belfaste to the enemye the

[b] To save useless trouble, I may at once observe that all the quotations in this paper, to which references are not given, are taken from documents of their respective dates in the State Paper Office.

[c] This certainly is the word, but its meaning has baffled the most skilled experts in the reading of ancient documents to whom I have shown it. I fancy that it signifies *carouse*, and that the context is to be understood ironically—that in fact, McBryan, aware of Pullen's weak point, sent him a carouse of wine or usquebaugh, not with the object of causing him to look after his charge, but to detain him drinking at Carrickfergus.

XVIIIth daie June. And all the Inglishe men in the warde wear hanged, and their throots cutt, and their bowells cutt oute of ther bellyes, by Shane McBryan. And this castell was, by meanes of Captn. Thornton, with her maties shipp and soldiers, taken the next daie. And now our newe comanders, by meanes of their prayeing the counterie, have putt all in rebellion in such sorte that they are cept in on everie side, and Shane McBryan, and Bryan McCartt, and the Slogh McConnels, camp at Carmonye in the teeth of our garrisone."

Such was the state of affairs when Sir John Chichester assumed the government of Carrickfergus; but, by a letter, giving an account of his stewardship, written by him to Burghley little more than two months afterwards, we learn how soon, with the courage and energy of his name and race, he set about retrieving the disastrous consequences of his predecessor's misconduct. Though Dearinge states that Belfast castle was retaken by the English "the next daie," yet, in all probability, they had not occupied it, for Sir John writes that he found it in the enemy's possession, and thus relates how he captured it:—"Being a place which standeth 8 miles from Kerogfergus, and on the river, wher the sea ebbes and flowes, so that botes may be landed within a butte shott of the said castell: for the recovery whereof I made choice that it should be one of my first workes. And on the XI daie of Julie following attempted the same with some 100 men, which I transported thether in botes by sea, and indeed our comeing was so unlooked for by them as it asked us no longe time before wee tooke the place, without anie losse to us, and put those wee founde in yt to the sworde."

He then proceeds to describe two other encounters he had with the enemy:—

"About the last of the same month, Bryan McArt, Arthur Magennys, and Shane McBryan, who were the principall men of action in theis parts, had made an assembly of their wholle forces, to the number of 700 foote and 300 horse, and cam with them towards or garrinson, with an intention to prey us, making no reckoning but to doe it, in respect of their numbers: whereof I having understandinge, drew out some 250 foot of the garrinson and 30 horse, and mett them in their waie, marching close by them, within less than caliver shott, till the bodie of our troupes was oposite with theirs, not suffering all this while a man of ours to spend a shott upon them, notwithstanding that in vaine (God be thanked) they bestowed manie on us. At which time we gave together upon them, and brake them in soch sorte as we presentlie had the killing of diverse of them in the place, and so followed killing them som fower or five miles; 21 of whose heads I afterwards sent in to the L: Depty.—

"No less good successe yt pleased God to give us since, in takeing the castell of Edendufcarick, which I must confesse wee got without anie meaneing of me at first to attempt the place itself, but only to doe some other service upon them. And for that pourpos I tooke out with me some 300 men, which I devided into three parties; one of which I imployed for the takeing certeine of their horsses that were graseing ther out farre off, the other for the attempting a prey of theirs, and the third (wherof I myself had the conduction) I disposed to attend them within the said castell, that if anie should offer to sallie out for the rescue of their said goodes, they might falle into our handes, as in

troth it happened, for some of them issueing out to that end, we fell in presently pel mel with them, and entered their bawne, and after two assaults given them wee gained so near the castell as to sett it on fire, wherein was said to be infinite store of provisions:—The said castell standeth 12 miles from Kerrigfergus, and adioineth close upon Lough Sidney,[d] which lough runneth into the bawne, and by water from thence the fort of the Black water maie be victualled, being but 14 miles from the said castell.[e] Theis services, I presume, touched them so neerely, as that since Shane M^c^Bryne, Neale M^c^Hugh, Neale M^c^Bryan Fartough, which are lordes of both the Clandeboyes, with their followers, are come in, and have repaired with me to Dublin, ther submittinge themselves to her Maty and the State, being contented to putt in as pledges, for their future loyaulties, the two sonnes of the said Shane M^c^Bryan, and one of every Sept of the contre besides, which I trust yor lp. shall find to be a perfect freeing of these partes."

The more important part of the letter is left to the last:—

"I must not forget to acquaint yor Lp: with the doubt that is held by us of James M^c^Donnel and Randoll his brother; who, albeit they have not yet absolutely declared themselves in disobedience, yet they have so behaved themselves of late, towards her matie's service, as it promiseth little better fruite at their hands: for firste they have obstinately refused to do anie service without maintenance from her maty: detaineinge her hs. rents, notwithstanding I have often demaunded the same of them. They have likewise broken downe two of their castells, the one called Glinarme, and the other Red-bawne,[f] fortefficng themselves only at Dunluse, wher they have planted 3 peeces of ordnaunce, canon, demi-canon, and culvering, which were had out of one of the Spa: ships comeing upon that cost after our fight with them at sea in 88.[g] I have demaunded the said peeces of them, to have placed them in Kerogfargus for the better strengthening of the towne, but they have utterly denied the delivery of them. Besides it is reported that one of them shall marry the Erle's daughter, which being aparant presumptions of their bad meaninges, I humbly crave to understande yor. Lp. pleasure what course is to be taken with them."

James and Randall MacDonnell were sons of Sorley Boy [Somhairle Buidhe] MacDonnell, who, after his elder brother James was killed by Shane O'Neill, in 1565, usurped the Irish lands of his nephew Angus[h]; and, in 1573, being of the "Scottish-Irish race," accepted letters patent of "denyzensye," "agreeing to pay the queen a yearly rent of twenty shillings Irish for each plough-land Irish." An ela-

[d] Lough Neagh.

[e] Sir Henry Wallop, writing to Cecil, July 1597, gives a slightly different account of this affair. He says:—"Sir J. Chichester, by the assistance of Neale M^c^Hugh, a competitor of the Claneboys, took the castle of Edendo-carrige." I need scarcely observe that Shane's castle was subsequently erected on the same site.

[f] Red bay.

[g] Ships of the Spanish Armada wrecked on the Irish coast.

[h] Considerable misconceptions having arisen through the various modes of spelling the surname of this clan, I should observe that the English always spelled the name of Angus and his branch as MacConnell; while in Scotland both the Highland and Irish branches of the family were spelled Macdonald. The prevalence amongst them of Ranall or Randall as a Christian name, evidently points to a Norse origin—Ragnvald. There can be little question that the MacDonnells were the descendants of Earl Somerled, who in the twelfth century, according to Worsaae, subjugated Cantire, and the islands from the Hebrides to Man; and though they assumed the religion, language and customs of their Celtic vassals, still retained the nautical instincts and indomitable persevering courage of the Northmen.

borate pedigree of the MacDonnells will be found in O'Donovan's valuable edition of the *Four Masters*. How they claimed their Irish lands, through an ancestor's marriage with one of the Bysset family, has already been noticed in this *Journal*. James and Randall were awkwardly situated, with Tyrone on the one side and the English on the other. Their policy appears to have been, as much as possible, of a temporising nature, by avoiding to commit themselves with either party. Yet there can be little doubt that, if proper means had been taken with them, they would have remained faithful subjects, particularly James, who, being possessed of a considerable store of Scottish sense and prudence, must have foreseen that eventually the English would acquire the mastery. The power and ability of James MacDonnell, and the important character of his position either as a friend or foe of the English, are strikingly evinced by the various rumours and speculations respecting his marriage to be found in the State documents of the period. Tyrone's daughter, to whom Sir J. Chichester in his letter alludes, was at that time just nine years of age. About the same time it was said that Sir James MacDonnell was about to marry a daughter of the Earl of "Gawrie," (Gowrie) a lady of the Queen of Scots' household. This must have been Beatrice Ruthven, daughter of Earl Gowrie of the *Raid*, and sister to Earl Gowrie of the *Conspiracy*.[1] She was cousin to King James, and stood in exactly the same degree of consanguinity to Queen Elizabeth as James himself did. From these reports, and other circumstances, it is probable that James MacDonnell was not legally married to his reputed wife Mary, daughter of Felim O'Neill, of Clandeboy, by whom he had several children. When or by whom he was knighted I have been unable to ascertain. Fenton, writing to Secretary Sir R. Cecil, in January, 1598, says, "King James hath made Sir James MacSorley a Knight;" but I find him designated as "Sir James" in documents of a much earlier date.

The letter from which I have taken the above extracts was written in Dublin. On Sir John's return to the North he learned that MacDonnell had been plundering in Islandmagee, while, on the other hand, the latter complained that his territories had been "preyed" by Captain Mansell during Sir John's absence. To arrange these matters, the 4th of November was appointed for an interview between the English Governor of Carrickfergus, and the Scoto-Irish Chieftain of the Route; and, on the morning of that day, MacDonnell appearing in force, within a short distance of the town, Chichester, with all his available troops, rode out to meet him. Equally prepared for

[1] James MacSorley frequently visited the Scottish court, both at Holyrood and Falkland, where he distinguished himself by his handsome figure and dignified manners; and became a great favourite with the Queen and ladies of her household, by the valuable presents he was accustomed to make them. His possession of the rich fisheries of the Bann, and consequent intercourse with foreign traders, readily account for his ability to make such presents. In the same year that he defeated Chichester, James laid a claim to the lands of Isla and Cantire, founded on the alleged illegitimacy of his cousin Angus of Dunyveg. The claim was considered by the Scottish Privy Council; but Angus defeated it, by clearly proving his legitimacy. On this occasion, the Earl of Argyle happening to enter the council chamber, was received by all present, save one, with the punctilious ceremony of the period. The exception was James MacDonnell, who, knowing that the great Argyle favoured Angus, gave him the cut direct. A few days afterwards, when James left Edinburgh, he was saluted by "ane volli of ordnaunce" from the castle. [*Ballcarras Papers.*] Tytler correctly speaks of the Dunluce MacDonnell's popularity at the Scottish court; but he immediately after confounds him with James Macdonald of Knockrinsay, the son of Angus. As the Macdonalds of Isla and Cantire were in almost open hostility to the Scotch king, he favoured the Irish MacDonnell, their kinsman but deadly enemy; just in the same manner as Elizabeth favoured Angus and the Scotch Macdonalds, the enemies of the MacSorleys.

fight or parley, it may be that each party had predetermined to seize any advantageous opportunity which might occur, to attack the other. That Chichester intended fighting rather than parleying, his conduct on the occasion leaves no reason to doubt; but that MacDonnell meant any more than to defend himself in case of attack, is not so evident. At first some attempts were made through messengers to commence the parley; but Chichester, incited by two of his officers, Hill and Merriman, and irritated by the martial array of the Scots whose powers in the field he under-rated, rashly—or, indeed, I may say, coolly—determined to "give them a charge," to the end, as one of his officers said, that "he might have a good killing upon them, or at least take a good run out of them." The killing, however, fell upon the English; the run was in a direction contrary to that anticipated. The wary MacDonnell, who was in advance with his horse, perceiving the hostile intention, fell back towards his foot; Chichester following up gave the charge, and thus provoked the conflict, in which he lost his life and nearly all his men.

The following account of the battle was drawn up by Lieutenant Harte, one of the few English survivors, and sent as an official document to Burghley. The approach of the Scots, the *alarum*, the tuck of drum and blast of trumpet, the issuing forth of Sir John, the hasty council of war, and conclusion not to fight, the change of resolve and the determination to give the "base beggars" a charge, the fight, defeat, and escape of the survivors, are, in my opinion, well and naturally told; and the whole is exceedingly characteristic of the men and of the time.

"Upon Frydaye, beinge the iiijth of November, 1597, the Schottes, having receaved a letter from the Governor whearin he willed them to come to parle about certeine stealthes and other outradges by them comitted upon the Ilande of McGee, they approtched neer the towne with all their forces, whearupon our scoutes took the allarum.

"Sir John caused the drum and trumpett to sownde, issuinge forthe with all his forces that wear able to travell after a weary jorney wch we had sustayned but two nyghtes before, whearin we had soe tyred our men, and wett our powder and munition that, when this occasion was offred, our shotte wear able to doe noe service.

"About iiij myles from the towne, one myle and a half distant from a hill, whearupon the enimye made their stande, the Governor caused our avaunt garde to make a stande untill the battel[j] came up; and, in the meane tyme, called the sergent maior, capten Edwarde Northe, and the rest of the officers thear assembled, and asked their opinions what they thought best to be done.

"Whearunto Cap. Rice Maunsell answeared, that he thought yt not convenient that we should at that tyme meddle with the enemye, yf by any meanes we might avoyde yt; alleadginge that our men wear not yett refreshed since their late wearye jorney, as allsoe the defects of munitione, wch allegacons was generally lyked and allowed by all the officers aforesayde.

"Whereupon Moyses Hyll,[k] lieftenant of the horse, undertooke that yf the Governor would that

[j] The main body of foot.

[k] The founder of the Downshire family, and either then or subsequently connected by marriage with the MacDonnells. But whether he married James MacDonnell's sister, or his aunt, or both those ladies, it would be difficult to say, as Lodge with his accustomed blundering gives all these different accounts.

night draw the forces upon them, he would undertake, upon his liefe, to bringe him whear they camped, wch poinct was fully resollved upon.

"At this instant the Governor sent a messinger unto the enimye, geaving them to understand that he took yt not well that they should in such hostill manner seem to brave her matie's forces in that sort, willinge James M^c^Sorlea that he would foorth-with come to speake with him; but before this messinger retorned, the former resolution agreed upon by the Governor and offiecrs was altred.

"By this tyme capten Miryman eam up with the battel, unto whom the Governor meryly sayde, 'now, capten, yonder be yor owld frendes,[1] what saye you, shall we chardge them?' Whearunto he answeared, 'yt was a shame we showld suffer a sort of beggers to brave us in that sort.' Whearunto the sergant maior answeared that he was an owld frend of theirs; all this notwithstandinge did not

1 Merriman was "a tall fellow of his hands," and a noted leader in these Irish wars. The MacDonnells and he were "meryly"—that is ironically—speaking "owld frendes," for he had often fought with and defeated them. Gregory, in his *History of the Western Highlands*, asserts, but without giving his authority, that Merriman had, from first to last, taken no less than fifty thousand cows from the MacDonnells. In 1586, Merriman, with little more than a hundred men, defeated, in a hand to hand fight, about five hundred Scots, under Alexander, brother to James MacDonnell, and MacDonnell Valay, his uncle. Alexander escaped wounded from the field, by swimming to a *crannog*, or fortified island; but the pursuit was so close that his friends, to conceal him from the English, buried him alive, filling the grave with rushes, and leaving twelve old women to cry over him as if he were dead. The ruse, however, did not succeed; on removing the rushes, Alexander was found to be still alive; so Merriman cut off his head, and sent it to Dublin. A note in O'Connellan's *Four Masters* gives an inaccurate version of this affair. It relates that—"Alexander MacDonnell, chief commander of the Scots in Ulster, having proceeded with his forces to attack Strabane, in Tyrone, the English, under the command of Captains Stafford and Merriman, marched thither to oppose them; and both parties having encountered, MacDonnell sent a challenge to Merriman, the English commander, to decide the battle by single combat. The English Captain pretended to accept the challenge, but, according to Cox and MacGeoghagan, in order to secure the victory, he employed a galloglass, who took the name of Merriman, and fought with Mac Donnell; after a fierce conflict, in which MacDonnell was wounded, Merriman's champion was at length slain, on which, Captain Merriman himself, perceiving MacDonnell to be exhausted from his encounter with the swordsman, entered the lists sword in hand. MacDonnell bravely fought for some time against his fresh antagonist, but being weakened by his former wound, he was at length slain, and his head being cut off, was sent to Dublin, placed on a pole, and exposed to public view."

Now Cox says;—"Alexander MacSorley, (who commanded the Scots) challenged Merriman to a combate, and a lusty galloglasse being by said he was the Captain:—and so to the duel they go, the galloglasse stund the Scot at the first blow, but he recovering himself killed the galloglasse; and thereupon Merriman stept out and fought Alexander a good while with sword and target, and so wounded him in the leg that he was forced to retreat; and thereupon his army, being discouraged, was totally routed; and Alexander (being hid under turf in a cabin) was discovered, and his head cut off, and set on a pole in Dublin."

A Sergeant Price, who was engaged in this affair, wrote the following account of it to Sir Francis Walsingham. "Having understandinge by ower espies that Alexsander MakeSorley and MakeDonell Valay was with the Scootes in O'Donells contrey: The present of March wee came up by breake of daie and set uppon them, and they havinge secret understandinge of ower coming wer redie to reseve us, and skirmished with us verie stoutlie, with handie strokes boldlie; for they had sworne, one of them to the other, to fight it out and put us all to the sworde, for they made but smal account of us beinge in number not above six skore men, and of them five hunderet men;—but God geveth the vietoryo and not the number of men. So wee killed of them about three skore Scottes, and hurte many of them; and after Alexander MakeSorley had many wondes, he swame over to a lough for refuge, and there we founde him by gret chance, beinge layed in a deepe grave in the gronde, as though it had byn some ded corse, strawed over with green rushes, and on evrie side of the grave six owld calliops (calliaughs) weepinge, but in searchinge the grave, wee fonde a quick corse therin, and in remembrance of Donelus we cryed quittance with him, and sent his head, and MakeDonell Valay's head, with many other, wee sent to be sett on Dublin Castle."

The "overthrowe" of Sir John Chichester was the last of Merriman's fields: he escaped the slaughter of the day to meet a less soldierly death, a few weeks afterwards. He was drowned in the Lough, within three miles of Carrickfergus, when embarking for Dublin. Button Cap, the ghostly warder of Carrickfergus Castle, is traditionally known as the shade of a drowned hero. Can this pugnacious spirit,—of which the martial instinets are so strong that it cannot rest, but ever, at the approach of war, must appear, boding, as Horatio says, "some strange eruption to the State,"—can it, I repeat, be any other than the ghost of the valiant Merriman!

allter the Governor his former resolucion, untill two of our horsmen eam up what used wordes to this effeet: 'Ys yt not a shame we showld stand heer to be braved by a company of base beggers?' which woordes Sir John hearinge, had soone urged his forwarde minde. Whearupon he presently comaunded we showld arrandge our men in battle, and vowed to geeve them a chardge, which was thus ordred:—

"Hymsealf and cap: Maunsell wer with the horsmen, whoe wear about fortye, and not above. The battel contaynde sixtye pikes or thearabouts, was ledd by capten Northe and cap: Miriman, the seriant maior's lieftenant, and cap: Charlles Maunsell's lieftenant. Cap: Myriman's lieftenant ledd the forelorne hope contayninge nyne pikes and twelve or fyfteen shott. My sealf was to seconde him, with a whinge of shott to the number of twentye. The Governor's seriant and the seriant maior's seriant had the leadinge of two loose winges of shott, which wear to seconde our horse.[m]

"Marteching in this order towards the enimye, they foorsooke the hill whearon they stoode, and in their retrayt the governor comaunded the lieftenant of horse to chardge, which he did, but not above six of his company followed him. In which chardge himsealf was very sore shotte in the showlder. The bad performanee of the rest of our horse in this chardge was a great incowradgement to the enimye, for they presently wheeled about and broke upon our loose winges of shotte, chardgeinge us with their shott togeather with their horse, that before our battel cowld come up, our loose whinges wear utterly defeated. The lieftenant that led the forlorne hope was at that chardge shott, whearof he dyed; and myscalf lickwies shott. The lieftenant of the horse being shott, the Governor sent him to the towne for powder and a fresh supplye of men, but it was too late; for before he cowld recover the towne, the enimye had well pereeaved our wants, and soe plyed us with freshe volleys of shott that our shott wear beaten into the battel, and cried out they had not powder, which they enimye heeringe, they pursued us soe closely with their horse that they killed our men within two pikes lengthes of our battle, and our horse wowld never geeve them any one chardge; nor all that our comaunders were able to doe, could neither make our horse take the rear,[n] nor our battle to stand, after one chardge at the side of a hill whear Cap: Maunsell was slaine; at which place, I saw the Governor strike a corporal and iij or iiij sowldiers of his owne, and hurt them sore with his swoorde because they would not stand, and thear he was shott in the legge, whearupon he tooke his horse, and about half a myle on this syde, eominge downe a hill, was shott in the hedd, which was his deathe's wownde.

"Then the sowldiers beinge utterly dismayed, (and all that we could do would not keep them together,) presently dissolved their battle. Cap: Meryman and lieftenant Barrye did with their horses take the river and swime over into the Ilande McGee, and myscalfe, beinge neer unto them, adventred to follow them, notwithstandinge the hurte I had receaved, and soe by swiminge over saved my lief. Capten Northe escaped very hardly, his horse was shott iij or iiij tymes under him.

[m] This would not give more than 180 men in all; yet Harte acknowledges there were as many of the English killed, besides many more wounded.

[n] Showing that the retreat had commenced.

Capten Cownstable was thear taken prisoner, and one Bankes, a younge gentleman that followed the Governor.

"Now was Moyses Hill come to the towne, with directions from the Governor to drawe all the ffoores out which wear leaft, with a freash supplye of munition, with whome Cap. Charles Maunsell, who was then very sicke, yssued forthe and came within hallf a mile of the place whear we wear overthrowen, insomuch that the enimye's horse had gotten between him and the towne, which had greatly endaungered him, had not the capten providentlye forseene that present daunger, and made a speedye and sowldierlye retrayte to the towne.

"The number of our men that wear lost, in my judgment, wear about eyght or nyne score, and thear wear hurte between thirtye and fortye, moste of which recovered.

Officers slayne.

"Sir John Chichester, his lieftenant, and bothe his seriants.
Cap. Rice Mansell, his lieftenant, and both his seriants.
Lieftenant Price, lief: to Cap: Charlles Mansell, both his seriants and his drume.
Lietenant Walshe, lief: to Captain Meriman, his Ensigne, seriants, and drum.

Officers Hurt.

Cap. Meriman.
Lieftenant Hill.
Lieftenant Harte.

I me° lieftenant Harte, being present at the overthrow."

We can easily imagine the gloom and consternation thrown over the remainder of the small garrison of Carrickfergus by this disastrous defeat. One by one, after midnight, the wearied and wounded officers, who had escaped into Islandmagee, reached the town, to relate the dispiriting story of the overthrow. Early the next morning, Eggerton, the Constable, upon whom the command of the garrison had now devolved, sent out a messenger with the following letter to Mac Donnell:—

"You have often bothe by yor lettres and great protestations of speeches semed to be a constant and faythfull subiect unto the queen's most exelant ma^ty. Yet this last day's axcions proveth the contrary, I am ignorant of the cause that moved you therunto: by reason whereof I thought good to addresse this berer unto you to knowe the same. As allso to understande your intended courses towardes her ma^ty.: whether peace or warr: yf warrs, yet sende me knyghtly warnynge and the same shall nothing preiudice yor reputation. If peace let me knowe upon what condithion; and with all what prisoners you have taken; prayinge you in the meanetyme to deale honourably with them. And thus I reste expectinge your answere. Carrigfergus the Vth of November 1597.

"Cha: Eggerton.

"To Sir James MacDonell, Knyght, Thes."

° A curious mode of expression that I do not recollect having met with before. In Dryden's *Conquest of Granada*, however, there is something like it, where Almanzor says to Boabdelin—

"Obey'd as sovereign by thy subjects be;
But know that I alone am lord of me."

Paper seems to have been scarce in MacDonnell's camp, for his reply is written on the back of Eggerton's letter. He writes :—

"Master Eggerton, you shall knowe that the cause of my commynge from hoame was to have parlyed with the governor concerning stealthes that was comitted by Captn. Maunsell's doers, in absence of Sir John Chichester; and thus to have gotten restitution for the same. And, as is well knowne, he used and followed Captn. Meriyman and Moyses Hill's councells and followed me, and did dryve me from hill to hill to have eshewit his bad intention; and, as the gentillemen,[p] that is heare in hand with us, knoweth, yt behoved the gentillmen that was with me to do for themselves or dye. "James MacDonell."

On the same piece of paper, there is also the following note from Captain Constable, wounded, and a captive in the hands of the enemy :—

"Master Eggerton. I praye you to cause the chirurgeon to send me some sole[q] for my heade, because I am sumwhat horte in the heade. Take ordre for my Lieutenande to come to speake withe me, and Sir James has given him his worde that he shall not receave anie troble unto his retorne to the towne againe. "Yor lovinge frende,

"Rob: Constable."

While these communications were passing between the garrison and the Scots, Eggerton obtained the bodies of Sir John Chichester and Captain Mansell, and had them brought in for burial—their heads had previously been cut off, and sent to Tyrone. On the same day, the fifth, Eggerton sent off despatches by sea to Lord Justice Norreys and the Council in Dublin. These despatches arrived on the 8th, and measures were immediately taken to reinforce Carrickfergus with three companies from Dundrum. On the 6th, one Birt, a commissary stationed at Carrickfergus, wrote the following account of the affair to Norreys :—

"What newes soever is mitted or reported of Sir John Chichester's death in Dublin, this is for certein the truth. Sir James M[c]Sorley, a knight of theis partes, sent to the governor on Thursday, being the third of this present, to parley with him on Fryday; which being aggreed upon, Sir James with some 600 Scotts came within vi myles of this towne, and, sending out his skowte of horsse to discouer, gave us alarum. Upon which the gov[nr] went forth in small order,[r] God knowes, after whome went out in partys Captn. Northe, Captn. Constable, Captn. Rice Maunsell and Captn. Merriyman; and coming wheare the Scotts weare, Sir James M[c]Soarley sent to the gove[nr], certefyieng that looke what promisses he made before the gov[nor] going to Dublin he wold stand by yt, and wold also restore some cows which weare taken from the Ilande M[c]Gee, some iii or iiii dayes before that. But the gov[nor], by the intisement of some there, refused his offer, and withall charged him, in which conflict lost himself and the Serjeant maior also, Cap. Rice Maunsell, and Capn. Constable taken prisoner, and many lieutenents and ensignes slayne; so that of half the forces of this garrisson

[p] The prisoners, Constable and Banks.
[q] Salve.
[r] Small number.

which went forth with him, there returned in pece meale some XII men; then did Sir James send letres to this towne to Mr. Eggerton, in which he tooke his excuse, layeing all the falt on the governor, alledging yt was his owne seeking. And this I assure yor wor. is the very truth of or. great overthrow. Now they have heare with consent made Charles Eggerton, esquire, chief comaunder, untill the Councill's pleasure bee knowen: so humbly craving pardn. for this my boldness, I rest any further to trouble you now. Carrigfergus VIth, November, 1597.—Yor. wor. till death,

"Ja: Birt."

There is still another account of the battle, written by Sir Ralph Lane, who, though he was not present at it, always appears to have had the best information as regards the current events of his day. Lane was one of the many able men of the Elizabethan era. It almost seems as if he incessantly employed himself in writing letters to the Queen and Burghley, proposing projects for forming plantations, and constructing towns and roads; for erecting fortifications and conducting the evolutions of armies on mathematical principles. The various public collections contain numbers of those letters, proving that, in many respects, Lane was considerably in advance of his age. While serving in Ireland, in 1585, he was recalled to take command of one of Sir Walter Raleigh's colonising expeditions to Virginia, as it was then termed, but in our days known as South Carolina. On his return, he brought back two plants, the tobacco and potato, which have since exercised no inconsiderable influence over the human race. Hariot, the mathematician, to whom we are indebted for the modern system of Algebraical notation, sailed in the same expedition; and no doubt the companionship of such a man was a great advantage to the active, inquiring, projecting mind of Lane. In 1592, he received the appointment of Muster-Master General of Ireland, and in the following year was knighted by Lord Deputy Sir William Fytzwilliam. Lane, as I have said, was a great projector and letter writer; but mostly all his letters contain a postscript, in which he asks something for himself. Nor is he particular; nothing seems too high or too low for his purpose. Thus, at one time, he asks for a seat at the Council board, the presidency of a province, and a grant of lands exceeding in extent the modern county of Sligo. At another, he will be content with the office of chief bell-ringer, and surveyor of the parish clerks of Ireland. Again he asks for a commission "to take to the seas"—in modern parlance, go on a piratical expedition—with seven ships, and the title of "General of the Adventurers;" while, soon after, he modestly prepares a suit to her Majesty, "viz. leave to cess himself on his parish clerks, for chickens and bacon, while travelling about the musters." The defeat of Chichester, then, gave Lane a famous opportunity to gratify his scribbling propensities by writing a long gossipping account of the affair to Burghley, and, at the same time, to ask for the vacant Governorship of Carrickfergus; which he did not obtain. I regret to say, that the following is the poorest specimen of Lane's epistolary style, that I have ever met with.[s]—

[s] It is said that Lane received from Queen Elizabeth a grant *in custodiam* of the Castle and lands of Belfast. If

"The circumstances of the Scottes entrei into parley with Sir John Chichester, late governor of Carrickefergus, and the cause of the breake thereof uppon the sudden, with the manner of the fyghte, and of the defeytt of her ma^tys^. 5 companies of foote, and one of horse, the 4th of November, 1597.

"James M^c^Sorlye, and his ij brethcren Randall M^c^Sorlye, and Neece Ultohe M^c^Sorlie (havinge been three daies before returned from the Earl of Tyrone, to whom they hadd putt in newe pledge, who had promised his doughter in marriadge to James M^c^Sorlie, and to Randell M^c^Sorlye the doughter of Sir John O'Dohertie,) came with 1300 Scots and Irish, whereof weare 500 very good shotte of his owne and suche as hee hadd borrowed. Which theye havinge instantly[t] doone, and the same in dryvinge with certaine of theire horsemen, the younger[u] Sir John Chichester, for the rescue of the praye, sent for the 5 companies of foote and one of horse; that is to say, his owne companie, Capt. Rice Maunsell beinge sariante maior of the time, Capt. Constable's foote companie, Capt. Nicholas Merryman's foote companie, and Capt. Northe's, together with Capt. Constable's horse bande,[v] but that daie under the leadinge of Moyses Hill, prevoste marshall of Carickefargus; the said governor, and all the Capt^ns^. before named, beinge theire in their persons, and Capt. Constable, some tyme yor ho^rs^. padge, himselfe leadinge his owne foot companie.

"When the governor hadd drawne his said troupe about a myle and a halfe from the towne, James M^c^Sorly sente unto him and desired a parlie with him, which the governor was contented at the firste to harken unto, and havinge made a stande, with all his troupes, James M^c^Sorlie did likewise make a stande with his, which he showede of horsse and foote aboute 700 fightinge men; yet havinge lefte about two myle beehinde him in certaine shrubbs an ambushemente of Irish shotte and Scotche bowemen, with sloughes,[w] swordes, and pikes, in all 800.

"When they were entred into parlie, and the Scottes standinge uppon some haultier tearmes than the governor in the heat of his natural disposition coulde well brooke to heere, Moyses Hill

---

so, the grant would be found in the Irish Patent Rolls; but from collateral circumstances, I doubt if it ever existed. Lane, however,—when Brian M^c^Art fled across the Bann,on Mountjoy's approach to Lecale,—took possession of the deserted lands of the Dufferin, and the Castle of Ringhaddy. He fortified and manned Ringhaddy at his own expense; and this developed his last project of building a great mercantile town at Ringhaddy, and forming a "perpetual standing arsenal, and mother garrison for ships" in Strangford Lough. The details of this project, with the accompanying maps and plans, would be exceedingly interesting; but all that I have been able to discover in the S. P. O. is the meagre outline, in a letter to Cecil. This last, even, is not without considerable interest, from its description of the state of the country at the period. The Dufferin, Lane extols as the finest corn-land in Europe; while on the opposite shore of the Lough grew timber sufficient to build navies. Lane died shortly after Queen Elizabeth, while pushing his project of seeking compensation for his outlay at Ringhaddy; and was succeeded in the Muster-Master Generalship by Sir James Fullerton, the friend and coadjutor of Sir J. Hamilton.

[t] Suddenly.

[u] So termed because his eldest brother, having the same name and title, was also Sir John Chichester. It was by no means unusual at the time, for two brothers to possess the same Christian name.

[v] Thus Constable, it will be seen, commanded two companies, one of horse, the other of foot. But a few months previously these companies belonged to Sir Edward Yorke, who "made them over" to Constable for a consideration.

[w] What those *sloughes* were I have been unable to discover. As the MacDonnells were principally gallowglasses, the sloughes may have been the battle-axes used by those redoubted warriors; or perhaps the long horn-hafted swords, used with both hands, carried by the followers of Donald Gorme, as described in O'Clery's life of O'Donnell. When the Scots were defeated, and 1400 of them killed and drowned in Connaught, Sir R. Bingham, writing from Ardenery, says:—"400 of their long swords, bows, and skuls" (iron caps) "were taken out of the water."

cometh to the governor and advertize him to break off parlie with them; for that hee, havinge discovered the whole bulke of their force, did perceave that theye woulde not stande to any sound fyghte; and if theye weare roundly charged that theye myghte have a good killinge uppon them, or at least take a good runne out of them, and recover their praye.

"Uppon which course the governor resolved, and James, accordinge to Moyses Hill's supposall,[x] instantly both horse and foote made a retyringe fighte unto the nexte hill, from the which he was also dreeven by the gov^nor, and so from hill to hill, untill they weare drawne to the shrubbie grounde, where the ambushements laid. And in the scarmashe the garrisone bands havinge spente all their powther, and a troupe of the Skott's horse havinge falne behinde the governor, betweene the towne and the Inglishe, offerred to chardge them uppon the reare, when suddenly out of the shrubbes was discharged uppon the reste a whole volie of shotte 500, which beesids the slaughter that instantly it made, in the which the governor him selfe haveinge receaved two shottes beefore, the one in the thighe, the other through his arme, with a Scotche arrowe, hee receaved a thirde in his heade, with the which hee fell, and was drawne with his horse; at that instant also fell the sariante maior, with divers others, which soe dismaide the whole troupe of the Inglishe, uppon whom the ambushe of 800 brake out beefore, and the Skotts in the reare charged them, bothe with theire horse, sloughe, swords, that finelly they all brake and wear killed, some fighting, some running away. Captn. Nicholas Meryman, havinge tarried the killinge of all his men, saved him selfe by swimminge; beinge shotte in two parts of his bodie. Captn. Constable, on his foote companie beinge utterly broken, him selfe also hurte, remained taken of the Skotts. The leader of the horse companie, which was Moyses Hill, was hurte with a shotte, but hee saved him selfe by the meanes of a good horse; and, as they saie, when he perceaved hee hadd mistaken the matter, lefte the place in tyme.[y] Captn. Northe in like sorte, his companie beinge all cutte to peces, him selfe also havinge a hurt uppon him, escaped. Fynallye, of the horsemen there were not slaine about 8 or X, but of the V companies of foote (whereof besides some of evrie bande lefte by the governor in the towne, under Captn. Charles Mansell, to strengthen his bande, beinge one of the companies), there were slaine in the feelde 220 footmen or thereabouts, together with 60 Kearne of the contrye, and, within three daies after, and the daie of the fyghte, there weare saved betweene L^ty. and LX^ty., whole and hurte,[z] which hadd covered them selves dureinge the slaughter, some in the highe grasse, and some in the ouze[a] up to the shoulders, and some by one meanes and some by another. James McSorlie, the next daie, sent the governor's heade, and Capt. Rice Mansell's, to the Earle of Tyrone; who is reported to have said that he coulde have founde in his harte to have spared plenty of the beste of the Inglishe

[x] Hill's previous supposition.

[y] This is certainly an unmerited sneer at the conduct of the gallant Moyses, who, when wounded in the first charge, was sent back by Chichester for more men and ammunition. Lodge, with his usual inaccuracy, states that Hill made his escape into Islandmagee with the other officers, and there hid in a cave, still called Moyses Hill's cave.

[z] A very different estimate of the killed and wounded from that of Lieutenant Harte, and probably much nearer the truth.

[a] Ooze? perhaps bog-holes.

that weare slaine in the fyghte, besids the governor, for Capt. Meryman's heade;[b] but was for the present very well contented with the good service that hee and his shotte hadd done.

"Yet it is crediblie reported that James McSorlie doothe proteste that he was forced to bynde him selfe to the Earle, contrarie to his own desire, beceause hee hadd understandinge that the governor, Sir John Chichester, by the advise of some that weare about him, was perswaded to have draughts uppon him, thoughe hee hadd alwaies paide his rents dulie to the queen for him selfe and his brectheren, and hadd manie tymes with his own creats releeved the towne when theye weare distressed for lacke of victual. The Earle gave to James McSorlye, uppon his last combynation, bonoughe for 200 men upon the two Clandeboys, and for 800 men uppon Kilulto, Cilwarline, and McCartin's contrie."—

The battle over, the dead buried, and the wounded cared for, our sympathies revert to the prisoners. MacDonnell was determined not to give them up for a light ransom. Writing from Dunluce castle, on the 9th of December, little more than a month after the fight, Constable thus addresses the Earl of Ormond, recently appointed Lord General of Ireland:—

"Right honorable,

"Soe sone as I did crediblie understande that yor. good L^p. was mad Leftenit Generall of all her ma^tys^. forces in thys realme of Ireland, my duetiful obedience as also my best behaufe and meanes forces me to certifie unto y^r. h^r. my distressed and miserable estate, being a prison^e myselfe and one Mr. Henry Bankes, gent. of Sr. John his company, taken and kepte by Sr. James McDonell, at that late overthrowe of Sr. John Chichester, since wch. tyme, I have used all the meanes I could to have some ransome sett downe, that any way I myght of my own abileties performe; but he will noe waie yeald thereuntoe; wherefore of necessitie I am constrayned to sygnifie unto y^r. ho^r. his demaundes (which be this). First to have delyvered unto his handes a base brother of his wch. is in the Castle of Dublin, for his brother Randall McDonell,[d] and also the Castle of Olderfleet to be delivered or else rased and overthrowne downe, the wch. he doth aleadge to be his inheritance:[e] this is the effect of his demaundes, otherwise we are both like to remayne captives. But nowe my assured hope resting in yor. ho^r's. care and good consideration towardes such gents and soylders as doth hazard there lives and spend their goodes in the better furtherance of her ma^ty's. service. And althoughe I am but a straunger unto yor. ho^r's. knowledge, yet yf my life were dearer to me than yt is, I would desire noe better hope, first in God and next in yor. ho^r. and good consideracion. May it please yor Lo^p. to understande this castle of Olderfleete is of small importance, and rather a needlesse chardge to her Ma^ty. than otherwayes, the wch I can by good reasons prove when tyme shall serve; and as for hys pledge, he is but a boye and base borne, wherefor yf they doe any waie dispose themselves against her ma^ty. the boy will be but small respected by them. Thus farre I have presumed to

[b] A compliment which Merriman would duly appreciate.

[c] In the same sense as we still say, *abed, asleep*.

[d] A pledge, or hostage, for the good behaviour of Randall.

[e] Olderfleet castle was built by the Myssets or Byssets, from whom the MacDonnells had a shadow of hereditary claim to their lands, though in fact they won and held them by the sword.

make their demaundes and our present distressed estate known to yor. ho^r., humblie cravinge that the same may suffice to hould us within yor. honorable remembrance, as tyme and leysure may best serve, for our speedie helpes, without any hindrance unto yor. more serious and wayghtie afaires, as wee most earnestlie praie and desire, for that the place of our bondage and miserable being is far off, and wee noe meanes either by letres or otherwaies to solocite or importune yor ho^r's L^p."

This letter would undoubtedly be seen by MacDonnell before he permitted it to leave his stronghold of Dunluce, and it proves the subtlety of his character. For, while he was openly treating for the surrender of Olderfleet, as part of his prisoner's ransom, he was secretly negotiating with a treacherous warder, for the betrayal of that castle. And, in fact, only two days after the date of Constable's letter, the warder "sold[f]" Olderfleet to MacDonnell. Ormond, writing early in the following year to the Privy Council, on the dangerous state of Ireland, says:—

"The castle of Alderfleet, standinge upon the north seas towardes Scottlande, beinge kepte by a constable and warder for her maty., which wee dowted not but they will defend out of hand, soe that yt serve for a place of strengthe for her maty. to lay a garrison upon any occasion. Wee are informed that this castle of Alderfleete was betrayed by one of the warders, who now remayneth with the Skottes that tooke yt, the place wantynge nothynge, but beeinge furnished plentifuly with vittles and all other thinges for the sustenaunce and safety of the souldiers. And the constable himself, named Moyses Hill, beinge thys nyghte come hether, wee meane to take an exact examination bothe of him and others, touchinge the losing of the place, and, as we shall finde any culpable therein, so to do justice accordinge."

Constable having been Burghley's page, as we learn from Lane, and having commanded two companies, must have been a man of good family and fortune. Cecil interested himself in his favour, but with little success. Ormond, writing to Cecil, in August, 1598, says:—

"Your letre of the 13th Julie on the behalfe of Captn. Constable, I receaved yesterdaie, and will doe my uttermost indeavour to procure his libertie, as formerlie I have done, thoughe hit tooke not the effecte I desired. His man knoweth, that promise beinge made by James McSorley the Scott to deliver him upon the enlargment of James his brother, now prisoner in the Castle of Dublin, I caused the prisoner to be sente to Carrickfergus for that purpose; but the other did not keep touch,[g] as he promised."

In fact MacDonnell had altered his terms; probably discovering that Constable or his family was wealthy, he demanded the very large ransom, at that time, of one thousand pounds, as well as the surrender of his base brother, and Constable still remained a captive; for, in a list of captains serving in Ireland in December, 1598, he is returned as a prisoner. It is probable, however, that he obtained his release early in the following year, for, about that time, a person, who had been prisoner in the north of Ireland, gave some important information to Cecil; and a Captain Con-

[f] There is a note by Birt, the commissary, of the "sale" of Olderfleet to the Scots, December 9th, 1597.

[g] To agreement.

stable appears as chief actor in a curious affair that took place at Carrickfergus in February, 1599, of which, as a sample of the period, I am induced to give a brief sketch. A French ship, bound to Drogheda, was driven by stress of weather into Carrickfergus. The skipper having landed two passengers, the Mayor, one William Dobine, suspecting they were emissaries to Tyrone, detained the vessel until he communicated with, and learned the pleasure of, the Council. While thus detained, two officers of the garrison, a Captain Constable and a Lieutenant Fisher, with some of their soldiers, forcibly broke into the ship, and taking out of her twenty tuns of wine and some other goods, transhipped them on board a smaller craft, with which they set off to the Isle of Man. In a few days, Fisher returned and said that Constable had cheated him out of his share of the plunder, by landing him on the Isle of Man and sailing away without him. By the time that Dobine had informed the Council of this outrage, he received an order to release the ship. The French captain and owner demanded restitution, and laid the case before the English Council, but there appears to have been nothing done in the matter. All the blame seems to have been thrown on the unlucky Mayor; and Fisher was promoted immediately afterwards. Whether it was *our* Constable, or not, who figured in this affair, it is satisfactory to know that he regained his liberty sometime in 1599. When Essex fell into disgrace, one of the charges against him was founded on the indiscriminate number of persons he had advanced to the honour of knighthood, when in Ireland; and he was ordered to make out a return of all the persons he had knighted. This list, which is headed—"The names of the meanest Knights made in Ireland so far as I[h] can remember"—contains the name of Sir Robert Constable; but, in another list accompanying the proclamation issued by the Queen immediately after, prohibiting "the title or dignity of Knighthood to be attributed or ascribed to such as the Earl of Essex has confessed to have made knights," Constable's name is omitted. Consequently either through having a friend at court, or on account of his imprisonment and services, he was permitted to retain the honour conferred upon him by the unfortunate Essex. Respecting the fate of the other prisoner, the gallant young squire Bankes, who, scorning to fly, remained by his leader to the last, I regret to say that I have not found the slightest notice.

In April, 1599, Essex appointed Sir Arthur Chichester to be Governor of Carrickfergus and the two Clandeboyes; an appointment, as we shall see, most distasteful to MacDonnell. But in a few months Essex, removing Sir Arthur from Carrickfergus, made him Sergeant-Major of the army. In January, 1600, Lord Justice Carey, writing to Cecil, says:—"Things have not gone well at Carrickfergus, since the departure of Sir A. Chichester." And in the same month he was re-appointed to the Governorship. Writing to Cecil in the following May, Sir Arthur says:—"James M'Sorley keeps himself far off, doubting that I will seek a revenge for the death of my brother." MacDonnell, however, appears all along anxious to make his peace with the Government, not, indeed, as a suppliant, but as an injured and independent party. Writing to Sir Francis Stafford, an old friend

[h] Essex.

and previous Governor of Carrickfergus, he disclaims any intention of hostility, asserting it was much against his will that he fought against the Queen's forces, but that he was compelled to do so by the conduct of Sir John Chichester. He says :—

"I went to her ma^ties^. Governor of Knockfergus to be ryghted by him of the the wronge that was done to me by the garrison of Knockfargus, as any subiecte ought to crave of a governor that had the comand of them that did me wronge. What did he, whome I thought to be my friend and ought to doe me right in her ma^tys^. name, whome I thought to have right of him? What did he then, but come forthe with all his foote and horse armed, and sent to me by a message that I should have noe right that daye, but he that should be strongest of us should have the feeld; and in truth, Sir, I thought that he was of as good a mynde to me as I was to him, for I was provided for no evil intent to him, and I seeinge hym cominge so fiercelie upon me, I gave hym the place where I was, and fleed away from one place to another, for feare that I should doe any hurte to her ma^ties^. forces; and I knowinge well that it was more lawfull for me to geve him the place than to fight against her ma^tys^ forces, and I then beinge a subiect to her ma^tie^: But for all I did I could not escape, but at last I was forced either to fight or els to die; and then I retired and skermysht with him, and, as God sawe him in the wronge, soe gave him the overthrow: and for feare, Sir, that you should think that I did breake the promise I made to yourself, aloan to serve her Matie: I protest unto God that this is the truth that I have toulde you, and I protest alsoe unto God that it was soe against my will that I entred first into action with her Matie."

He further censures the policy of the Government, in appointing Sir Arthur to the charge of Carrickfergus :—

"I doe thinke that my Lord Deputie and Counceil dothe thinke that I could not become a subiect againe, when they placed Sir Arthur Chichester governor of Knockfergus, with rather to be revenged upon me than to drawe me to her ma^ties^. service."

And he thus concludes with his ultimatum :—"If her ma^tie^. desire me to be her subiect, I will not have Sir Arthur Chichester to be the Governor of Carrickfergus."

The postscript is characteristic :—"Sir, yf it weare lawfull, I would that you had sent me a rapier and a poynarde with hangers."

The letter from which I have taken the above extracts formed the basis of a negociation for peace. Lord Deputy Mountjoy wrote to MacDonnell, assuring him that he might put all confidence in Chichester's honour; and, Sir Arthur himself, on the fifth of April, 1601, also wrote to MacDonnell, stating that he had seen his letter to Sir F. Stafford, and that he was willing to meet and treat with him on friendly terms for the good of the State. He says :—

"You neede not doute me unlesse your conscience doe accuse you of guyltines, in which I never suspected you, for I ever thought my brother was slaine by the accidente of warre, and not by your treason; and so beleeve I beare you no private malice: yf I did, I must lay it aside for the publicke good.—But I must let you know, hade he (Sir F. Stafford) power, as you seeme to imagine, to remove

me from my place, I would soner be a horsekeeper to an honest subiect than governor for the Queene in this place."

MacDonnel replied from Dunluce on the eighth of the same month, professing his loyalty to the Queen and his anxiety to serve her; but the negociations went no farther, for he died a very few days afterwards. In the *Annals of the Four Masters*, for that year, we read—"James the son of Sorley Boy, son of Alexander, son of John Cahanagh, the most distinguished of the Clann-Donnell, either in peace or war, died on Easter Monday."

Though any means of getting rid of a person, dangerous or even troublesome to the State, was in those days considered justifiable,[i] still I do not wish to impute what Hamlet terms "miching mallecho" to the English government, in respect of MacDonnell's death; but there are, nevertheless, curious, if not suspicious, circumstances connected with it, which I do not feel justified in omitting. Not two months before he died, the following letter of recommendation, in favour of one Douglas, the bearer, was sent to MacDonnell, by the Duke of Lennox[j]:—

"Ryte assured frend,—this gentilman called Thomas Douglas, brother to my Lord of Whittingham, one of his Ma: counsell here, having travelled the six or seven yeiers bypast in France, Italie, Spaine, and Germanie, is now desyrous to see Ireland also. In consideration qhuairof, and that his brother is our frende, our duetie moves us to recomend him in sic sorte to you as he may desyre your favors, soe lang as he remaines with you. And that therefurther it may please you to cause convaye him sieurly to the Erle of Tyrone, wythe yor owene l^tre^ of recomendation, baringe that he may have the lyke favors of his Lo: so lang as he remains in his cumpanie, and in the end have his Lo's: pasporte and letres of recomdation to some other nobil men in that contree. And in thus doing ye sall have us ay the mair reddie to please you occasion serving. So we end for the p^sent^ with verie hartie salutations. From Hollyrud-house the XVIII. day of Februar., 1601.

Yo^r^ Lovinge and assured frende

LENOX."

To our verye ryte assured frend Sr. James McSorle of the Rowte, Knyghte.

Now this Douglas was a paid spy, and—if his own words can be trusted—a vile assassin, in the service of the English Government. How he happened to procure credentials from the Scottish court—credentials which, though signed by Lennox, purport by the use of the plural pronoun to be from the King himself—can easily be explained. James, with the low cunning which ever predominated in his

[i] Cecil about the same period, writing in reply to one Combus, who doubted whether the Government would give 5000 English angels for the assassination of Tyrone, emphatically states that "he would sell the shirt off his back," if need were, to raise the money.

[j] The son of Esmee, Lord D'Aubigney, cousin to Lord Darnley, who married Mary Queen of Scots. Esmee was a native of France; but, coming to Scotland to claim his hereditary title and estates of Lennox, became a favourite of King James, who made him Duke of Lennox and Lord Chamberlain: being subsequently banished from Scotland he returned to France, and died there in 1583. His son, the Duke of Lennox of the text, then a child of thirteen, came to Scotland, and immediately took his father's place in the favour of James. Lennox, at the time he wrote to MacDonnell, was Lieutenant of the Isles, an office created for the express purpose of reconciling the rebellious Islesmen with the king. In this his official position, he would have frequent occasion to correspond with MacDonnell, the friend of James and enemy of the Islanders.

character, feigned to keep on good terms with the insurgent Irish chiefs, though he was secretly receiving a pension from Queen Elizabeth. Indeed, at the very time the above letter was written, the Scottish King was memorialising Cecil, through Mr. James Hamilton, for an increase of pension; and in the following month it was raised £2,000.[k] I need scarcely observe that Mr. Hamilton was the Scotch schoolmaster of Dublin, who subsequently became first Viscount Clandeboy; the latter part of whose career has been so well made known to the readers of this *Journal* by the able editor of the *Hamilton Manuscripts*.

MacDonnell, it will be recollected, wrote from Dunluce to Chichester on the eighth of April. Chichester, in a postscript of a letter to Cecil, dated the sixth, but which had been "stayinge for a wynde," says:—"Even now a messenger is come unto me with assured reporte of Sir James McSorlye his death and burial. This is the 10th of April." The *Annals of the Four Masters*, than which there could be no better authority on a question of this kind, state that MacDonnell died on Easter Monday, which in that year fell on the thirteenth of April; so his death and burial on the tenth was a "foregone conclusion." On the next day, however, the eleventh,—as we learn from the following letter to Cecil,—Douglas, the spy, came into Carrickfergus and told Sir Arthur that "*his business was at an end in this country.*"

"This bearer Mr. Thomas Douglase, who brought me your pleasure concerninge him, came unto me the 11th of this Instante; I have performed what you have commanded, and sent him on this passage to Chester, for that he tolde me his business was att an ende in this countrie. He complaynes of some wante of monie, he shal be furnished with as much as wyll defraye his charge to London, which I thinke is your pleasure. I have kepte the letter with me, and rest,

"Your honor's in all faythfulness to doe you service.

"Arthur Chichester.

"Knockfergus, this 12th of April, 1601."

The preceding is the public official letter given to Douglas, as bearer; but, on the very same day, Chichester wrote the following private letter to Cecil, from which we can glean a little more about Mr. Douglas and his "business."

"This last occasion was offred me by the coming of one Mr. Thomas Douglas with your honor's letters touchinge his saftie and speedie sendinge unto you, the contents of which I have performed, sendinge hym by this passadge. He hath lefte a discourse of some of his observations with me, desiringe to have them sent to my Lord Deputie and State, wch shall be performed, albe;t I thinke moste of them matters of small moment, and some of them wylle hardlie be creadited. The materiall pointes have byne longe knowen to this State; but, havinge manie businesses in hande neare home, can not as yet secure all plaices. He will bring yor honor the draught of that he lefte with

[k] Taking into consideration the tortuous policy of the period—a period of which the real history has yet to be written—it may be that this increase of pension was granted by Cecil without the knowledge of the Queen. By a paper preserved at Hatfield, it appears that Cecil's first loan—bribe rather, for it was never repaid by the Scottish king—was £10,000, a very large sum indeed in those days.

me, of which I knowe yor ho^r can give a just censure ;[l] but I thinke Tyrone will never see the half of those forces togeather, which he reportes of. He hath declarde some thynges unto me (wch I thinke he wyll delyver and more to your honor). I shall know the certayntie before the next passage, whereof I wyll advertise you, and with the speeches he delyvered me, yf yt please you to understande them, parte of which weare that he caused a lough[m] to be sett on fire, and Tyrone's horse to be slaine under him, and other thynges wch I wylled him to keep secret, leste he were an hinderance to others endevors."[n]

Chichester was as able a diplomatist as a soldier; as efficient in the closet as in the field. The "yf yt please you to understande them," in allusion to Douglas's villanies, when addressing Douglas's employer, is a nice stroke of art. Moreover, there is not one word of MacDonnell's death, a subject which must certainly have at that time occupied the mind of the writer. Fortunately, the "draught" of Douglas's observations and actions is in existence; and though it is imperfect, having neither address nor signature, it was undoubtedly written by him and addressed to Cecil. It is a lengthy document, and the hand-writing is as villanously bad as the heart of the writer: I shall merely extract the commencement, and the part relating to the death of MacDonnell.

"The progres of my services sense my arrival yn Irland, which was upon Thorsday[o] the xvij of Martsch an. 1601.

"I wrot yor honor from Glasgow, wch veric nyght I tuk bot, and within foure and twentie houres landit at Boneorgi; whair in the landing being taken for some of James Og[p] his servantis, sum that did garde that place let flie ane volli of x or xii shot amongis hus, wher with won of the bot men was dedlie hurt and won of my men killit; but efter I had halluit to theim, showing that we war freiendis and sent from Scotland to Sir James Mak Sorl, thay cam nei hus and semit to sore for that was done. I seing no mein to mend my self, efter sum hard speichis, willit thaym to cari me saif without ani furder harme to thair maister, which willinglie thay did. I fund him sumquhat siklie of ane byl, and ane Scottish surgin of my ould aquentance with him. I delyverit him such letters as I had for him from Scotland, as also ane rapier and dager with girdil and hangers, as sent from the Duk,[q] which he most gladlie receevit, offering me all kyndness."—

The spy then relates a long conversation he had with MacDonnell, representing the latter as hostile to the English, and then proceeds as follows:—

"I thot how to serve yor honor, then I callit the surgin with him, who is callit William Lin, in-

[l] Not "censure" in our present sense of the word, but merely meaning "consideration."

[m] So the English termed the *crannogs* or fortified islands in loughs, built and held by the Irish.

[n] The endeavours of other worthies of the same stamp.

[o] A mistake; the seventeenth of March in that year occurred on a Tuesday.

[p] Sir James MacDonald of Knoekrinsay, son of Angus of Dunyveg; near relatives, but bitter private and politieal enemies of James of Dunluce.

[q] However disgusted we may feel, there is still something amusing in being behind the scenes, while this drama of rascality is in action. Cecil knew from the postscript of MacDonnell's letter to Stafford, that the most aeeeptable present to the Dunluce chieftain would be a rapier and poignard, with, as Osric says, "their assigns, as girdle, hangers, and so." Accordingly, in the very refinement of treachery, he sends them, as if from the Duke of Lennox, naturally eoncluding that the bearer of so welcome a present would be admitted into the full confidenee of the receiver.

dweller of Irvine; then, after manie recalling of ould friendship, I tould him—'Thair is non heir saif hus tou, and, if ye wil swer to kep counsal, I wil revel ane secret to you, which may benefit you mor than you ar awar of.' He answerit, using sum speichis of assente, that I had knoine him lang, and that he wold forsak nathink for my sak, if it wer death. Then said I—'If ever this be revellit, non knois saif hus tou, and if it be knoin it is both our deathis, and if you revel it, howbeit I dy, yit think never to lief long in Scotland.' 'Alake,' said he, 'what meinis al theis, ye kno I am yours,' with an oth. Then said I—'You, halving this man in your handis, may bothe inrich your self and doe me credit. If you will find some meins to dispatch him, I will geyf you my bond with seissing for fyve pound sterling mony, efter his death to be payit, and sunquhat in your hand.'

"He being silent for a quhyl—'But how,' said he, 'shal I aschap?' Said I—'If ye ondertake it, I wil geyf you fyf pound in hand, sense I haif bot smal stor of mony heir, and ane letter to the Governour of Knockfargus (sense nothing can be prolvin against you) to see you saif sent hom.' 'No,' said he, 'I wil haif eyght pound, and your bil, and if he dy not be fore Eyster, I shal crave no more, and you shal half your money bak again at meeting.' So then I tuk his oth upon a buk, no ownlie for secresie, as alsoe to dou that he had taken in hand. Al this in won day and ane half I did.[r] Then Sir James gaif me ane convey to Ocean,[s] willinge me to cum his way bak again, and he wold haif ane cupil of hak magis[t] readi for me my self, and sum for my maister."

The spy then as circumstantially details his visits to O'Kane and Tyrone; and tells how he burned a house, built of wood and thatched with rushes, belonging to the latter at Dungannon: this last feat completely identifies him as Mr. Thomas Douglas.[u] The interview between him and the surgeon, in some dark corner of the gloomy old Castle of Dunluce, where their half-whispered words would be scarcely audible amid the howl of the March winds, and fretful dashing of the wild sea waves, would make no bad subject for a picture. But it is just as probable that it never took place. MacDonnell may have died a natural death; Tyrone's house may have been burned by accident; yet an accomplished scoundrel like Douglas would naturally take "credit" for those fortuitous events, to enhance his services in hopes of a more liberal reward. The bare fact, however, of his taking credit for them, plainly discloses the nature of his instructions, and the objects he was employed to effect. Probably, too, Douglas got his reward in a manner he deserved—more than he expected. The Irish spies, of those and much later days, on their passage to England, were, somehow or other, generally found missing before the vessel arrived at Chester. Like the prisoners of Chaucer's shipman, I suppose, they were mostly *sent home by water!*

If Sir Arthur nourished a vindictive feeling towards the Clann-Donnell, more than to any other of the Queen's enemies, he had an opportunity in the same year of giving it full scope. When Randall marched with Tyrone, to relieve the Spaniards in Kinsale, Chichester took a "jorney" into the Route, which he thus describes in a letter to Cecil, dated 22nd November, 1601:—

---

[r] Quite an expeditious man of business.
[s] O'Kane.
[t] Hack horses—hackneys.
[u] See Chichester's letter of 12th April.

"On the seventeenth in remimbrance of the daye,[v] I undertooke my jorneye into the Roote, marchinge by neight untyll I came thither, to avoyde discoverie; I founde Randall gone with Tyrone towardes Munster with 120 foote and 24 horse, leavinge his nephewe with the rest of his force for the garde of that countrie. But I, cominge unlooked for among them, made my entrance, almost as far as Dunluce, where I sparde nether house, corne, nor creature;[w] and I brought from thence as much pree, of all sortes, as wee could well drive, beinge greatly hindered by the extreme snowe fallen in time of my beinge abroade. Upon my returne they keept passages and straytes, upon which they fought two dayes with us; wee lost some few men horse and foote, but they a farr greater number, for I brake them severall tymes, and made them often rune, in which consyste all their saftie. I have often sayde and writen yt is famine that must consume them; our swordes and other indevours worke not that speedie effect which is expected, for theire overthrowes are safties to the speedie runners, upon which wee kyll no multetudes."

Randall MacDonnell soon after submitted to the Government; and, though he did not possess the abilities of his elder and less fortunate brother James, he nevertheless succeeded in safely steering his much-coveted family estates through the perilous shoals, pirates, and wreckers of Irish war into the somewhat more secure haven of peace. Indeed, one of his greatest troubles, a short time before his death, seems to be that he could not get, in all Dublin, as much "yellow and crimson taffeta" as would make him a pair of colours; and that consequently his "rising out from Dunluce" looked like a parcel of mere Irish Kerne. By this time, however, he had obtained favour of King James: with royal favour came rank and title; so, when death closed the mortal career of Randall MacDonnell, it claimed no ignoble victim in the first Earl of Antrim.

[v] The anniversary of Elizabeth's accession to the throne, celebrated in her time, as the "Queen's day." It is still kept as a holiday at the Westminister and Merchant Tailor Schools, and the Treasury.

[w] Writing from Masserin, in the May of the same year, Chichester, speaking of a "jorney" he had lately taken in Tyrone's country, says:—"I burned all along the lough, within four miles of Dungannon, and killed 100 people, sparing none of what quality, age, or sex soever, besides many burned to death:—we kill man, woman, child, horse, beast, and whatsoever we find."

THE PILLAR-TOWERS OF SCOTLAND.

BY THOMAS A. WISE, M.D., F.R.S.E.

Only two Pillar-Towers exist in Scotland. They have the same peculiar form and structure as those of Ireland, appear to have been built at the same early period, and are surrounded by the same mystery as to their uses; but, as they have not received the same careful description as those of Ireland,[a] I trust an accurate account of their situation and dimensions, will be considered worthy of a place in your Journal.

ABERNETHY.[b]

Abernethy, in Fifeshire, was the capital of one of the Pictish Governments; but the Pillar-Tower which is situated there is not mentioned in any of our ancient histories. We only know that the people were christianised, and the town and adjacent district dedicated to God and Saint Bridget, in the fifth century (A.D. 456)[c]. It is probable that, at this early period, they followed the heathen custom of worshipping in the open air (*sub dio*) at sacred stones; for we find in the eighth century (A.D. 711) that Nectan III., King of the Picts, being dissatisfied with this primitive custom of worship, and desirous to follow the Romish ritual, wrote to Ceolfred, Abbot of Jerron, in Northumberland, requesting information regarding certain disputed observances, and asking for architects to build a church, which was to be dedicated to St. Peter, the Prince of the apostles.[d] The architects were accordingly sent, and the church was built of stone, in the Romish form. This, and other churches, as well as a collegiate establishment formed by the Culdees, and a priory established in 1273, have disappeared: since then another very old church has been taken down, and in the beginning of this century the present very plain building was erected. During the whole of these changes, extending over a long period, the Pillar-Tower has stood; and is still distinguished by its form, and by the admirable manner in which the material was selected and the building executed.

[a] See Dr. Petrie's Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland 1845.

[b] The name is derived from *aber*, confluence, of the small stream Nethy, that passes by the town to the river Earn. Abernethy is sometimes still called by the Scoto-Irish name *Invernethy*. The name which the Highlanders give to Abernethy is *Obair Neachtain*, or *Abair Neachtain*, i.e., "the work of Nectan." This was the Nectan or Nethan who desired architects to be sent to build a church, [see Bede] perhaps that of Abernethy. "Fergustus episcopus Scotiæ Pictus,"—i.e., Fergust, the Pictish bishop of Ireland, was in the Roman general Council, A.D. 721. [Concil. t. 3, quoted by Pinkerton, *Inquiry*, II., 267; see also *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. x. p. 435.]

[c] Innes' *Critical Essays*, vol. 1, pp. 111, 122, 137.

[d] Bede, L. 5, c. 21.

The Abernethy Tower stands on a sloping bank, at a short distance from the Ochill hills, and a mile south of the river Tay, near where it joins the Earn. The view from the tower is contracted towards the south by the proximity of the hills, where a beautiful valley stretches southwards; while to the north, there is an extensive prospect of a rich and undulating country, the granary of Scotland, in which direction the entrance of the tower is situated. The building is 75 feet in height, and 48 feet in circumference; and its extreme diameter at the top is 13 feet 9 inches, tapering to the bottom, where it is 15 feet 6 inches; the thickness of the wall at the top being 2 feet 9 inches, and at the bottom 3 feet 7½ inches. The tower is now without a roof, and the coping over the wall is probably modern. It is divided into five stages at unequal distances, each supported by stone abutments. The tower is built of sand-stone, which is now in many places much disintegrated, except on the lower and western side, where there are twelve courses of grey freestone, little changed by exposure to the weather. The stones are all carefully dressed, rectangular and convex on the exterior, tapering inwards, and concave on their inner surface, to give a circular form to the tower; and they are accurately adjusted in regular courses with little lime or cement. The door-way is six feet above the base of the tower; but, in consequence of the grave-yard adjoining having become greatly elevated above the general surface of the soil, the door is now only two feet above the ground. This entrance is 7 feet 9½ inches high, 29 inches in width at the spring of the semi-circular arch, and 27½ inches at the base. Four windows near the top of the tower face the cardinal points: they are 3 feet 10½ inches in height, 1 foot 4½ inches in width above, and 1 foot 6½ inches below, and seem to differ from each other in their architectural form. Gordon, in his *Itinerary*, mentions that, at the beginning of last century, "each window is supported by two small pillars;" traces of which are still very evident in one or two of them. Those in the west window are entirely gone. Dr. Wilson supposes[e] the windows may be modern; but after a careful examination, on the spot, I was satisfied that they were prepared at the same time with the rest of the tower. Besides the four windows, there are three small openings to give light to the interior.

The tower of Abernethy was repaired thirty years ago, when seven human skulls were found within it, lying together. Some of them were of a dark colour, as if they had undergone some process of embalming. Along with these, several long bones were found, some of which had been so recently deposited that they had still their ligaments attached to them.[f] The tower stands about twenty yards to the S.W. of the modern parish church, being now used as a belfry; and the beadle informed me that it is "pretty well" adapted for this purpose. It also contains the village clock; and the ancient Jouge, or pillory, is attached to it.

---

[e] *Pre-historic Annals*, p. 595.

[f] Small's *Roman Antiquities of Fife*, p. 154, and Appendix F.

Brechin Cathedral and Pillar-Tower.

BRECHIN. [g]

This Pillar-Tower is distinguished for the beauty of the workmanship, and the elegance of its form. It is supposed to have been built in the ninth century; or a century or more earlier than the old church of Brechin, which is supposed to have been founded by Kenneth, IV,. A.D. 990.[h] The present church, to which the tower is attached, was added long afterwards.

The Tower of Brechin is built on a gentle elevation to the north of the old Castle of Brechin, and of the river Esk. It has a contracted view of a fruitful valley on the west; while on the east there is a rich and wide plain, terminating with the Bay of Montrose and the German Ocean.

The stones of which this tower is built have been carefully selected, and formed into rectangular shapes, so tapering inwards as to give the circular form to the building; and they are so placed and fitted to each other, for 20 feet from the ground, and in patches, particularly on the east side, as

[g] From the Gaelic name Breaichnain, a "brae," or sloping bank.

[h] Hic est qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne domino chr. Pict.—Kenneth died by treachery (per dolum.) Ulster Annals, A.D. 994.

to give a *spiral rising* to the tiers or courses, thus throwing the pressure of the superincumbent mass upon an inclined plane. I am not aware that this remarkable circumstance has ever been observed before; nor does it occur in any of the Irish Round Towers now existing. Very little cement had been employed in the building; but the nature of this cannot readily be ascertained, as the tower has been thoroughly repaired, and a modern octagon roof erected over it, with angular-headed windows at each of the spaces, to give it the same architectural character as the modern church, which it joins, forming the south-west corner. The old tower, previous to the repairs, was eighty-five feet in height: it is now increased eighteen feet, the height of the new roof. Its extreme circumference at the top is 38 feet 6 inches, sloping outwards to the bottom, where it is 50 feet; the interior diameter at the top is 7 feet 8 inches, at the bottom, 8 feet; the thickness of the wall at the four upper windows is 2 feet 10 inches, and at the door-way 4 feet, including the projection of the door-lintels, which is 2 inches.

There are seven openings in this tower. One of these is the door-way, which faces the west; and there are two oblong openings facing the south and east, to afford light to the interior; and four oblong rectangular windows, near the top, facing the cardinal points. Over all these openings are large stones, and the one over the door of the tower is scooped out, so as to give it an arched form. Those which surround the door-way are large blocks of sand-stone, more prominent than the other stones of the building, and sculptured with bas-reliefs. The one over the door is the crucifixion; and those on the lintels are the supposed figures of St. John and the Virgin Mary. At the bottom of the door-way, are sculptured, on one side, a crouching animal, and on the other, a monstrous griffin;[i] and the lozenge ornament in the middle of the door-sill appears to have been filled with tracery. The double rows of button-looking ornaments surrounding the door-way bear a resemblance to those upon the Inch-brayoc and Brechin sculptured pillar-stones.[j] All these figures and ornaments are now much defaced by time.[k] The other stones used in the building of the tower are grey-coloured freestone.

Many years ago a second entrance was made leading to the adjoining church, by removing a number of stones from the tower, which weakened it, and may perhaps account for "the large mass, in storms of wind, being seen visibly to sway from side to side."[l]

There are six unequally sized stories, with platforms of wood, resting upon abutments or supports of hewn freestone, which project from six to ten inches each, upon which strong timber floors are laid. The top of the tower is reached by a series of six ladders. The only "mason-marks" yet discovered in Pillar-Towers are in the interior of this building, and have been delineated by Mr. Chalmers.[m] They are often repeated, particularly about the middle, and are generally cut cross-ways

---

[i] Perhaps symbolical of evil. See Eusebius' Life of Constantine, B. 3, ch. 3.

[j] See *Sculptured stones of Scotland*, (Spalding Club,) plates 86 and 138.

[k] Black's *History of Brechin*, p. 259.

[l] This opening was built up in 1847, by order of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests. I am indebted to the accurate Mr. Jervis for this and other particulars.

[m] Mr. Chalmers, of Aldbar, was so kind as to allow me the use of a drawing of the doorway, which is here lithographed on a reduced scale, and which was intended to illustrate a posthumous work of his late able and lamented brother, prepared by the distinguished antiquary, Cosmo Innes, Esq.

along the whole length and breadth of the face of the stone. Unfortunately the stones of the Abernethy Tower are so much disintegrated that, if any such marks ever existed on them, they are not now to be found. They have not been noticed in the Pillar-Towers of Ireland.[n] At the time the adjoining church was built, two bells were placed in the Tower; but the situation was found inconvenient, and they were removed.

As the Picts are the most ancient people of Scotland we are acquainted with, and as Abernethy, the site of one of the Pillar-Towers, was the capital of one of their petty governments, it has been concluded that these towers were built by this people. This is by no means probable; for, had they been built for any great national purpose, they would be found in other parts of Scotland and likewise in England and Wales, which is not the case: not a trace of such erections is found in these countries. That they were built by the Danes, to give an alarm in time of danger, is a still more untenable opinion, as they are not well placed for this purpose; and they are found neither in Denmark nor in the North of Scotland where these people had powerful colonies; while again similar structures are found in countries where the Scandinavian races never penetrated. Besides, the Danes did not possess such an intimate knowledge of architecture as these structures exhibit.

There is no distinctive appellation for Pillar-Towers in the Gaelic dialect of Scotland; or it has gone into entire disuse, owing to the parts of the country in which they are situated having been so long detached from the Gaelic-speaking districts of the country: they are now merely designated by the Gaelic name for a tower *(tur, tor, turaid.)* The Irish name *cloictheach, clogas*, bell-house, or belfry, has no equivalent in the Gaelic of Scotland, and is probably modern, as bells were introduced comparatively at a recent period into Ireland;[o] nor can we suppose that the priests would erect such elaborate buildings to hold the ancient small bells. The ingenious suggestion as to the use of Pillar-Towers, proposed by Peter Colleson,[p] and adopted by Pennant,[q] cannot be considered more reasonable—that they were prisons for penitents to expiate their sins, by remaining for a certain time of probation in the upper stories, after which they descended to the next story, and so on, till at length they were purified, once more released, and returned into the bosom of the church. It is not likely that Christians would build such structures for penitents, when they were incapable of building churches in honor of the Deity they worshipped.

Some authors have supposed that these Pillar-Towers were intended for burying the dead; but as the tenets and forms of the Pictish religion, and their mode of sepulture, were the same as those of the Caledonians and Britons, it is not likely that such a change would be made at two places alone, without an adequate reason: nor indeed did the Picts possess a sufficient knowledge of architecture to build such structures. Besides, in some of the towers in Ireland no bones nor remains have been found; and in those towers in which they have been found (including Abernethy) they were in considerable

---

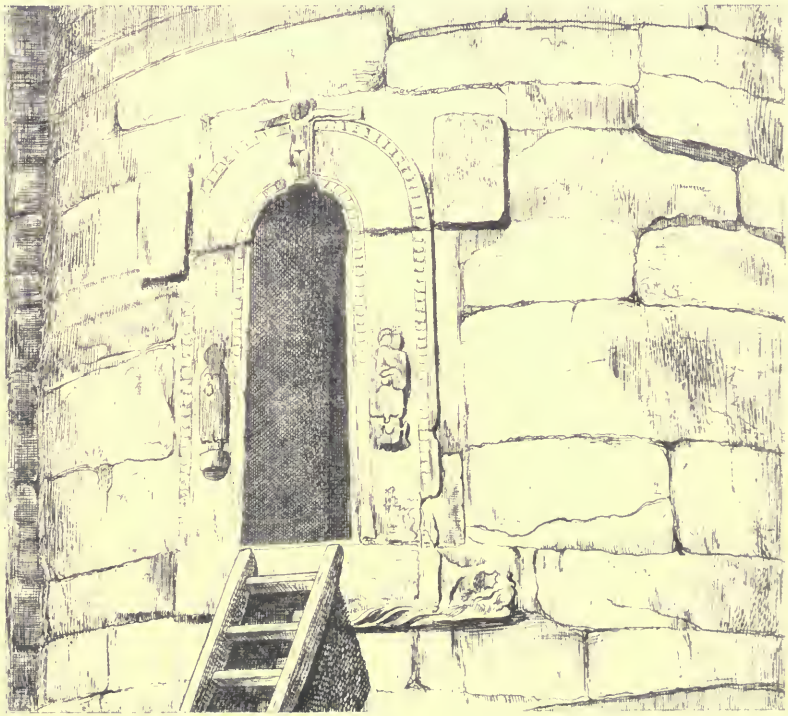
[n] *Archæologia*, vol. 34, p. 33.
[o] Betham's *Etruria Celtica*, v. 2, p. 210.
[p] *Archæologia*, vol 1, p. 307.
[q] *Tour through Scotland*, vol. 3, p. 162.

quantities, and often comparatively recent;[r] they were distinguished by none of those marks of consideration that we should expect to find surrounding the sacred remains of the mighty dead; nor were they accompanied by those articles of value that were supposed to be so useful to the deceased in another world.[s]

There are antiquarians who suppose that the Pillar-Towers, being found near to, or connected with churches, were built for Christian purposes. On examining the Scottish examples, however, we find that the churches are modern; and it is by no means improbable, that they may have been placed near the more ancient sacred structures; particularly as we find that the early Christians were in the habit of placing their churches on the sites of pagan temples, to reconcile the inhabitants to the new faith, and to increase their reverence for it.

This reasoning may apply to the Abernethy Tower, upon which no Christian emblem has been discovered; but not to the Brechin Tower: here we have the crucifixion, and other Christian ornaments, sculptured upon stones prepared obviously at the time of building.

[r] Dr. Smith's *Roman Antiquities*, p. 154, and Appendix F. [s] Wilson's *Pre-historic Annals of Scotland*, p. 69.



Door-way of Brechin Pillar-Tower.

INAUGURATION OF IRISH CHIEFS.

BY HERBERT F. HORE.

Some of our readers who are curious in Gaelic archæology will, perhaps, recollect a passage in the second portion of Sir Henry Sidney's "Narrative," printed in our third volume, in which the narrator alludes to the ceremonies which were practised at the inauguration of Turlough Luineach O'Neill, in the year 1569. His words were, that the title of O'Neill was given to the new chief "*with the brutish ceremonies incident to the same.*" In this curt allusion to the interesting ceremonials used at the inauguration of an Irish king, Sidney characterises them by a very derogatory, yet significant term. Let us now inquire how far the epithet he employs is correct. As he resided for many years in Ireland, he must often have heard what the contemporary installatory usages were. Yet the epithet he applies is not borne out by any description of the inauguration of Irish chiefains, with the exception of a statement made by Giraldus Cambrensis as to the usages, in this respect, of a single tribe in the extreme north of Ulster. This statement bears sufficient marks of truth to deserve investigation, especially if taken in connection with the accounts given by other writers. We therefore now propose to fulfil the promise we made in a note on that passage, viz., of discussing the nature and details of the observances anciently used by the Gael of Ireland on the grand and solemn occasions of the inauguration of their kings. An elaborate account of the inauguration of Irish chiefs, written by no less an adept in the national archæic science than Dr. John O'Donovan, having been given in the appendix to the "Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach,"[a] we may here restrict ourselves to offering some additional information, with a few remarks on the well-known passage in Giraldus.

Let us premise, that we consider this archæologic topic to be one of singular interest; and also of primary importance in any endeavour towards tracing out the origin of the Gaelic race. A fuller and abler disquisition than we can indite, and one that would compare the circumstances relating to inauguration in Ireland with those recorded as to the installation of ancient princes in other countries, might develope, and, perhaps disclose, the origin of the Irish people; since, should the analogies between those circumstances prove close, the presumption that this people have a common extraction with the nation that used similar ceremonies must undoubtedly be admitted. May it not be safely asserted, that such usages as were practised at a ceremony so high as the installation of a King, are among those to which the remotest degree of antiquity may be described? And it surely follows, that, if the antique usages of the Irish in this particular are found to resemble accurately

[a] Publications of the Irish Archæological Society for 1854.

those of another and still more ancient people, we may believe that the Irish and the people in question sprang from the same stock? Again, an investigation of the sort we imagine, might also include and illustrate the curious primitive system of Gaelic polity, and serve to remove some prejudices which have been caused by mistatements as to certain usages among the ancient Irish. With this latter object, which we patriotically hold to be an especially worthy one for our antiquaries, we will proceed to examine Giraldus' account, and seek within his description some glimpses of that oftimes hidden golden ore—archaic truth—by means of the light thrown upon it by old customs which arose from the primary Gaelic laws; and by comparing it with the details given by better-informed writers, particularly with Auban's account of the inaugural ceremony used in Carinthia. With regard to the Carinthian account, which is quoted by Lynch in his refutation of Giraldus Cambrensis, and which is given without note or comment by the annotator of Hy-Fiachrach, we are inclined to lay strong stress on its archæologic value. Having unfortunately been unable to verify the quotation, even with the polite aid of that erudite librarian, Sir Henry Ellis, we now entreat our biblio-learned readers to assist us in the verification, should they be able to refer to any edition of Auban's work.*

Carinthia, the mountainous country north of the Adriatic, in which, as it would seem, Herodotus locates a Celtic tribe, was, at one period, inhabited by a race who must have been cognate to the Celts of the British islands, if the similarity of their inaugural usages be taken in proof. The remarkable account to which we refer is quoted by Lynch from "*Jo: Auban, de Moribus Gentium.*" It is in Latin: but, for our purpose, it is preferable to give the following translation of the passage:—

"In Carinthia, as often as a new prince of the republic enters upon the government, they observe a solemnity no where else heard of. In the open fields,[b] stands erect a marble stone, which, when the duke[c] is about to be created, a certain countryman,[d] to whom through his race the succession to that office hereditarily[e] belongs, ascends, having on his right hand a black heifer in calf, while

* Keysler, in his *Antiquitates Septentrionales*, refers to the great stone on which the Dukes of *Carinthia* used formerly to be inaugurated; but says it is so well known as not to require further remark from him. "De lapide prægrandi, super quem Carinthiæ Duces olim fuere inaugurati, notior res est, quam ut pluribus eam illustrare necesse habeamus." (p. 94.) And in his Index he speaks of this ceremony as "antiquissima."—[Edit.]

[b] "In patentibus pratis erectus lapis."—In Ireland, the installation-stone sometimes stood in a *magh* or plain, which perhaps was the first plain the clan took possession of. Moryson wrote that "O'Neill's chair" was "planted *in the open field.*"

[c] "Dux:"—a leader. A writer, *anno* 1515, [*S. P.*] observed of the Gaelic Irish that some called themselves kings, some princes, some dukes, and some arch-dukes; and that "Tyshagh (*Taoiseach*) signifieth duke or leader of the folk." Edward II. in writing to the Irish chiefs to join his army in Scotland, styled them "duces Hibernicorum."

[d] "Rusticus:"—a peasant of that country.

[e] "Hereditaria."—In Ireland all the public offices of a clan descended in hereditary succession, and probably not according to a law of primogeniture, but, like the chieftainship, electively, from the senior males of each family. The installing function in Carinthia seems to have been confined to that performed by this countryman; but the inaugural ceremony in Ireland included several installatory functions, of which it is impossible to find out the one that determined who was the *primary* hereditary functionary. The ceremonial right to name the chief appears originally and naturally to have appertained to the senior race next in consequence to that of the chief. This right, with certain other installatory duties, were in two instances granted to the heads of races who had lost their senioral right to be elected to the kingships. [*Hy Fiachrach*, 108.] Subsequently, the druids, and, afterwards, the bards and chroniclers, were, in some cases, endowed with the principal installing office. O'Mulconry, the chief bard of Connaught, who attended

on his left is placed a working mare remarkable for leanness. The people of the country assemble around in a vast crowd; then the duke about to be invested with the purple moves thither surrounded by a multitude, the ensigns of the principality preceding him; and the entire company are richly (or extraordinarily[f]) dressed, except the future duke himself. He, in the common dress of the country, wearing a hair cap, carrying shoes[g] and a pastoral staff, acts the herdman more than the prince.[h] As he is approaching, he who has possession of the stone,[i] on beholding him, exclaims in the Illyrian language, who is this who comes on so proudly? The surrounding multitude reply;—he that is to become the prince of the country. Then he asks whether he is a just judge? Does he desire the welfare of the country? Is he of free birth? Is he worthy of the honour? A cultivator and defender of Christian piety? It is exclaimed, he is indeed, and will be. Again the same man says, I ask by what law will he remove me from this seat? The master of the ducal hall[j] replies, this place is bought[k] from thee for sixty pence; these cattle[l] shall be thine, pointing with his hand to the heifer and the mare; you shall have the dress[m] which the duke will put off; and you with all your house shall be free from tribute.[n] Which being said, the countryman strikes the cheek of the duke, the blow being lightly struck, and commands him to be an equitable judge, and cedes up the place,

the inauguration of O'Connor, *anno* 1315, stated that it was "the bard's right to present the rod to the king." [*O Flaherty's West Connaght*, p 139] We suspect that the later bards, who had a certain monopoly in traditional knowledge, had contrived to encroach, so as to assume the rights of others. John Dymmok states that the *next in seniority created* "the senior," i.e. the seigneur, or lord elect. In 1598, O'Sullivan More *refused* to give the rod to any competitor for the title of M'Carthy More, to whom O'Sullivan was principal *oir-righ*.

f "Egregie:"—i.e. ex grege, out of the common herd;—or uncommonly.

g "Calceos et pastoralem baculum gerens."—An expression from which it may be inferred that the duke-elect came barefooted; and, if so, the probable analogies between this point and the observances in Ireland are, that it would seem the chieftain took off his shoes in order to place his feet in the deep impress in the stone of the feet of his ancestor; and that, to approach the electors in such humble guise, was—on the part of the duke—like the apparently inaccurately described crouching appearance of the chief-elect, viz. one of many signs of humility.

h "Pastorem agit, magis quam principem."—This agrees in meaning with the guise, &c. of the chief of the Cinel Conaill, as is further explained in the text.

i "Qui lapidem obtinet."

j Ducalis aulæ magister."—In Ireland, the office of master or marshal of the hall was hereditary, and usually held by an officer of senior race or rank in the clan:—for although originally there was equality as to goods, there were gradations of rank which conferred different degrees; and to determine these was one of the marshal's duties. Probably the master of the hall was the senior servant or seneschal of the chief and clan; and as such had the management of business, as indicated in the text.

k "Emitur à te."—At the inauguration of O'Conor, king of the Connacians, in 1315, an ounce of of gold was paid to a certain subordinate, whose hereditary office it had become "to smooth the carn" on which the ceremony took place "at every inauguration," and to guard the entrance to it; for no one but himself, and the bard who delivered the rod to the king, were entitled to be present with the king on the carn. See *Kilkenny Archæological Transactions*.

l "Jumenta;"—viz the "equa strigosa" and "bos nigra et fœta," present at the inaugural ceremony as symbols of agricultural and pastoral wealth. Cambrensis used the same word, "jumentum," adding "candidum," which Keating renders "equa candida," (like *capall*, signifying either a draught horse or a working mare,) and which Ware translated "a white horse," but Campion "white cow," writing, it may be, not from translation, but from vague tradition, as to the inaugural animals:—for probably there were two present at inaugurations in Ireland, (as in Carinthia) as symbols of future plenty—just as wheat, a type of agricultural wealth, and salt, a symbol of pastoral riches (being used to preserve food,) were in like manner brought and scattered over the king, as auguries that the plentifulness of peace would attend his reign. [*Camden*, 469, and *Pac. Hib. I.* 163.] Giraldus wrote from unintelligible hearsay; and, in following him, Campion altered the meaning of "jumentum" into that of "bovem;" so that in such obscurity it can only be conjectured, taking the many other analogies into account, that one of both species of emblematic cattle were present; and that the only difference in the Carinthian and Irish customs was in the colour of the pastoral animal, which colour may have distinguished the ancient herds for which each country was famed.

m "Vestimenta quæ Dux exuet."

n "Erisque tu cum domo tua tota liber a tributo."

leading away the price. Then the prince takes possession of the stone,[o] turns himself round to every part[p] brandishing a naked sword,[q] addresses the people, and promises to be an equitable judge. They bring water,[r] and it is offered to him to drink in the cup of the country, as an argument of future sobriety, &c. Thus the princes of Austria obtain the empire, and are called Archdukes."

Of this extraordinary ceremonial, the import appears to have been, that when the men of the republic, *whose forefathers had been a clan of equal men*, were about to choose a governor, one of them customarily claimed a co-equal right to hold the primitive seat or throne; that, on the appearance of another candidate, he objected to him as a displayer of pride; but this rival was accompanied by the tribe, in evidence that their suffrages would be given to him, as one for whose worthiness they would vouch; and whose humility was marked in several ways, two of which were his wearing the old country garb, and professing himself to be but a herdsman, such as in earlier and pastoral times the men of the tribe had been;—then, on finding that the voice of the country was in favour of this claimant, the occupant of the seat demanded to know by what right in law the chief-elect proposed to remove him from it:—this inquiry satisfied, the humility of the prince was further insisted on by his receiving a slight blow on the face from the inaugurating countryman, and by his accepting a draught of simple water in the mode in which one rustic would receive it from another.

The account left by Giraldus of the mode of installation in Donegal, at so remote a date as the 12th century, has, although obscure and mistaken, some apparent analogies with the above curious Carinthian observances, which undoubtedly were interesting to the spectators, being full of meaning to them; and, since we may safely assert that the same meaning may be elicited from the expressions of Giraldus, we now give them in the original, so that our readers may judge for themselves:—

"Est in Boreali ac ulteriori Ultoniæ parte, apud Kenelconil, gens quædam quæ barbaro nimis et abominabili ritu sic sibi regem creare solet. Collecto in unum universo populo terræ illius, in medium producitur jumentum candidum, ad quod sublimandus ille non in principem sed in belluam, non in regem, sed exlegem, coram omnibus bestialiter accedens, non minus impudenter quam imprudenter se quoque bestiam profitetur, et statim jumento interfecto, et frustatim in aqua decocto,

[o] "Tum lapidem Dux occupat."

[p] "Ad omnem partem se vertit."—In Ireland the new chief, as Spenser states, turned himself round, thrice forwards and thrice backwards, [See *Hy Fiachrach*, 452.]: one of the meanings of this rite being to view his people and territory in every direction

[q] "Nudum gladium."—In Ireland, the chieftain laid his sword aside, and an officer handed him a straight white wand or rod of office, as a species of sceptre, to indicate that his clan would require no severer weapon to govern them. An *ard-ri*, or arch-duke, on nominating a chief of a subordinate clan, with its consent, confirmed him in the headship by the simple ceremony of delivering him a rod—which, like that received by each prince of an Israelite tribe, was the emblem of headship.

[r] Ferunt et aquam agresti pileo obiatam potare, in futuræ sobrietatis argumentum."—Among the privileges conceded to O'Caomhain on account of the loss by himself and his race of their senioral claim to be elected to the chieftaincy, were the rights of "first entering the bath, first sitting down at the feast," and "taking the first drink." It is stated in an ancient account of the inauguration of O'Dowde, in whose family the chieftaincy of Hy-Fiachrach became by election hereditary, but who was of junior race to O'Caomhain, that "the privilege of first drinking was given to O'Caomhain,;" [*Hy Fiachrach*, p. 440.]—the translator adds "at the banquet;"—but, like the arch-duke's draught of simple water, some similar one may originally have been taken after the ceremony, or, what is more probable, the feast itself was primevally in the open air.

in eadem aqua balneum ei paratur, cui insidens, de carnibus illis sibi allatis, circumstante populo suo, et vescente, comedit ipse. De jure quo lavatur, non vase aliquo, non manu sed ore tantum circumquaque haurit et bibet. Quibus ita ritè non rectè completis, regnum illius et Dominum est confirmatum."

The many and striking analogies between the several circumstances relating to inauguration in Ireland and in Carinthia may be seen by referring to our foot notes;—but most of these analogies require further notice, in order to place some points in the Carinthian account in such juxtaposition with those observances in Ireland, (however obscurely and erroneously described by English writers,) as shall not only enable a comparison to be formed between them, but throw some light on the dubious resembling points of the Irish ceremonial.

The first noticeable concurrence in the two accounts is the correct expression that the chieftain was "created," for this word implies that he was made in public assembly, by elevating to the office one of many clansmen who possessed equal legal rights. Auban designates the form of government among the Carinthians a republic; and so in Ireland each great tribe formed a commonwealth. Among the former people, the office of duke, *dux*, or leader, was evidently not propriate to any special chieftainly family or race; but open to any man of free birth, provided he was eligible to the dignity of leader and judge; and, similarly in Ireland in the 16th century, it was customary to confer the chieftaincy on "the best and worthiest of the blood."[s] This primitive equality is also shown by the Carinthian countryman commanding the duke to be an equitable—or as we take it in its original sense—an *equal*, judge; for that the chief should be so must have always been of the first importance to clans, whose property was frequently "gavelled," or divided equally. Thus, as Solinus wrote, in the first century, the king of the Hebrideans was "compelled" to be equitable by the custom of gavel—a law specially enforced in the division of spoil, as in the case when, according to the anecdote, a warrior broke a costly vase with his battle-axe because his leader had proposed to appropriate it; and accordingly, in Ireland, the chieftain took an oath to preserve "all the ancient former customs of the country inviolable."[t] Not only was the equality of the clansmen with the chieftain shown by a custom to be presently noticed, but prior to his election he gave marked tokens of humility. Before explaining their nature, those given by the arch-duke may be reverted to, of which the last was the most significant, as being also an "argument" or augury of temperance; and the rest were emblematic that the dukes originally were no more than common men. He wore what was either the common dress of the country ("agresti habitu"), or had formerly been the attire of a herdsman when, in pastoral times, the cattle of a clan constituted their principal wealth: and he conducted himself like a common herdsman rather than like a prince. In symbolical meaning, this mode of conduct, and this rustic attire, correspond with the deportment and garb which the chief-elect of the Cinel-Conaill may *actually* have assumed on the inaugural occasion; and they certainly agree in some measure with the profession of humility he is said to have made. Giraldus, in

[s] *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach.* [t] Spenser.

his somewhat corresponding passage, was evidently led away from accurate description by his silly habit of playing on words. Simply taken, his statement is, that the new chieftain went up to the "jumentum," (*jument*, mare, or "horse of burthen," as distinguished from an *étalon* or war-horse) in the fashion of one, and declared himself to be one. There was surely meaning in this:—what really occurred probably was, that, like the Austrian duke, he wore the garb of a herdsman; owing to which, as it was of hairy skin, similar to the *pileus* of the Austrian, the comparison of that inveterate punster, the Bishop of St. Davids, is not only admissible, but is, perhaps, borne out by the chieftain having, very probably, pointed to the *jumentum*, and having declared that he would be as good a servant to the clan. Our attempt to interpret these ceremonies in question, offers, at the least, intelligible meanings, which, we may be sure, no parts of the ceremony were without.

Referring back to our foot-note, regarding the particular observances in which *shoes* figured in the inauguration ceremony, we may here add that, in Ireland, one of the chieftain's sandals was, after the nomination, replaced on the foot of the *ard-righ*, or high king, by his principal *oir-righ*, or sub-chief, in token of obedience; and that this emblem was sometimes thrown over the new chieftain's head, in augury of good luck. Thus, we find that McDermot performed the former function to O'Conor of Connaught,[u] and that, as Dymmok wrote, *anno* 1608, O'Cahan, the "chiefest of O'Neill's *uraughts*" (i.e., sub-kings) "createth him O'Neill by casting a shoe over his head." Both these services to the *ard-righ* were acts of homage, or man-service; and were considered as honorable marks of eminent rank in the great clan. Indeed, they closely resemble some services which were rendered by feudalists to their monarchs under the tenure called "grand serjeantry," such as was so entertainingly descanted on by the Baron of Bradwardine,[v] in his explanation of his own distinguished duty of "caligas regis detrahendi." So late as the year 1607, Donell *Ballagh* O'Cahan, during his controversy with the Earl of Tyrone as to the *cios righi*, or king's rent, due by him as the earl's "chief freeholder," acknowledged himself to be "*uriaght* and feudatory to O'Neill, his lord," by paying a certain ancient yearly tribute; and "*claimed*, at the inauguration of O'Neill, to cast the shoe over O'Neill's head."[w] Our theory that the principal sub-seigneur was the original inaugurating functionary is borne out by the above statement: but, although O'Cahan appears to have been the representative of that officer in the instance of the O'Neills, it appears that others were subsequently joined with him to take indispensable part in the ceremonial; as O'Mellan, the custodier, with O'Mulholland, of the sacred bell of Saint Patrick.[x] In primeval and pagan ages, the ceremony had not, of course, those religious appliances which were afterwards adapted to it. At the installation of O'Neill, the senior or principal of some junior septs of the Cinel Eoghain,—namely O'Hagan, of Tulloghoge,—joined the principal *oir-righ* in the two functions which seem to have concluded the investiture of O'Neill, by replacing the second sandal on the chief-elect's foot. In token of this honourable office, the O'Hagans assumed a golden

[u] Four Masters, *anno* 1488.
[v] Scott's Waverly.
[w] State Paper Office, 1607.
[x] Four Masters, *anno* 1493.

sandal as their armorial bearing. We are informed that an inaugural shoe, formed of brass, is still in existence. O'Hagan was O'Neill's *rechtaire*, an officer who, apparently, was at first steward[y] to the king and lawgiver[z] to the clan; and his residence was within the rath in which stood the "*Leac na Riogh*" (i.e. the Stone of the Kings, as the inaugural stone of the O'Neills was called); so that, like the Carinthian peasant, he was in *possession* of the seat. The *Leac na Riogh* was placed in the remarkable rath called Tullaghoge, near Dungannon, and was known in English as "O'Neill's chair."

We may now advert to another point of similarity between the Irish and Carinthian ceremonies. This point consists in the immunity from paying tribute, granted to the family of the hereditary inaugurer of the Austrian dukes, and which was the special privilege of the O'Hagans of Tullaghoge, as is thus recorded in the "Book of Rights:"—

> "There is not due from Tulach og
> A tribute to the King of Feabhal" (Foyle, or Aileach,) "of the banquets;
> Because it is in its proud land that is assumed
> The sovereignty over the men of Eire."

Besides this remarkable coincidence, we may mention, that a certain gift or present, as in Carinthia, seems also to have been due to the individual in question:—

> "To the man who has the green tumulus;
> The chief of the green Tulach og."

The *Leac na Riogh*, literally the flag-stone of the kings,[a] upon which the chieftains of the northern Hy-Niall race used to be inaugurated, stood in a large circular rath, on a *tullagh*, or low hill, near the present village of Tullaghoge,—a name which signifies the hill of the youths. Its site is indicated on Blaeu's Map of Ulster, (engraved from a survey by Lythe, in 1571,) by this inscription:—"Ye Stone where O'Neale is chose." The earliest notice of this interesting monument of ancient Ultonian independence is in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, who mention its use in the year 1432; and state that, in 1455, "the successor of St. Patrick," (the Archbishop of Armagh,) with "Maguire, M'Mahon, and all the O'Neills, accompanied Henry O'Neill to Tullaghoge, and inaugurated him after the lawful manner:" implying that the chief-elect was rightfully entitled to the kingship, and that the ceremony was complete in every particular. This election and investiture was noticeable for two circumstances. The father of the new king, who had enjoyed sovereignty for twenty-three years, and had become aged and infirm, was, as stated by the native annalists, deposed by him. By the law of tanistry, impotent age was discarded as ineligible for election, whatever were the claims and merit of the superannuated man; and was also considered as rendering him unfit to continue the leadership and government of a clan. In the present instance of election and inauguration, we are enabled to quote some curious particulars bearing upon these two points. It appears by an authentic entry in Archbishop Mey's registry,[b] that, on the

[y] Hy-Many, 89; and Hy-Fiachrach, 371.
[z] Hy-Fiachrach, 432.
[a] Four Masters, p. 87.
[b] Lynch's Feudal Dignities of Ireland, p. 187.

4th August, 1455, Eoghain O'Neill, prince of Ulster, finding himself weak in body, resigned his dignity and principality, in order that a successor might be appointed; whereupon his eldest-born son, Henry, was elected as captain and principal of his nation, and received instruction as to his temporal dominion *from the Lord Primate of Armagh*, namely, *Archbishop Mey;* who deeming the said Henry O'Neill a good and useful man for his church, and the people of Ulster, ratified his election as the O'Neill in the presence of all the clergy and laity in great multitudes assembled, without contradiction. This Primate, John Mey, an Englishman, seems to have exercised an unusual authority on this occasion; yet, still, we may believe that the power of the hierarchy in elections was already strong and increasing. Mey, who had been appointed to the see of Armagh by Henry VI., was consecrated in 1444, and was *duly received*[c] as Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland, *on rendering* to O'Neill six yards of good cloth for his (O'Neill's) *investiture*, and three yards of like cloth for his wife's tunic. In consideration of such a recognition of the authority of O'Neill, this chieftain bound himself, his brethren, kindred, and subjects, to yield all assistance, and show all favour to the Lord Primate, and to his church, his officers, ministers, and clerks, as well secular as regular; to preserve the liberties of the church; authorise payment of the primatial rents; and impose no slavery on the archbishops, clerks, tenants, &c. From the wording of this passage, it would seem that the cloth specified was *customarily* "rendered" by "the successors of St. Patrick, upon the occasion of their own installation, in acknowledgment of the temporal authority of the O'Neill." At so early a date as the reign of King John, scarlet robes had been sent as presents by that king to some of the Irish "kings[d];" and, in 1463, Henry VI. sent O'Neill a present of forty-eight yards of scarlet cloth, with a chain of gold, &c.[e]

Some ceremony was, of course, observed with respect to the dress or vestments of the king-elect. It will have been observed that the garments of the Austrian duke were bestowed on the inaugurer; and, in like manner, those first worn on the day of investiture in Ireland became the perquisite of that functionary. O'Mulconry, hereditary bard of Connaught, who attended at the inauguration of O'Conor in the year 1315, states that the king's horse and clothes became the property of the inaugurer, the bard, who, after the ceremony, followed the king, mounted on that horse. O'Nolan the principal *oir-righ* under Mac-Murrough, prince of Leinster, received, on nominating him, his horse and battle-dress. The horse, battle-dress, *and raiment* of O'Caomhain, chief of a race senior, but subordinate, to O'Dowda, chieftain of Hy-Fiachrach, were due to him who hereditarily conferred the chieftaincy of that clan upon O'Dowda, whose horse and battle-dress were then given to O'Caomhain. From this exactitude, it seems that the *raiment* of the chief-elect was, originally, the sole perquisite of the inaugurer.

This portion of the ceremonial leads to another, which we beg leave to theorise upon, in order to explain away the ludicrous and disgusting passage in Giraldus, in which he describes the

[c] Lynch's Feudal Dignities of Ireland, p. 116.
[d] Ibid, p. 116.
[e] Four Masters.

king of Tyrconnel as *bathing* "in the same water" as that in which the "jumentum" was boiled. By more than one account of the ceremony of inauguration it is evident that part of the observances consisted in the king-elect *taking a bath* before being invested with his new regal garments; a usage which is not only in accordance with Oriental habits, but which formed so typical an observance in days of chivalry as to have given the name to the ancient and still flourishing order of "the Knights of the Bath." Let us see what is described as having taken place in this respect at inaugurations in Ireland. At the investiture of O'Dowda, another chieftain, namely, O'Caomhain, whose line was senior to that of the reigning family, had "the privilege of entering the bath first." The taking of a bath, therefore, was part of the ceremonial, and applies the putting on of a new and appropriate garb, preparatory to partaking of the installation banquet. The Carinthian arch-duke is not stated to have observed this form; yet it appears that he put off his ordinary dress, prior to being invested with the purple; and, in Ireland, the chieftain may have taken off his "battle-dress," then have entered the "bath prepared for him," as Cambrensis wrote; and, subsequently, have been invested with those robes of scarlet cloth which seem to have been customarily presented to him. In the beginning, both bathing and feasting would probably have taken place in the open air. The rude feast was, doubtless, public, like the ceremony; and, in order that the chief-elect should appear to be only on a par with his clansmen, he was not permitted (as Campion says) to use any "cuppe or dishe" when all the company were partaking together. O'Caomhain, being of senior line to O'Dowda, his chief *de facto*, had, besides the privilege of first entering the bath and first sitting down at the feast, the right *de jure* of "taking the first drink." These punctilios, which seem ridiculous to us, were probably requisite enough in warlike ages; and they are archæologically curious, as evidence of a remote degree of antique civilization; for they arose from the original equality of a primeval fraternity, of whom the senior alone was invested with pre-eminence, provided he was worthy of the dignity; and a further interest arises in tracing the origin of this superiority of the first-born to the express will of the Creator, as set forth in the Book of *Genesis*.

To return to the last-mentioned ceremony:—our readers will have observed that this was customary in Carinthia as well as in Ireland. In Carinthia, the "first drink" was given in the open air, and had a special significance. And in Ireland probably it was at first taken in the same manner. It is stated in the account of the inauguration of O'Dowda, in the book of Lecan, that "the privilege of first drinking was given to O'Caomhain." The translator adds "at the banquet:" but this addition is not warranted.

We must revert to the superstitious observances connected with the *shoes* or slippers of the king-elect, in order to introduce a curious passage from the *Four Masters*. These annalists mention that, in the year 1589, there was a contest between two Maguires for the seigniory of their tribe; and that O'Donnell, determining in favour of Hugh Maguire, mustered his forces, and desired his client to meet him punctually at Sciath-ghabhra. This place, anciently called Skea Castle, was always

resorted to for the inauguration of a Maguire:—it is still pointed out at Lisnaskea, a village nine miles south-east of Enniskillen. In the meanwhile, the other competitor, Conor *roe*, backed by his faction, proceeded to the place of installation, and, reaching it before his rival, whom he dreaded to confront, contented himself with *leaving one of a pair of slippers* on the spot, as "a token that the name of lord" ought to be conferred upon him. Notwithstanding this assertion of his claim, the more strongly-supported competitor was installed. When Felim the Fair was made O'Conor, in 1488, he "was inaugurated" (say the annalists) "in as meet a manner as any lord had for some time been nominated; and his *shoe was put on him* by MacDermot." The learned editor of the *Four Masters* here observes in a note that MacDermot put on his chief's shoe in token of obedience, and that no O'Conor could be made without the presence of this his *ard-oir-righ*, or principal subordinate chief. The annals now quoted, and those of Duald Firbis, have another reference to this function, at the year 1461; when MacWilliam Bourke, and "all the potentates of Connaught, assembled at the carn to witness O'Conor's installation;" an occasion Firbis styles "an extraordinary proud crowning." In this instance, the *ard-oir-righ* "*put on the shoe*, after having bought it:"—that is to say, (probably) having paid O'Maeleonor, the bard, some customary fee as an acknowledgment that either the privilege, or the article itself, was purchased;—a preliminary the bard did not fail to chronicle, since, as it seems, the "gilded sandal" was part of his perquisite.

Besides the observances already noticed, as those which seem to have constituted inauguration, there were others that appear to have been of higher moment. The act of *nomination*, i.e., of giving the new ruler his peculiar future name, was, we conceive, the observance of chief importance. It was a species of baptismal rite; and conferred on the chieftain the sole privilege of being distinguished by the patronymic of the clan:—for the simple surname of each great family was a sufficiently honourable designation to the king of a Gaelic tribe. Just prior to his nomination, a "rod," or white wand, emblematic of the purity of his government, was waved over the head of the chief elect by the inaugurating officer; who then gave the king his name, and, thereupon, handed him this primitive sceptre.[f] The origin of this rod of office, or symbol of sway, is manifestly Oriental, and corresponds with the rod borne by a prince of an Israelite tribe as an emblem of patriarchal headship. It would seem that chieftaincy was not considered as conferred unless this portion of the ceremony was performed. In 1598, after the death of M'Carty more, Earl of Clancarthy, when the succession was contested, the principal *oir-righ*, O'Sulivanmore, refused to give the rod to either of the competitors.[g] Torna O'Maeleonor, chief bard of Connaught, who attended the inauguration of O'Conor in 1315, states that his official predecessors, the hereditary bards of the clan O'Conor, inaugurated the kings of Connaught by presenting them the sceptre-wand or rod. There was another usage connected with the assumption of the "rod," also tending to prove that the fact of obtaining this symbolical of power was equivalent to obtaining "seisin" of the clan-seigneury. This usage is mentioned as prevailing in Munster during

[f] *Hy-Fiachrach*, p. 441.

[g] *S. P. O.* 6th Dec. 1598.

the reign of Elizabeth;—it consisted in the privilege exercised by every newly-inducted chief, of "taking a cow from each inhabitant freeholder or tenant under him," under the name of "Rod-money."[h] By this means the new *Righ* obtained that of which, previously, he may have been utterly destitute, namely, personal property, which he now derived by tribute, a mode conveying the agreeable idea of spontaneous generosity in clansmen towards their chief. Besides this manner of endowing the new prince, it was his especial duty to perform a certain act immediately after his installation, with the object of enriching his country. Thus, we learn from the native annalists, *passim*, that it was considered a duty incumbent on every newly-made chief to make a predatory excursion, as soon after his accession to power as possible. We are afraid there is no explaining away of the term "barbarous," as applicable to *this* custom.

Besides the ceremonies which constituted the solemn rite of inauguration, there were others of minor importance; but which, regarded in their simple yet significant character, and antique origin, were highly interesting parts of the general display. For example, we read in Camden, on the "Antient Manners of the Irish," that it was the custom in towns, "when any enter upon a public office, for women in the streets, and girls from the windows, to sprinkle them and their attendants with wheat and salt." This graceful and pleasing observance, so full of poetry and meaning, was originally and specially practised at the induction of a Gaelic king. Its origin, also, is of course Oriental; and it was employed as an augury that plenty, (typified by corn, and by the ingredient used for preserving food,) would attend the reign, or the duration in high office, of the elected. Sir George Carew mentions,[i] respecting this usage, that it was observed in the province of Munster, where, "upon the election of their new mayors and officers, *wheat* and *salt* are thrown over them, as a prediction of future peace and plenty;" and he instances it at Kilmallock, on the occasion of the last Earl of Desmond's entry into that town.

Edmund Campion, who dates the preface of his *Historie of Ireland* from Drogheda, in 1571, has, in his chapter on the *old* customs of the Irish, the following passage descriptive of the inaugural ceremony, which may be either a mere copy of the statement in Giraldus, or a vague traditional account:—"In Ulster thus they used to crowne their king: a white cow was brought forth, which the king must kill, and seeth in water whole, and bathe himself therein starke naked; then, sitting in the same caldron, his people about him, together with them he must eat the flesh, and drink the broath, wherein he sitteth, without cuppe or dish or use of his hand."

Now, be it observed, Campion spoke of this "old custom" as past; and he probably wrote of it from some ignorant, satirical, traditional interpretation of Giraldus. Whatever may have been, down to the twelfth century, the usages peculiar to the election of the chief of the Cinel-Conaill, a rude tribe in a remote region, the ceremonies used by Gaelic clans during the residence of Edmund Spenser in Ireland cannot, according to his account of them, be characterised as barbarous; but are replete with archaic interest, and full of meaning. The entire subject has, however,

[h] Presentment of Co. Cork, 1576; M.S., State Paper Office. [i] *Pacata Hibernia*, I. 163.

been, as we have said, so elaborately discussed by one of the most learned of our national antiquaries, that it now suffices to refer any reader, who desires to satisfy himself on the general subject, to the information and the excellent conclusions published in the appendix to *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach*. Our present endeavour is to confute the charge brought by Sir Henry Sidney and others, that the inaugural ceremonies used by the O'Neills were "brutish" and "barbarous." At the same time we suspect that *some* truth lies under the libel. Possibly, it was customary at Tullaghoge, as also anciently at Kilmacrenan, to bring forward a white cow and a horse on the occasion, and to suffer these emblematic animals, (neither of which, according to Fynes Moryson, was gastronomically distasteful to Irish kerne,) to be seethed and devoured by the mob of clansmen. Nor was this nearly so barbarous as the custom which, until lately, obtained in England, at the election of mayors of towns, and of knights of shires, of baiting a bull to death, and then roasting him whole! For ourselves, we should object less to a piece of boiled mare than to a steak of baited bull. But *de gustibus non disputandum*. We altogether object, however, to Giraldus' idea of the inauguration "broath"—that *soupe à la roi*, of which O'Donnell, or any other chief, or any "broth of a boy," was the chief ingredient! Though the king was only parboiled, there is a notion of cannibalism—a taste of anthropophagism, lurking beneath the odious practice! We can believe there were barbarities enough among the Ulster Gael of the twelfth century: yet we are sceptical when we fail to discern any object in them. Let us, then, indulge in conjecture. Campion wrote that the king bathed and ate in the "caldarium" or caldron. Does not this legend carry its own confutation? For not only is it improbable that there was any vessel capable of containing either a mare or a white cow "seethed whole," together with the addition of the king, but the entire day must have gone by ere the seething was complete, and before the water was sufficiently cool to admit of being used for immersion by his majesty. On referring to Giraldus, it will be seen that Campion's story is not borne out; for the former wrote that a bath was prepared for the king *in eádem aquâ*, which we incline to interpret, *in aquâ calefactâ in eodem caldario*. Giraldus also wrote that the meat was *brought* to the chief. But it is useless to endeavour overmuch to explain away obvious misstatements, and extract meanings from a garbled account.

Our disquisition would be incomplete if we did not notice that the function of *deposing* the chieftain was appropriate to certain parties. For example, the office of inaugurating and dethroning the arch-chief of the Hy-Màine (namely, O'Kelly), appertained to three separate families, or septs, of the Clan Hy-Màine. As Spenser observes—the oath taken by the chief-elect stipulated that he should deliver up the succession peaceably to the *tanist*, or secondary—a proviso showing that every chieftain held office subject to the pleasure of the republicans he governed.

It may, also, not be out of place to remark that it is commonly erroneously said that the *chieftain* was elected on the death of his predecessor. On the contrary, by a very provident custom, a *tanist*, or second, was always elected beforehand to be ready to succeed to the reigning chieftain, so that when the need occurred the tanist became chief, without any further expression of choice

on the part of the people. The design of nominating this successor beforehand was, as Edmund Spenser observes—"to this end" :—"the Tanist is always ready known, if it should happen the Captain suddenly to die, or to be slain in battle, or to be out of the country; to defend and keep it from all such doubts and dangers." In all these contingencies, and in the case of the "Captain" becoming too aged to lead or govern the clan, an event which, in the course of nature, occurred very frequently, the dangerous necessity of arousing the factious feelings of the clansmen, by assembling them together for a popular election, was avoided. During the disturbed period of Elizabeth's reign, many a Gaelic *Righ* who had rendered himself suspected of over-loyalty to the crown of England, by bending to her Majesty's political coquetry, was ousted by his tanist. Thus, native annalists state that, in the year 1593, O'Neill (Turlough Luineach) was compelled to submit to his tanist, Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, "to whom," say they, "the lordship," that is, the wish of the clan, "had come." They add that the Earl was then styled O'Neill. His inauguration, however, did not take place for two years after, when Turlough died.[j] In weighing Sidney's expression against the ceremony, it must be recollected that this viceroy was politically engaged in endeavouring to abolish the native custom of electing independent kings; and he may, therefore, have been inclined to stigmatise the mere ceremonials too severely. The poet Spenser, who has left us his brief account of them, uses no condemnatory epithet. We meet one, however, in Camden, who says, writing of tanistry :—"No regard is had to an hereditary right of succession among these nobles; but any man of a family who excels in power, connections, or courage, assumes the sovereignity either by usurpation or election of a certain party of his provincials, to the absolute exclusion of the sons, nephews, and next of kin to the deceased; and is placed with certain *barbarous* ceremonies on a seat of stone, in the open air, on some hill."

Sir Henry Sidney's allusion to the ceremonies used at the inauguration of the O'Neills is the earliest notice we have of them. They were abolished by act of parliament, in Dublin, at his desire, two years after the occasion to which he refers. The title of "O'Neill" was also abolished, and heavy penalties were enacted against its reassumption. Shane O'Neill's territory was forfeited by the same statute, and vested in the crown, with the design of extinguishing the chieftainly power of O'Neill. The next notice of the character of these ceremonies is the allusion in Camden's *Britannia* to Ublogahell, where O'Neill, the haughty tyrant of Ulster, used to be crowned in the barbarous manner of his country." With regard to this name for the locality, we have not met it elsewhere;[k] and with regard to the adjective applied to the coronation rite, it is certainly less strong than the expletive employed by Sidney. The difference between the two adjectives is considerable:—that which may be termed "barbarous" may not be "*brutish*." Still, we are somewhat taken with the applicability of this latter term, could we show that the introduction of cattle formed a part, as in Carinthia, of the

[j] State Paper Office, March, 1595.

[k] This strange word, which cannot be explained by the Irish language, has always seemed to us to be a misprint. It may be accounted for by supposing that the engraver or printer omitted the initial letter *T*, and mistook a double *l* for *bl*, and made the three last letters *ell* instead of *oge*, thus (*T*)*ublogahell* for (*T*)*ulloghoge*.—Careless penmanship often causes as strange blunders as this. [Edit.]

symbolic ceremony. There is nothing deserving such epithets in the inaugural ceremonials as they are described by Edmund Spenser. The English poet had resided some sixteen years in Ireland at the time he wrote his photographic "View" of Ireland and the Irish; and his description of these observances agrees in the main with the accounts left by native writers. He wrote as follows, in dialogue form :—

"*Endoxus.* Do they" (the Irish) "not use any ceremony in this election? for all barbarous nations are commonly great observers of ceremonies and superstitious rites.

"*Irenæus.* They use to place him that shal be their Captain upon a stone always reserved for that purpose, and placed commonly upon a hill; in some of which I have seen formed and ingraven a foot, which they say was the measure of their first Captain's foot; whereon he standing, receives an oath to preserve all the ancient former customs of the country inviolable, and to deliver up the succession peacably to his Tanist; and then with a wand delivered unto him by some whose proper office that is; after which, decending from the stone, he turnith himself round, thrice forward and thrice backward.

"*Eudoxus.* But how is the Tanist chosen?

"*Irenæus.* They say he setteth but one foot upon the stone, and receiveth the like oath that the Captain did."

Spenser does not notice the less important ceremony of putting on the shoe; or the superstitious observance of throwing the slipper. With regard to the meaning of these acts, the editor of *Hy-Fiachrach* comes to the following conclusion :—"That after receiving the straight white wand, one of his (the chief's) 'sub-chiefs' put on his shoe or sandal in token of obedience, or threw a slipper over his head in token of good luck and prosperity."

The first of these performances was an act of clan vassalage. No doubt the shoes of the chief were drawn off before he placed his foot within the measure of that of his great ancestor: and it was an honour to replace one of them on such an occasion. Anciently, and in the East, the slipper was an emblem of authority; and also a token of a legal act. To loose a man's shoe from off his foot, was, among the Hebrews, the authorised mode of disgracing him. [*Deuter.*, ch. 25, v. 9.] And it was an old custom in Israel "to confirm all things by drawing off a shoe and giving it as a testimony." [*Book of Ruth*, ch. 4, v. 7.] The act of taking possession was the soul of the ceremony; significantly performed when the chief placed his foot on the mark of *seisin* which the gigantic conqueror of the territory, and patriarch of the tribe, had left in the rock.

Casting a shoe over the young chief's head as an omen of prosperity, was mere after-play, like throwing the slipper after a bride. Anciently, the inaugural ceremonials were superintended by the Druids, and, doubtless, included other observances of an augural nature. The entire ceremony must have had a Pagan and an Oriental origin. The delivery of a rod, the induing of the slipper; the turning round thrice, backwards and forwards, all have an Eastern aspect. In Duald Firbis's account of the privileges of the *ard-oir-righ* of the kings of Hy-Fiachrach, it is stated that he was

customarily entitled to sit down first at the feast, take the first drink, and *enter the bath* first; and also claimed the king's steed and battle-dress after installation. Whether it was usual for the king to enter the bath before he was inaugurated is not stated:—if it were so, it is one more usage savouring of Eastern countries. Not improbably the chief, like the original knights of the order of the Bath, observed some ceremony of ablution prior to his investiture. Or he may have taken the bath on his return from the earn, and prior to the banquet. O'Maelconor states that it was customary for the *ard-fhiledh*, or chief poet, to follow the king after the inauguration was over, upon the royal steed, which he had already claimed and received as a perquisite; and the same functionary might, it is probable, receive the battle-dress, worn at the earn, as soon as the king had taken it off to enter the bath. In a cold climate the sub-chief would first enter the bath prepared for his *Ceann* or head, to test its temperature; just as in Eastern regions, the Khan's wine is tasted before he drinks it. If such a use of water was customary at inaugurations, it serves to explain the assertions of Giraldus Cambrensis, who may have confounded the cauldron in which the feast was prepared for the Kinel-Conail, with the bath used by their king. Excepting the account given by Cambrensis of the festivities of the inauguration day, we know of no other description of the installation "banquet," which, doubtless, was less uncivilised in the 16th than in the 12th century. The annalist Friars of Donegal, who too often whet the edge of our appetite for archaic knowledge by allusions which they might, had they pleased, have filled up with delicious details, chronicle, under the year 1475, that the chief-elect of Annaly died "after his inauguration feast had been prepared: but before he had partaken of it." Now, they might easily have moistened this dry scrap of intelligence, this Barmecide feast for antiquaries, by giving us some notion, some bill of fare, of the feast, which was, perhaps, as sumptuous as the famed carousal of which the bard sang:—

"O'Rourke's noble feast shall ne'er be forgot
By those who were there, or those who were not!"

On the occasion of electing Hugh, Baron of Dungannon, (subsequently Earl of Tyrone and *Gaëlice* the O'Neill) to be tanist to Turlough Luineach, in March, 1584, there was "great feasting."[l]

Having reverted to the O'Neills, let us not omit to observe that their provincial throne was considered of such political importance at the time the survey was made, (apparently by Lythe,) from which the map of Ireland in *Pacata Hibernia* was engraved, that "O'Neal's chaire" is laid down on it. Upon the decease of O'Neill (Turlogh Luineach) in 1595, Sir Henry Bagnal added this postscript to a despatch dated 9th September:—"P.S. Since writing of my letter, olde O'Neyle is dead, and the Traitor" (the Earl of Tyrone) "gone to the Stone to receave that name." The Lord Deputy also wrote to Lord Burleigh, on the 14th:—"Tirone is gone down to have himself called O'Neill, upon some ceremony used; and hath given charge to all his forces to meet him on the 15th, in two hosts."[m] The chieftain-earl lost no time, indeed, in assuming the title, which he is declared to have "prized more than to be intituled Cæsar." Probably, the ceremonies of inauguration had

[l] State Paper Office. [m] Do.

never been performed around "O'Neill's chair" before a larger concourse. But Hugh of Tyrone was the last of his ancient line of Gaelic kings that took their proud stand on that barbaric throne. Their dynasty had come to an end; and the rude installation rock, on which they had successively planted their feet for a thousand years, was soon afterwards broken, like their territorial power. Lord Mountjoy, who reduced the great northern rebellion by famine, in the year 1602, spent, as his secretary wrote, some five days round Tullough-oge, where the O'Neills were of old custom created and there he spoiled the corn of all the countrie, and brake down the chair wherein the O'Neills were wont to be created, being of stone, planted in the open field."

The O'Neills of Clandeboy, the junior clan of "Yellow Hugh," had likewise their chair, which has been described in the first volume of a charming little national periodical, now unhappily defunct, the *Dublin Penny Journal*, by the able and pleasing pen of one who is excellent in art and archæology, Dr. Petrie. Sir Henry Sidney writes, March, 1568, that a large band of Scots, intending, as was said, "to create a new Lord of Clandeboy, not farre from Knockfergus, went, under that pretence, to enter a wood near Castell Reagh." The interesting relic of Gaelic grandeur on which the chief of this sept was installed, was situated near Stewartstown, about the position of Ballynecloy. Several similar "chairs" still also remain to gratify the sight and imagination of those who are able to invest, in their mind's eye, the surrounding scenes with some of the tumult and barbaric display that must have characterised assemblies of Irish clans for the purpose of inaugurating their chosen chieftains. Macgeoghegans, M^c^Mahons, and Clanricarde's "chairs" are still to be found standing in the countries formerly ruled by those once seated in them. The inauguration-stone of the O'Donnells, long preserved in the church of Kilmacrenan, in Donegal, is destroyed.[n] The following particulars[o] as to places and officers of inauguration may interest some of our readers, and especially those whom the blood of chiefs of Irish clans still animates.

CHIEFS.	INAUGURATED AT.	BY WHOM INAUGURATED.
O'Neill-More, ..	Tullaghog, ...	.. O'Cahan, principal *oir-righ*.
O'Neill of Clan-Hugh-Buoy, ...	Castlereagh, ...	..
O'Donnell, ...	Kilmacrenan, ...	.. O'Gallagher.
O'Brien, ...	Maghadhor, at Cloney, County Clare, ..	.. MacNamara.
M^c^Carthy-More, ..	Lisbanagher, County Kerry, ...	.. O'Sulivan-more.
Mac-Murrough, ..	Knockanbhogha (thought to be near Ferns Castle),	O'Nolan.
O'Kinshelagh, ..	Leic-mhic-Eohadha, ...	.. MacEochadha, or Keboe.
O'Byrne, ...	Dun-Cailligh-Beirre, ...	.. MacEochadha.
O'Conor, ...	Carnfraoigh, near Tulsk, ...	.. MacDermot.
MacGuire, ...	Sgiath Ghabhra, now Lisnaskea, Enniskillen,	..
O'Rorke, ...	Cruachan O'Cuproin, County Leitrim, ..	..
MacMahon, ..	Tullyrea, ...	.. (See Mr. Shirley's *Farney*.)
O'Dowda	Carn-Amhalgaith, ...	..

[n] Note to F. M. p. 1285

[o] From Appendix to Hy-Fiachrach.

It does not appear that chieftains of Teutonic race were, with one exception, ever inaugurated. This singular exception was in favour of *MacWilliam*, who, as the descendant and representative of the once mighty De Burghs, Lords of Connaught and Earls of Ulster, governed, for a time, the entire powerful Norman-Irish sept of Bourke. After, however, this numerous sept had broken into two clans,—the Mayo Bourkes and the Clanricardines,—there were fierce and frequent contests for the chieftaincy; and, as it would seem, each head of the two septs was formally inaugurated, in order to give the weight of Gaelic ceremonies to his title. For this reason, we find mention of "Clanricarde's chair;" and also that, in the year 1589, upon the election of "the Blind Abbot" to the chieftaincy of the Bourkes of Mayo, "the rod was given him, on his being called *MacWilliam*, with all the accustomed ceremonies."[p] This assumption of Gaelic institutions by the De Burghs was, however, merely a politic concession to the prejudices of the native Irish, and to the semi-superstitious usages of the time; for their Norman race had as little concern with Celtic auguries as with the wailings of a family *Banshee* on the approach of death.

Readers of Sir Henry Sidney's interesting *Narrative* may have observed that the writer states, as respects the election of Sir Hugh O'Donnell to be chieftain, that he was elected by "the Bushops and other landlords of the country." We imagine this to be a far more correct description of the parties who exercised the act of election than the phrase which Sidney employed with respect to the election of O'Neill, viz., that "he was elected by the people." We take the "landlords" to have been the *toisheachs*, or *cean-finès*, seniors of subordinate septs of the Cinel-Conaill. The hierarchs of the clan may have had right of suffrage; and their presence was usual at the inaugural ceremony. The *Four Masters* state, *sub anno* 1537, that Manus O'Donnell "was inaugurated by the successors of St. Columbkille, with the permission and by the advice of the nobles of Tirconnell, both lay and ecclesiastical." The successors of St. Columbkille were the Bishop of Derry and the *coarbs*, or hereditary church-keepers, of Kilmacrenan and other churches. O'Ferghil (O'Farrel), the *coarb* or *erenach* of Kilmacrenan, was the ecclesiastic whose presence was indispensable at the rite of inauguring O'Donnell.

The following description of the election and inauguration of Hugh-*Roe* O'Donnell is extracted from his MS. biography.[q] Soon after the return of the young Red Hugh to Ballyshannon, he, in April, 1592, despatched messengers to "such of the Cinel-Conaill as were submissive to their superiors, desiring them to assemble and meet him on the west side of the high mountain in the Barnais-mor of Tir-Hugh; and accordingly, the seniors proceeded to assemble there." Those who are especially named as attending, were O'Boyle; McSweny of Tirbogain, the third chief in rank in the army; and the McSwenys of Tir-ânad, and of "the battle-axes." Thither also came Hugh-*Roe's* father, O'Donnell (Sir Hugh), who was accompanied by his wife, Inghean-Duff, daughter of James McDonald, Lord of the Isles. Lady O'Donnell, who was Hugh *Roe's* mother, is described as a

[p] M.S., State Paper Office.

[q] O'Reilly's translation of O'Clery's Life of Red Hugh:—Brit. Mus., *Bibl Egerton*, No. 123.

masculine and extraordinary person. The McSwenys Fanaid and Na d'Tuath also attended at the place of meeting. "The particular place where these nobles assembled was in Kill-meic-Renaion, in the centre of the district of the Cinel-Leigheach. Thither the people followed. This is the place where was nursed Columb-kill, the great saint of the Cinel-Conaill, by whom the church was first erected, and in which O'Donnell was always inaugurated into the chieftainey of his country. It was by the Erenach of the church that he was inaugurated; and it was in honour and respect of St. Columb that this ceremony was here performed by the Cinel-Conaill." The biographer proceeds to observe that "innumerable multitudes" of the clan, inclusive of several "wounding leaders" in war, did not attend.—

"After this small host had assembled together, the chiefs and nobles separated from the crowd, and returned to a small plain on one side. Here they consulted how they might divide their enemies, and bring them again to obedience, and also all those of the Cinel-Conaill themselves who had separated from them. After this consultation, it was thought best by these nobles, and by O'Donnell himself, when they considered his weakness, and very great age, to confer the sovereignty on his son, that is on Hugh *Roe*, and proclaim him O'Donnell. The people in general applauded this counsel, and they acted accordingly. The Airchinneach, whose name was O'Firghil, advanced and inaugurated Hugh *Roe* in the sovereignty, by the command and with the benediction of his father, and they subscribed their names, as was fit, and was hitherto the custom of the Cinel-Conaill; and they proclaimed him O'Donnell. The clergy of the church proceeded to implore the Almighty God on his behalf, and to sing psalms and hymns in honour of Christ and of Columb, for the prosperity of his government, as was customary. It was on the 3d day of the month of May, 1592, that he was proclaimed prince."

Sir Henry Docwra, in his "Narration," takes notice of a point or two at the election of Sir Nial *Garbh* O'Donnell, in 1602:—"He assembles," says the English officer, "of his owne auctheritie all the country att Kilmacreenan, a place where the O'Donnell use to be chosen; there he takes upon him the title, and with the ceremonyes accustomed proclaims himself O'Donnell; and then presentlie comes to me to the Derry, with a greater troupe of attendance then at any time before, and they styling him at every word *my lord*." Certainly, the foregoing biographic account of solemn ceremonies used in the 16th century differs *in toto cælo* from Giraldus' description of the manner in which an O'Donnell of the 12th century was installed.

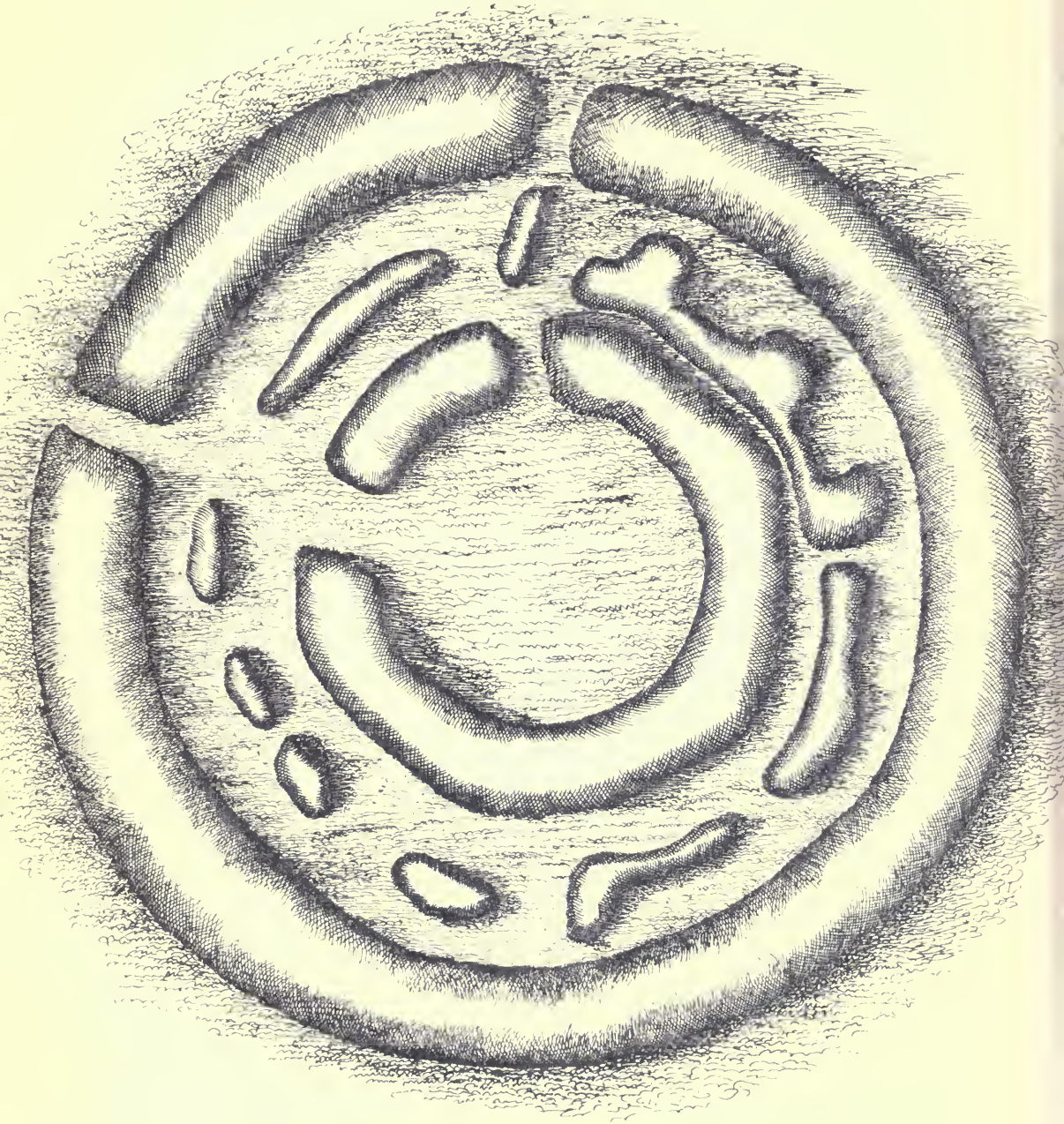
As might be expected, the inaugural ceremonials employed among the Highlanders of Scotland, a race closely cognate to the Irish Gaels, were quite similar to what we have been describing. Although not affording any additional details, we may quote the following passages on this subject from Martin's *Description of the Western Isles*. This writer observes that the ancient kings of the Hebrides, and their successors, the Lords of the Isles, were inaugurated on an island in Loch-Finlagan, in Islay, where, says he:—

"There was a big stone of seven foot square, in which there was a deep impression made to receive

the foot of MacDonald; for he was crowned King of the Isles standing on this stone; and swore that he would continue his vassals in the possession of their lands, and do exact justice to all his subjects; and then his father's sword was put into his hands. The Bishop of Argyle and seven priests anointed him king, in presence of all the heads of the tribes who were his vassals; at which time the orator rehearsed a catalogue of his ancestors," &c. * * * "When the chief entered on the government of the clan, he was placed on a pyramid of stones, a white rod was delivered to him, and the chief Druid or orator pronounced a stimulating panegyric on the ancient pedigree, valour, and liberality of the family; all which he proposed to the young chieftain for imitation."

The *Lia Fàil*, or Stone of Destiny, is so celebrated that we must include some notices of this national memorial, without entering into the controversy whether (as Dr. Petrie asserts) the genuine stone of this name is still on Tara hill; yet, at the same time, expressing our opinion that the pillar-stone at Tara was a Gothic idol, brought over by one of the first colonies of Scandinavian Vik-ings. The famous stone which rests under the coronation-chair in Westminster Abbey was, undoubtedly, at a very early period, part of the inauguration-stone of the Scotic dynasty of Caledonia. According to Wyntoun, its original situation was in Iona; from whence it seems to have accompanied the conquering progress of the Scotic race. Saxo Grammaticus says it was also the ancient custom in Denmark to crown the kings sitting on a stone. The elective nature of ancient kingship in Scotland, and the mode of installation, did not escape the notice of Shakespeare, who makes one Scottish chief say:—"'Tis most like the sovereignty *will fall upon* Macbeth;" to which another replies:—"He is already *named;* and gone to Scone to be invested." Robert Bruce, the day after his coronation, 1306, sat "super montem de Scone." Rapin, after alluding to the intention of Edward I. to unite the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, and his removal into his own country of the Scottish regalia, together with "the famous stone on which the inauguration of their kings was performed," proceeds thus:—"The people of Scotland had all along placed in that stone a kind of fatality. They fancied that while it remained in their country the State would be unshaken; but the moment it should be elsewhere removed, great revolutions would ensue: for this reason Edward carried it away, to create in the Scots a belief that the time of the dissolution of their monarchy was come." Nothing, indeed, can show the importance attached to the possession of this stone in a more forcible point of view than the circumstance of its having been made not only the subject of an express article in a treaty of peace, but also of a political conference between Edward III. and David II., King of Scotland.

The pillar-stone at Tara was doubtless used at the inaugural ceremony. The use of the "Tanist Stone" is, like most other primitive customs, of Canaanitish origin. Abimelech was installed *by the pillar which was in Shechem;* and when Jehoash was anointed, *the king stood by a pillar, as the manner was.* Among the Celtæ, as observed by Wilson, in his *Pre-historic Annals of Scotland*, "the standing stone" was considered the most sacred witness of every solemn covenant between contracting parties, including that between the elected chief and his clan. Assuredly, there was full meaning



FORT OF TULLAGHOG.

in that act and deed of the chief-elect of a Gaelic clan, by which, at his inauguration, he placed himself on a lofty stone marked with the impression of feet which were believed to be the stamp and size of those of the principal patriarch of the tribe, who may have been the first acquirer of the clan-country. Similar ideas of deriving right of possession, and of taking "seisin," led a certain tribe of Scythians, in the time of Herodotus, to show the print of the foot of Hercules on a rock; transferred the *Lia Fàil* from Scone to London; and raised memorials in granite to mark the first foot-prints in Ireland of William of Orange and George the Fourth. Indeed, a "Coronation-Stone" has retained its place in superstitious sentiment, so as to give it political value in the popular mind, from the time of Abimelech down to that when Macbeth was inaugurated at Scone, and even to our own day, when our most good and gracious Queen was happily crowned at Westminster.

Our archæologic readers will excuse us if we repeat our wish of drawing their attention to the resemblance between the inaugural ceremonies used by the Irish and the Carinthians. For ourselves, we will not sound a trumpet to proclaim that this similarity proves a connection between these two people; but our *cor de chasse* has, at the least, started a fresh hare. Certainly, the strong similarity between the Austrian ceremonies, which are so minutely described, and those which all accounts and allusions show were incident to Celtic inauguration, is even more remarkable in the meaning or moral than in the close similarity of particular circumstances.

TULLAGHOG.

As an appropriate illustration to Mr. Hore's interesting paper, it has been considered advisable to prepare a Map of the hill-fort of Tullaghog, in the parish of Desertcreaght, barony of Dungannon, and to add a few remarks, principally taken from notes furnished by the rector of the parish, the Rev. Thomas H. Porter, LL.D., with a few added by Mr. Getty, who visited this interesting locality in 1836, in company with the late Mr. William Thompson, of Belfast. The map is prepared from a survey made for Mr. Getty in 1849, by Mr. Arthur Quigley, land surveyor, and is scrupulously correct. Of course it is only proposed to describe the place in its present state,—which, perhaps, does not differ much from that wherein it was left by Sir Arthur Chichester, of whose proceedings we find the following notice in *Stuart's History of Armagh* (p. 300):—

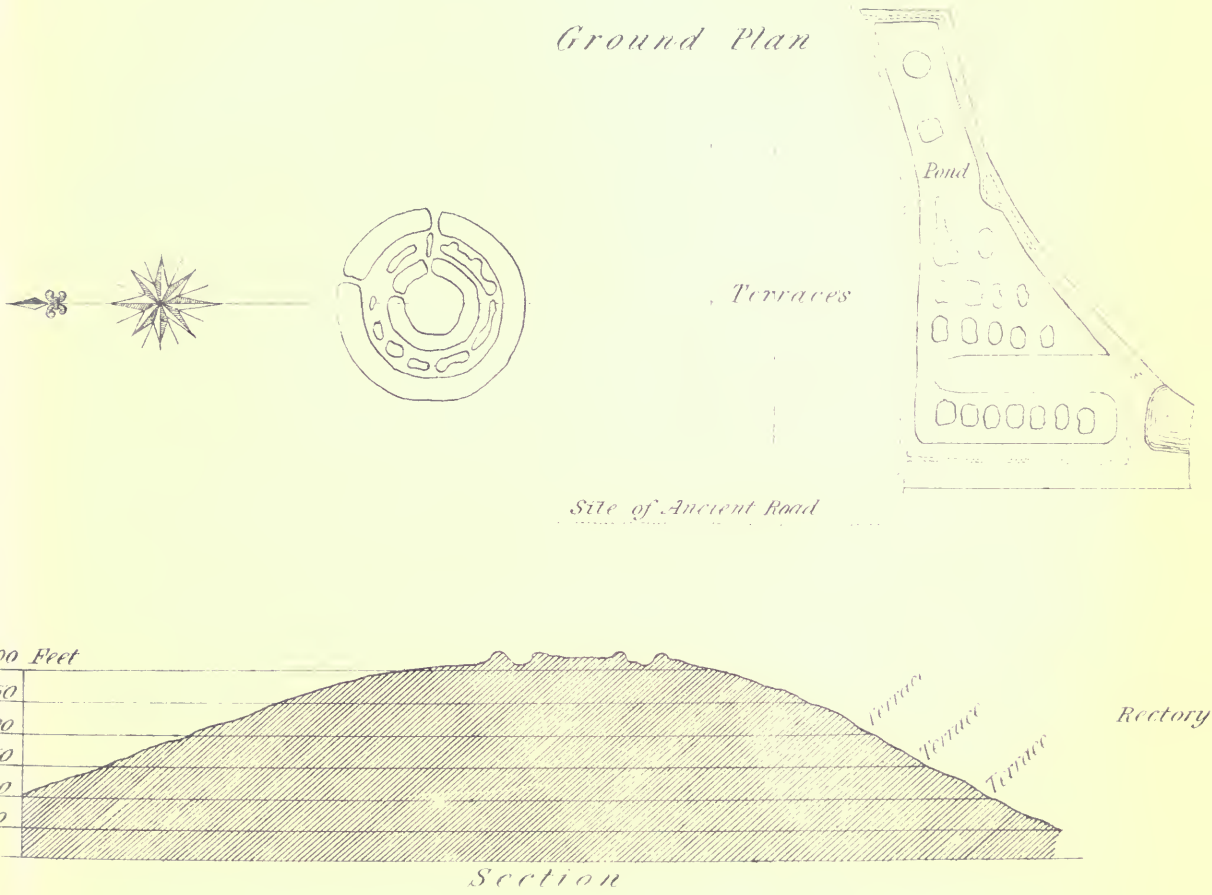
"In August, 1602, Sir Arthur Chichester (during the war with Tyrone) spent some time at Tulloghogue, and here broke in pieces the stone chair of state in which, from remote antiquity, the sovereigns of Ulster had been successively inaugurated into the regal title and authority of the O'Nial. [Moryson, vol. 2, p. 197; Cox, vol. 1, p. 447.] Several stones, said to have been fragments of this royal chair, were in the glebe-land belonging to the Rev. James Lowry, rector of Desert-Creaght, about the year 1768."

The following are the notes made by the surveyor at the time of preparing our map, 21st Nov., 1849 : and they agree in every respect with the observations of our other correspondents :—

"The Fort is of the form and dimensions shown on the map, and stands upon a round swelling hill, commanding a very extensive prospect on all sides except the north, where the view is interrupted by Slievegallon mountain, distant about four miles. Eastward across Lough-Neagh, the County of Antrim and Belfast mountains are visible, distant about thirty miles. To the south may be seen, in the distance, part of the Counties of Armagh and of Louth; and in clear weather the city of Armagh and neighbourhood are quite discernible. Round to the west and north-west is a wide-spreading view of Tyrone, including some of the mountains of Munterlony in the Barony of Strabane. The Fort is enclosed with a good fence and thorn hedge, having an entrance gate.

"Descending from the Fort on the south side of the hill towards Tullaghog, the ground is more abrupt than on any other side, as may be seen by the section on the map; and here, on the face of the descent, are traces of what would appear to have been terraces, three in number : their positions are marked on the map and section. I could learn nothing of them from any of the inhabitants, further than that the ground on this side of the hill was remembered to have been an old orchard, and I was shown one old pear tree which is still remaining. Dr. Porter's opinion is, that the terraces had nothing whatever to do with the Fort; that they had been formed by whoever planted the orchard on the declivity of the hill, in order to place the trees in a more perpendicular position than the nature of the ground would otherwise permit. Others think they were in some manner connected with the Fort, but cannot say why; or at least cannot give any reason for thinking so, beyond their great antiquity. On the highest of the three terraces are the remains of an ancient road running east and west, the same direction in which the terraces run; in fact this road is upon one of the terraces, but it is not thought to be of remote origin, although no one can say when it was made. It is still called "the cow-loaning," and was the way by which the rector's cattle went out to the fields east of the orchard. There are also the remains of a very old road from the village of Tullaghog up this hill, and in a direction at right angles to the one just mentioned : the directions of both these roads are shown on the map. [N.B.—The part where the terraces are has for some years been left under grass.]

"At the base of the hill, immediately below the terraces, are what are called 'The Fish Ponds :' their form may also be seen upon the map. They were artificially made by excavations and a little embankment; but at what period of time no one can say. Some think they were an appendage to the Fort; others that it was from these excavations the earth was taken to build the Fort. Dr. Porter thinks they never were at any time connected with the Fort; but that, at some remote period, some of the rectors caused them to be made either for fish-ponds or for the improvement of his garden or pleasure-ground scenery, or perhaps for both. There are twenty-one islands in the ponds; the surrounding grounds are tastefully laid out, and, as well as the islands, are planted."


Ground Plan
Pond
Terraces
Site of Ancient Road
00 Feet
Terrace
Terrace
Terrace
Rectory
Section

Indeed, it is the opinion of Dr. Porter "that the old roads are not of Irish times, and that the ponds and terraces (mentioned above, and shown on the plan) are not older than one hundred, or at most one hundred and twenty years." This gentleman states that "he has some reasons for supposing the rector who made the ponds and terraces was Mr. Lowry, or perhaps his predecessor, Mr. Dobbs, who was in the parish in 1735.

The terraces are parallel to an old farm-road, now planted with trees, and also to the north bank of the pond. They were simply formed along the hill-side in making the old orchard, which was stripped of its trees a few years only before the incumbency of Dr. Porter commenced; and that gentleman does not entertain the least doubt that the orchard was laid out by one of his predecessors (as already stated) in the rectory. There were several other ponds (now drained) along the line of the brook, which forms the southern boundary of the Glebe; but Dr. Porter insists that they are of no ancient date, as he on three occasions drained them, and each time deepened them, and dug away large portions of the islands, and yet, in so doing, did not find a single article of any kind, such as would surely be found in draining any ancient pond or artificial lake. The same gentleman, who has taken great pains to obtain information for our present article, "has also thorough-drained and sub-soiled almost every field in the Glebe, and, in so doing, has dug many miles of trenches, and turned up the ground to a depth never before gone to, besides removing numbers of old fences and roads, &c.; yet no traces of any buildings or works, except modern farm-offices, were ever discovered, nor any antiquities besides the few afterwards mentioned, except two or three small bronze articles and an iron weapon, all of which were presented to the Royal Irish Academy Museum. He is also of opinion that the old *paved roads* (a large extent of which he had dug up and thrown into the adjoining fields) were made by King James I.'s settlers, and have no claim to the title "ancient." "All ideas," he adds, "of splendid buildings, concentric terraces, ponds, roads, or other works of advanced civilization, appear to me purely fanciful and visionary."

TRADITIONS.

Dr. Porter says in one of his communications—"The only tradition I ever heard is, that Phelimy Roe's golden slipper lies hid somewhere in the Fort; and here the boys and girls used to hunt for it on Easter Monday, when a sort of 'patron'-like gatherings used to take place in the Glebe."—This was, however, before Dr. Porter's incumbency, and it is to be regretted that the information on this point is so meagre; as there is a probability that the periodical meetings mentioned by him may have originated in some ancient observance connected with the special purpose to which this hill was appropriated by the ancient Irish. When Mr. Getty visited this place (21st Sept., 1836,) "a man who acted as his guide informed him that he recollected an old woman (he did not know from what part of the country), visiting Tullaghoge, who clapped her hands and said 'it was there her grandfather, Phil O'Neill, was crowned King of Ireland.'"

ANTIQUITIES.

Very few objects of antiquity have been discovered in the vicinity. On the line of the brook which passes near, Dr. Porter found a broken mill-stone, a wooden water-channel, and a stone mill-dam, confirming, in his opinion, the supposed meaning of Ballymully [mill-town] the name of the townland. "In levelling part of one of the old roads," the same gentleman also found "an old horse-shoe of very small size and unusual shape; and in levelling the fence of another part of the same road, the silver seal of Robert Lindesay was turned up out of the earth. He was Chief Harbinger to King James I., from whom he received a grant of 1,000 acres of land here, which his descendant, F. Lindesay, Esq., now enjoys.

On the 17th of July last, Dr. Porter, in company with the Rev. Dr. Todd, P.R.I.A., &c., caused several excavations to be made in the central space of the fort, and in the face of the innermost rampart, in search of any subterranean vault or passage. But, in every instance, nothing was found except the common subsoil of clay and stones, which forms the mass of the hill and appears not to have been disturbed since the Deluge, by which it was probably formed. In one spot, at a short depth beneath the surface of the rampart, were found traces of a fire, with broken bones, apparently of beef and mutton; and a small bone pin, or bodkin, (with an eye) of the very rudest description. Nothing else whatever was discovered.

THE STONE CHAIR.

The chair is thus mentioned in Connellan's *Four Masters*:—"There was a seat of large rude stones in former times at Tullaghoge, which served as the coronation-chair of the O'Neills, and was called *Leac-na-Riogh*, or the Stone of the Kings, which is mentioned in the Annals A.D. 1432; but this was barbarously broken by order of the lord deputy, Mountjoy, in the reign of Elizabeth." [Note, p. 263.] It may be mentioned that there is a tradition that the last known fragment was built into a coach-house erected by Mr. Dobbs, a former rector. A stone of sandstone was discovered by the present incumbent as the key-stone of the middle arch of those which formed the front. It bore the letters RD. 1735; and, if this were a portion of the chair, it had evidently been cut into its new form. Under such circumstances no interest can be attached to it. In the absence of the original, we may, however, suppose that the stone chair of the Clandeboy O'Neills, of the county Down, which still exists, affords an example not very dissimilar. A description and drawing of this chair are given in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. 1, p. 208.

The following legend, with respect to the coronation-stone, is found in the *Annals of Tighernach*, as edited by O'Conor, [*Rerum Hib. Scrip.*] and is worthy of being inserted here:—"Scriptor vitæ septimæ in Triade inquit Sanctum Patricium vaticinasse ex Eugenii semine Reges et Principes multos prodituros, et promissionis istius pignus reliquisse lapidem a se benedictum, super quo promissi reges et principes ordinarentur;" i.e.—"It is stated by a biographer of Saint Patrick that he foretold that

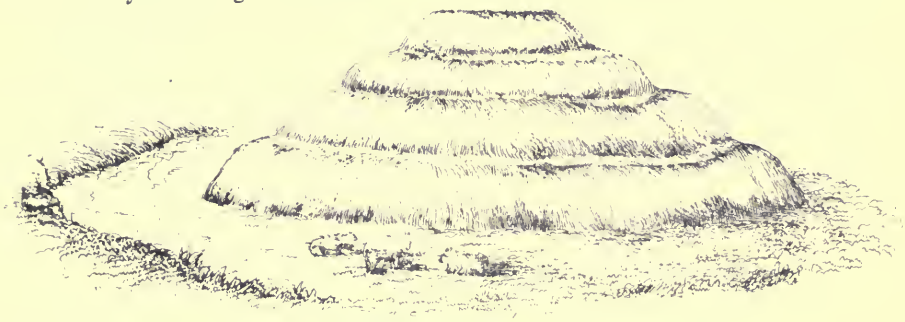
many kings and rulers would proceed from the race of Eugenius; and as a pledge of the promise, left a stone blessed by himself, whereon the promised kings and rulers continued to be inaugurated." This stone, says Dr. O'Conor, remained till the 17th century—and he adds the usual reference to Speed's map of Ulster.

THE FORT.

We have the authority of the gentleman already named for believing that our map represents the Fort, as it now exists, with sufficient accuracy: and the surveyor has marked a peculiarity not previously noticed—the *hexagonal* form of the innermost rampart: this has been confirmed by Dr. Porter himself, who took the trouble of clearing away the underwood which covered it, and determining the fact beyond a doubt. The hexagonal form may also be discerned in the outermost rampart at corresponding points. "There are also," he adds, "projections at some of the angles, especially at that which seems to be most nearly in the southern point." The chain of spots (shown on drawing) between the outermost and innermost ramparts is meant to represent a series of *mounds* of various slopes and heights, which are the remains of a second or intermediate rampart. This was in a great measure dug away in the time of Dr. Porter's immediate predecessor. The glebe was then sub-let to a number of small farmers and poor cottiers, who, besides an infinity of other mischief, removed the chief part of this second rampart for manure. "Parts of it, however, were too refractory, owing to stones and roots of trees, to be easily disturbed. These they left here and there." Dr. Porter has an impression that much of the outermost rampart was also taken away by them. The gaps in the ramparts, he believes, were made by them for casting out the earth. This Vandalism began after the old trees in the fort were cut down; and it was partly with a view to securing it against any future injury of a similar kind that the present incumbent had it again planted. The third or innermost rampart is much higher than the outermost. The highest remnant of the second or intermediate one is higher than the first or outermost, but lower than the third. The outermost one, or that first approached, is the lowest of all. "The ramparts rising in regular gradation up to the spot where the throne of the O'Neills stood, when crowned with strong stockades of timber," as Dr. Porter remarks, "and with fosses generally wet between them, must have formed very formidable defences in times before the use of ordnance." There remain no means now of ascertaining how the garrison was lodged; but there can be no doubt that a place of such importance, both as a military stronghold and as the site of the inauguration-stone, was never left unprotected. Dr. Porter supposes that the occupants of the Fort inhabited huts of wood or earth.

Dr. Porter ascertained that the centre of the fort is decidedly to the eastward of the summit of the hill, the highest point of which is on the west side of the innermost rampart. The ramparts are not quite concentric. The centre of the innermost is much nearer to the outermost at the North side,

than at the South. With regard to the terraces, Mr. Getty was of opinion, until assured of the contrary, that they formed a part of the original work, and he was strengthened in this view by the form of the "Tynwald," in the Isle of Man; which, though of much less extent, is a terraced fort, constructed in early times for the accommodation of a long body of spectators, and still used annually, by traditional custom, on the occasion of a public ceremony in the Island. For comparison a sketch of the Tynwald is given here.



The Tynwald Hill, Isle of Man.

Gough, in his edition of Camden's *Britannia*, says, speaking of the king or lord of the Island:—"The mode of investiture and receiving him at his first accession is this. He was to sit on the *Tinwald Hill*, in the open air, in a chair of state, with a royal canopy over his head, his face to the East towards a chapel eastward of the hill, where there are prayers and a sermon on the occasion; and his sword before, held with the point upwards. His barons, viz., the Bishop and Abbot, with the rest in their degrees, sat beside him; his beneficed men, Councils, Deemsters, before him; his gentry and yeomanry in the third degree, and the twenty-four Keys in their order; and the Commons stood without the circle with their clerks in surplices."

O'HAGANS.

In the *Annals of Innisfallen, anno* 1105, we find "Mors O'Hagani, de. Tironensibus Tulchæogi;" and several other entries might be quoted to show that in this family was vested the custody of this important place.

Besides the mention made of this family, it appears from an entry in the *Four Masters* in the year 1704 that, although so intimately associated with the fort of Tullaghog and the inauguration of the chiefs of Tyrone, some of its members may have occasionally strayed from the path of constitutional duty. "A treacherous attack was made upon O'Neill (i.e. Donnell) by Tiege O'Hagan and his sons, in O'Neill's own castle of Dungannon; and they took the castle. But God took immediate vengeance on them for that act, for the castle was retaken from them; and Tiege and two of his

sons were hanged, and his third son was maimed."—"This family," says the Rev. Matthew Kelly in a note to his edition of Cambrensis Eversus, "remained very distinguished till Cromwell's time, and was seated at Tullyhog. Thomas O'Hagan, Esq., Q.C., is of this family."

INTERFERENCE OF THE CHURCH IN ELECTIONS.

It would be an interesting inquiry to trace the Civil and Religious History of Ireland, and ascertain the precise period when the right of the church to sanction the elections of chiefs became fully established:—at present a few words on this matter must suffice. The Rev. Robert King, in his thin but invaluable folio *Memoir Introductory to the Early History of the Primacy of Armagh*, has laid the foundation for many important researches. In discussing the events of the struggle betwen Maolmogue (Malachy) and Murtogh for the Coarbship of St. Patrick (the Primacy), and the succession of Niall to Murtogh, this learned clergyman quotes largely from St. Bernard's life of Malachy, showing the opposition made to the new order of things then attempted to be introduced. "One of these sons of Belial," says Bernard, meaning the supporters of Niall, "prompt at wickedness, able in iniquity, knowing the place where the others had determined on meeting together, associates privily a number of persons with himself, and occupies a neighbouring eminence, one that arose opposite to the position in question, intending when *they* should be taken up with other matters, to make a sudden rush upon them, unawares, and murder the innocent. For they had settled on despatching the king as well as the bishop, that there might none be left to avenge the blood of the righteous."

It is not our intention to enter here into any polemical question; but it seems clear that the true question at issue, whether desirable or not, was the independence of the Irish church. Mr. King quotes from Dr. Lanigan the following notice of the result.—"On his discovering their plans, the Saint entered a neighbouring church and prayed to God. All of a sudden clouds and darkness, with great rain, changed the day into night, and a dreadful storm came on, accompanied with great thunder and lightning, which killed the leader of the party and some others of them, besides sorely injuring others, and dispersing the whole gang, while the storm and whirlwind left St. Malachy's friends untouched, although not far distant."

What gives interest, however, to this statement is its connection with the locality to which our attention has been chiefly confined. "According to the *Annals of Innisfallen* at A.D. 1134," (adds Dr. Lanigan,) "the conspirators were from Tullach-og, and the transaction is thus stated:—The Kineal-Eoghan (Tironians) of Tullach-og conspired against Maolmadhog, (Malachy,) bishop of Armagh, and *twelve* of them were struck dead by lightning on the *very* spot where they were forming the conspiracy against the holy man." It seems quite in keeping that the O'Hagans, and their friends, the guardians of the monarchy, should have opposed the change in church government now introduced; and it seems not unreasonable to date the power of the church in elections from the victory of Malachy on this occasion.

The notice respecting Primate Mey shows how complete the influence had become. It is also remarkable that Mey, an Englishman, should endeavour to keep up the old Irish custom of election at Tullaghog; but this is accounted for by the power which it gave him as an ecclesiastic. May it not be the case that the pertinacity with which the Irish clung to their old form of government, which so much annoyed England, was caused by the influence of the church introduced by England herself?

HISTORICAL NOTICES.

The following entries are found in the *Annals of the Four Masters.*

The age of Christ, 1051. MacLachlainn was expelled from the lordship of Tulach-Og; and Aedh Ua Fearghail took his place.

The age of Christ, 1139. An army was led by the Ulidians to Tulach-Og, and they burned the plain with its churches.

The age of Christ, 1160. The battle of Magh-Luadhat [supposed to be near Newton-Stuart] was gained by the Cinel-Eoghain of Tulach-Og, [this was the tribe name of the O'Hagans, who were seated at Tullyhoge] over Ua Goirmleadhaigh, Domhnall Ua Crichain, and the Ui-Fiachrach (of Ard-sratha), and on this occasion Muircheartach Ua Neill was undeservedly killed by Lochlainn; and Lochlainn was afterwards slain in revenge of him, by the son of Ua Neill.

The age of Christ, 1181. Donnell, son of Hugh MacLoughlin, and the Kinel Owen of Tullaghoge, made an incursion into Ulidia, and defeated the Ulidians, the Hy-Tuirtre, and the Firlee, together with Rory MacDonslevy, and Carrill O'Flyn.

The age of Christ, 1186. Donnell, the son of Hugh O'Loughlin, died, and Rory O'Flaherty (O'Laverty) was elected by some of the Kinel-Owen of Tullaghogue.

The age of Christ, 1206. An army was led by the son of Hugo de Lacy, and the English of Meath and Leinster, into Tullaghoge, and burned churches and corn, but obtained neither hostages nor pledges of submission from Hugh O'Neill on this occasion.

The age of Christ, 1232. An army was led by O'Donnell into Tyrone, and arrived at Tullaghoge, on which occasion they killed many cows, burned the corn and crops, and did much injury, and then returned home in triumph.

The age of Christ, 1250. A great army was led by Maurice Fitzgerald, Cathal O'Reilly, Cuconnaght O'Reilly, and all the other chiefs of Hy-Briuin, into Tyrone, and remained three nights at Tullaghoge, where they sustained much injury and hardship, but obtained no pledges or hostages from the O'Neills on this expedition.

The age of Christ, 1432. O'Neill, i.e., Donnell Bog, (the soft) the son of Henry Aimhreidh, was slain in O'Kane's country by the two sons of Dermot O'Kane, i.e., Donnell and Aibhne, assisted by the O'Kanes in general, after they had taken the house in which he was. Donnell O'Neill, Patrick O'Mulholland, and the son of O'Nellain, were also slain. Owen, the son of Niall Oge O'Neill, was inaugurated his successor on Leac Na Riogh at Tullaghoge.

The age of Christ, 1455. [The curious entry respecting Henry O'Neill and Primate Mey, is already given in Mr. Hore's paper, showing that a period occurred in Irish history when the church assumed a right of sanctioning the election of the chiefs of Tyrone.]

The latest entry found in the *Four Masters*, having reference to Tullagh-og, possesses more interest than the usual dry notices, from the incidental mention of a garden.

The year of Christ, 1523. A war [broke out] between O'Neill, i.e., Con, and O'Donnell [Hugh Duv, son of Hugh Roe]. O'Donnell remained encamped during the spring in Glen-Finne, and Manus O'Donnell went to Scotland; and he returned in safety after his visit. O'Donnell and Manus [then] went to Tyrone, and ravaged and burned the whole country from Bealach Coille na g-Cuirritin to Dungannon. The town of MacDonnell, i.e., Cnoc-an-Chluiche, was burned by O'Donnell, and a beautiful herb-garden there was cut down and destroyed by his forces. They remained for some time encamped at Tullaghog, and ravaged and plundered the country on every side.

In the *Book of Rights* are the following notices:—

"One of the privileges of the King of Caiseal." [This expression refers, not to the ancient metropolis of Munster, but any regal fort. *Cis ail* tribute rent is the derivation given.]—

"Fifty drinking horns, fifty swords, and fifty steeds to the King of Aileach, and a month's refection from him to him, *and to escort him to Tulagh Og.*"—In the poetical repetition of this the words are "to the man who has the green Tumulus. To the chief of the green Tulach-Og."

"Thirty drinking horns, thirty swords, and thirty steeds to the lord of Tulach Og, [who gives him] refection for twelve days, and escorts him to the Oirghialla."

PRESENT EXTENT OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE.

At this particular crisis of the history of the vernacular language of our island, when it is considered by many that this venerable dialect of the once far extended Celtic is on the eve of its extinction and utter disappearance, it is a singular fact that, as a spoken and written tongue, the Irish is actually more widely disseminated, more generally spoken, and at least as efficiently cultivated by scholars as at any former period of its existence.

If we glance at the varying history of Irish population, as laid down by Petty and Newenham, and in the report of the last Census, we find that at periods when the great mass of our people were more unmixed, and less affected by foreign influx and influences, the Irish-speaking population of Ireland was numerically far below what it is at the present day in its so-called moribund state.

In 1672, and again in 1695, the whole population of Ireland was computed at 1,100,000, and in 1731 it had increased to 2,011,219. Calculating the number of those who used the Irish as their ordinary language, at two-thirds of the whole community, we have for the year 1672 a total of Irish at 733,332, and for the year 1731 a total of 1,340,808; whilst the Census of 1851 gives us a gross return of 1,524,286, that is, an Irish-speaking population in Ireland itself more than double that of the reign of Charles II., when Irish was the tongue of the majority of the nation, as it continued to be down to 1731, as above shown. Since then, however, this language has outgrown the narrow limits of our island. By the facilities of international intercourse and of immigration from these shores to England and Scotland, the colonies, and the United States, more Irish may be now heard spoken in the great manufacturing and commercial cities of Glasgow and Liverpool, of New York and Boston, nay, even at the Antipodes, than in Waterford or Londonderry. Indeed we are safe in saying that there is more of this tongue spoken at the present day in the capital of Great Britain, than in that of Ireland. We have known many persons, born in the very heart of London, who spoke it as their mother language,—improved, it may be, in the pronunciation by some small addition of the Cockney *accent*. In Scotland its prevalence is less to be wondered at. In Western and Highland Scotia, the *Erse* (Irish) has been the national tongue since the time when Fergus MacErc peopled that country from Ireland "with his own hands." And the stream of intercourse from the parent Scotia (Major) has been actively kept up to the present day. An Irish population of 80,000 in Glasgow alone may be supposed to afford a considerable proportion of those whose daily phraseology would sound as native to the same Fergus or his parent Erc. The Irish-speaking population of New York, it is well known, may be numbered by thousands. In Canada, in Tasmania,

and at the gold fields, whether of Australia or California, the emigrants of the Green Isle and their children give utterance to their thoughts in their ancestral language. We are therefore within the strict limits of truth in asserting that a *larger* number of human beings use, at the present day, the time-honoured Celtic dialect of Ireland than at any former period—certainly within the last three hundred years.

So recently as the commencement of the present century there were not, probably, 200 persons who could read and write in this language; whereas now, this class numbers several thousands. Later still, the scholars were few who could translate and elucidate the contents of our ancient MSS.; but, chiefly by the united zeal and efforts of two individuals, (Owen Connellan and John O'Donovan) at the Royal Irish Academy Library, the door has been unlocked which led to the mysteries of our venerable manuscript records. The peculiarly favourable positions occupied by those learned gentlemen, one being employed as Irish historiographer by the reigning sovereign, and the other on the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, gave them advantages of study, and means of acquiring information seldom surpassed; and subsequently, through their instruction and their literary publications, many others have become efficient scholars, and well versed in our ancient manuscript remains. The impulse thus given to the study of Irish has been materially beneficial to its extension and culture, and has already had a marked and visible influence in its favour on the national taste and general tone of Irish society. What before was branded with the stamp of vulgarity, now finds acceptance as an interesting means of knowledge and literary inquiry. Its revival as a learned language for the purpose of historical research, and as a medium of instruction and intercourse, has become a necessity. The prejudices which once were arrayed against its cultivation and use, have been gradually weakening, and the advantages of its cultivation, at least as a literary language, are becoming recognised. A similar movement in its favour has sprung up in America, where a demand has been created for books and manuscripts, which a few years back could not be anticipated, or the possibility of which would have been regarded with incredulity. It is no longer a reproach to an Irishman there to speak or to understand his native tongue. On the contrary, it is now deemed a commendable accomplishment to converse, read, and write in it. A Dublin bookseller relates that a short time since a young American gentleman, a native of New York, called at his establishment for the purpose of making purchases of Irish works. He was able to converse with the bibliopole (himself an Irish scholar) in the old language, showed him specimens of his Irish writing, and was able to read it with fluency. He stated that he knew many persons in his native city who were far more advanced than himself in their Gaelic acquirements, and who were anxious to procure works in that language. Time was when it was *tabooed* within the walls of our collegiate and educational establishments. Now, on the contrary, professorships for its cultivation have been founded in Trinity College, (where, since the days of Ussher, it had been held under ban), in Maynooth, in the Catholic University, and in the Queen's Colleges;—but in the latter the provision made for the Celtic chairs has been so totally inadequate as to have rendered their institution hitherto nearly use-

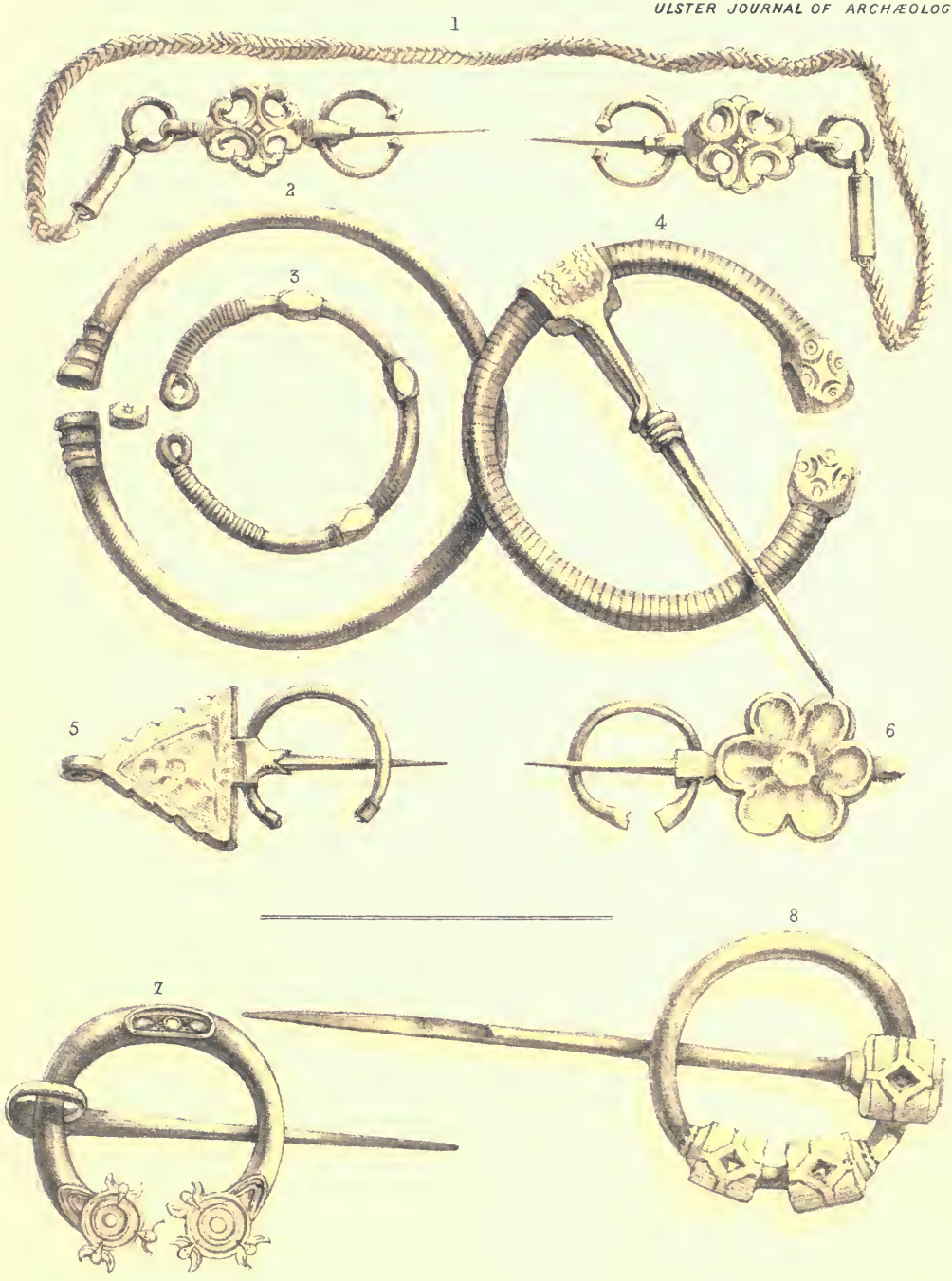
less. At the present time several of our ecclesiastical dignitaries, and of the most distinguished Fellows and Professors of our Universities, have acquired names, or added to their literary distinctions by their labours as translators, editors, or authors of Irish works. On the Continent some of the ablest philologers, as Zeuss, Pictet, &c., have become enthusiastic students of a tongue once probably spoken on the banks of the Guadalquiver, the Rhine, and the Danube; and the first-named writer has published, during the last few years, the most learned Celtic grammer yet extant. The publications of the Irish Archæological, the Celtic, and the Ossianic Societies, have powerfully aided in the auspicious movement. But the proportion of our old writings which have been rescued from obscurity, or rather oblivion, by these useful bodies, is as nothing in comparison with the thousands of MSS. still locked up or concealed beneath accumulated dust in the libraries of Great Britain and Ireland, of France, Belgium, Spain, and Italy, awaiting the wished-for time of their publication, translation, and elucidation—the majority of them being still unknown even by name to the learned.

The assistance of Government will perhaps be necessary to rescue these remains from their present state of uselessness. In Denmark and in France such objects are not thought beneath the notice of the legislature; and most important collections of MS. records have been printed in those countries at the public expense. It is gratifying to know that at length our own government has been awakened to the value of the historic remains preserved in the Irish language, and that a grant in 1852, for the publication of the Brehon Laws, will shortly give to the literary world a mass of ancient documents unparalleled in Europe. J. W.

Cork.

AFRICAN AND IRISH FIBULÆ.

The singular fact, that metallic rings, cleft at one side, and quite identical in form with those found so frequently in Ireland, are actually used at the present day in Western Africa as money, was made known some time ago by Sir William Betham. [*Etruria Celtica*, vol. 2.] The theory proposed previously by him, that the Irish rings had been used for the same purpose, was thus corroborated. The discovery was made in consequence of a ship, which was bound on a trading voyage to Africa, being shipwrecked on the coast of the county Cork, in 1836. Mr. Richard Saint-hill, of Cork, ascertained that, among the articles on board, intended for barter with the natives, were some boxes of *cast-iron rings*, extremely resembling those found in Ireland of *gold;* and on applying for further information to the owner of the vessel, a Liverpool merchant, he learned that the ship was bound for the river Bonney, or New Calabar, not far distant from the Kingdom of Benin. In exchange for the productions of that country, chiefly palm-oil and ivory, it appeared that there were regularly sent, besides various British manufactured goods, a quantity of these rings made in imitation of the current money of the natives, and known by the name of *manillas*. It was stated that the people of the Eboe country, and all the neighbouring districts, use no other kind of money in their commercial transactions; and that this Liverpool mercantile house sent out to the coast of Africa annually about forty chests of such rings, which were manufactured in Birmingham. They were formerly made exclusively of bronze, (copper and tin,) but subsequently they were sent entirely of cast-iron; which seems at length to have given dissatisfaction to the natives, for of late, we understand, no more have been sent. Besides these manillas of bronze, we have it on the authority of Mr. Bonomi, the well-known African traveller, that gold ones are likewise extensively used in Africa. In Ireland they are almost always found made of this metal. One instance only is mentioned where, in opening a tumulus in the county Monaghan, about the year 1810, several thousands of these rings were discovered made of bronze. They were sold to a dealer in metal, and melted down; but one specimen is still preserved in the collection of Dr. Petrie, in Dublin, and perfectly agrees in shape with the African ones. The word *manilla* is Spanish, and signifies a "bracelet;" hence it is probable that these rings, or some varieties of them, are used by the Africans as personal ornaments as well as money. In fact, Dr. Madden mentioned, at a meeting of the Royal Irish Academy [*Proceedings*, vol. 4, p. 389] that he had himself seen gold rings, precisely similar to those found in Ireland, worn as bracelets by women both on the East and West coast of Africa. There is nothing unreasonable, therefore, in the supposition that the Irish likewise used their gold rings (many of which are ornamental in form) both as bracelets and money.



AFRICAN & IRISH FIBULÆ.

Another curious link of connection between Africa and Ireland has recently been discovered by Mr. Francis M. Jennings, of Cork, during a tour in Morocco last year. At Tangier and Mogador he was struck on observing the peasantry wearing brooches or fibulæ of the peculiar shape so familiar to all collectors of Antiquities in Ireland. He made inquiries on the subject, and ascertained that this particular form of ornament has been used by the people of the country for an unknown period of time. He procured a number of specimens, which he has kindly sent to us with permission to publish engravings of them. The annexed plate exhibits the chief varieties; and, for the purpose of comparison, we have added two drawings of fibulæ found in Ireland. It will be observed that the general form and the style of ornamentation are extremely similar: and although we are not aware of any single Irish specimen having been met with which in all particulars corresponds with any of the African ones, we could point out in Irish collections examples of every ornament here employed, though combined in a different manner. It would be interesting to know what forms and ornaments are given to similar brooches used by the higher orders in Africa; as it is very possible that we might find among them some of the peculiarities of our more elaborate Irish fibulæ. It would seem that the ring-money and the circular brooches belong to the same class, and were naturally derived the one from the other; for, by simply adding a pin, the bracelet was converted into a fibula.

The circular cleft fibula is an ornament which has been employed from time immemorial among the Gaelic people of the British islands. In Ireland it has long ceased to be worn, because the old costume of the country totally disappeared during the fearful commotions which preceded the final subjugation of this country by the English. But down to the present day this form of brooch has continued universal among the Highlanders of Scotland; and "in many Highland families of various ranks favourite brooches have been preserved through many generations as heir-looms, which no pecuniary inducement would tempt their humblest owner to part with." [*Pre-historic Annals of Scotland.*] Martin mentions them as common 200 years ago in the Western Islands; and the Rev. John Buchanan, in his *Travels in the Western Hebrides in* 1782, states that the circular brooches have been worn there from the remotest period even by ladies of rank. He says—"All the women wear a small plaid, a yard broad, called *guileehan*, about their shoulders, fastened by a large brooch. These brooches are generally round, and of silver, if the wearer be in tolerable circumstances; if poor, the brooches, being either circular or triangular, are of base metal." The mention here of *triangular* fibulæ used by the lower classes is curious, when we find, by referring to our plate of African fibulæ, that one of these, (No. 5,) which is almost devoid of ornament, and which is, in fact, worn by the lower order of natives only, is also *triangular*.

Besides the authority of popular tradition, we know of at least one of the old classic authors who mentions the ancient use of brooches in Scotland. Solinus, who lived in the third century, says [*cap.* 35] that the use of the fibula was common to all the men and women of Caledonia. And we cannot omit an interesting and suggestive fact connected with the antiquity of the fibula, viz.,

that the very form of brooch now dug up in the bogs of Ireland, and still worn by the Highlanders of Scotland and the Moors of Barbary, was also worn by that mysterious ancient people, the Etruscans. In opening some of their tombs, bodies of females have been found girt with a broad belt below the breast, fastened in front with a *wheel-shaped buckle*. [K. O. Müller, *Transactions of the Royal Academy of Berlin*, 1818, 1819.]

We now give a few particulars relating to the objects represented on the plate.

Fig. 1 is a couple of small Fibulæ, connected by a chain, all being of silver. These are from Mogador; but are worn likewise in other parts of Barbary. They are placed one on each side of the cloak or garment, in front, the chain hanging down in a curve, and the pins turned across the circles, with their points uppermost.

Fig. 2 is a silver Ear-ring worn by the men of Soos, the southern district of Morocco. The little bead of silver, represented separately opposite to the opening, is put in after the ring has been inserted in the ear, to prevent it from slipping out; and it is retained in its place by the spring of the metal.

Fig. 3. A bronze Armlet, which Mr. Jennings obtained fom the arm of the Sheikh of Wednoon.

Fig. 4. A silver Fibula from Tangier, worn by the peasantry of the neighbourhood.

Figs. 5 and 6 are small Fibulæ made of cast brass, of the cheapest kind, and used only by the common people. Procured at Tangier.

Fig. 7. An Irish Fibula, of silver, dug up in the supposed remains of a tumulus about three miles south-east of the town of Galway, in 1853. Now in the collection of Edward Hoare, Esq., Cork.

Fig. 8. An Irish Fibula, of silver, found near Tralee, in 1856, now in the possession of Mr. James H. Greaves, Jeweller, Cork.

The antiquarian world is much indebted to intelligent travellers, like Mr. Jennings, who can thus make the knowledge acquired in their own country available in eliciting new information. We are convinced that further researches will disclose various other curious analogies between the customs of Africa and Ireland. It is premature to speculate on the source of these analogies; but a wide field of conjecture is opening to the archæologist; and it is to be hoped that, in this travelling age, we shall soon hear of further interesting discoveries in this department of knowledge.

Edit.

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

Fibula with Inscription.—The silver fibula or buckle, of both sides of which we here give an accurate drawing, (full size,) was recently found near Carriekfergus castle. Marks of gilding still remain in several places. The tongue closely resembles in shape the old Irish *skein* or dagger. With the exception of two beautiful brooches figured in Wilson's *Pre-historic Annals of Scotland*, (the Hunterstown Runic Brooch, plate 5, frontispiece, and the Glenlyon Brooch, plate 2, p. 220) we know of no other examples of fibulæ bearing inscriptions. The letters in the present specimen have been rudely engraved or deeply cut out of the solid metal: we leave it to the ingenuity of our readers to decypher their meaning. Our learned contributor, "Erigena," having examined the inscription, writes us as follows:—"After the best consideration I can give it, I believe it to be in the Latin language, and in the character which occurs on the coins of the 12th and 13th centuries; but the letters have apparently been cut by an illiterate workman, who merely copied a tracing that he did not understand. On the one side of the fibula, I conceive the legend is

AVE MARIA GxP III

which I interpret, Ave Maria, Gratiæ Plena (ter). "Hail Mary, full of grace! (thrice);"—intimating that the formula was to be thrice repeated. On the opposite side of the brooch it appears to me that the legend is the same, only that the words and letters are both *reversed;* thus

III PxG AIRAM EVA

The forms of the E and M, however, I admit are unusual; and perhaps I am altogether mistaken in the explanation which I have suggested. If I be right, the fibula would seem to have belonged to some ecclesiastical or religious person. Being of small size, it might perhaps have been worn by a consecrated virgin, possibly an abbess."

Bee-hive Churches.—Sometimes I am inclined to think that buildings similar to the bee-hive structures, described by Dr. Petrie as ecclesiastical, may have existed in the East in the early days of Christianity. Tertullian says:—"Habent apes favos; habent ecclesias et Marcionitæ." This was the name of a numerous sect in Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and Persia. H. P.

" Les anciens monumens de l'Irlande offrent beaucoup de traits de ressemblance avec ceux du Nord. Le combat de Clontarf où le roi de l'Irlande, Brien Boru, défit les Scandinaves, connus dans le pays sous le nom des 'Danois venus de Dublin,' est considéré en Irlande comme un des plus grands triomphes nationaux. Parmi le peuple surtout de la partie occidentale de l'Irlande, il s'est conservé, de même que parmi les habitants de la haute Ecosse, une crainte presque superstitieuse des Danois ; et les vieilles femmes en racontent des histoires merveilleuses à leurs enfants et à leurs petits enfants. Aussi la conservation invariable de la forme des noms donnés par les anciens habitants du Nord aux trois provinces de Leinster, d'Ulster, et de Munster, fait-elle foi de la grande influence que nos ancêtres ont exercée sur l'Irlande. Il parait même que le nom propre d'Irlande est d'origine Scandinave. Les indigènes du pays l'appellent encore aujourd'hui *Eïri*. De même, un quartier de Dublin porte encore le nom d' *Oxmantown*, qui dans les vieux documents est appelé en Latin *Villa Ostmannorum*. Ce nom dérive tout naturellement du nom d'*Austmenn* par lequel on désignait les Danois et les Norvégiens qui habitaient cette partie de la ville. A Dublin et dans ses environs on a aussi très-souvent déterré des glaives en fer, des lances, des parures, et d'autres petits objets, tout-à-fait semblables à des objets pareils trouvés dans le Nord ; mais si différents des antiquités Irlandaises qu'on ne pourrait jamais douter de leur origine Scandinave. Un glaive en fer, et quelques autres armes du même metal furent déterrés, il y a peu d'années, sur le bord du Larne-Lough, où ils avaient été déposés à côté d'un squelette, à environ 15 milles Anglais au nord de Belfast. La forme de ces armes était tout-à-fait semblable à celle des armes en fer qu'on a trouvées aux environs de Dublin, et que l'on prétend d'origine Norvégienne. Un ancien document de l'an 1210, découvert il n'y a pas longtemps, nous apprend que le Larne-Lough portait alors le nom de *Wulvericheford ;* et que la baie de Larne était le golfe en Irlande auquel les Sagas Islandaises donnent le nom de *Ulfrichs-fjord*, où l'on raconte que Einar, comte des Orcades, livra une bataille contre Konoföger, roi d'Irlande. Il est donc très-vraisemblable que ces armes de fer ont précisément appartenu à un des combattants Scandinaves qui ont péri dans la bataille.

" L'académie royale d'Irlande et l'université appelée Trinity-College à Dublin possèdent, l'une et l'autre, un très-grand nombre d'anciens manuscrits Irlandais dont il n'y a que très-peu qui aient été publiés jusqu' à présent d'une manière fort imparfaite. On trouve dans ces manuscrits de nombreuses relations, pour la plupart en forme d'annales, sur les expéditions des anciens Scandinaves en Irlande. Une comparaison exacte de toutes ces relations avec les rapports contenus dans les Sagas Islandaises, et dans les œuvres de Saxon le Grammairien, serait d'une importance inappréciable pour l' archéologie du Nord, de même que pour celle de l'Irlande. On en apprendrait en quels points les relations s'accordent ; d'où l'on pourrait encore juger combien il faut y ajouter foi sous d'autres rapports."— [From a Report made to the King of Denmark by Mr. Worsaae, respecting his Tour in Great Britain and Ireland. *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord*, vol. II., pp. 143-4. 1847.]

The Irish in Sweden.—In a note appended to Sir John Davis's letter, which appeared in the last No. of the Journal, p. 197, written from "The Camp near Limevaddy in Ochanes' Countrey, 28 August, 1609," where Sir John says—"In this little country wee have had a great Gaol-delivery, but no execution of any prisoner; for my Lo: Deputy hath spared and reserved them all to fill up the companies that are to be sent into the wars of Swethan,"--it is stated "this is a new fact, not mentioned in any history of the time, as far as we are aware." It is, however, quite certain that the statement is true, as the following extract from the Patent Rolls of James I. 14th, March 10th (1613) clearly establishes. "No. LV.—31. King's letter for a grant to Capt. John Sanford, for ever, of all the mountain lands, bogs, and woods, in Ulster, escheated to the Crown by the attainders of the earls of Tirone and Tierconnell, or any of their adherents, or any other traitors, or which otherwise belong to the Crown and are not now in charge, to be holden under the conditions of the plantation of Ulster, at a yearly rent of 10s. This grant is to be made in consideration of Capt. Sanford's absence, during the distribution of the escheated lands in Ulster, in consequence of which no portion was assigned to him, he being then engaged in conducting the loose kerne and swordsmen of that province to the service of the king of Sweden, disburthening the country, by that means, of turbulent and disaffected persons who would otherwise have troubled the peace." The dates above given fix the sending forth of these Irish conscript swordsmen between the years 1609 and 1613, in the reign of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden; and it is very likely that the records of his wars, and the biographies of the Scottish volunteers, who crowded to his standard to learn the art of fighting, may contain some notices of these auxiliaries. At all events, Capt. Sanford seems to have been pretty well rewarded, as, in pursuance of the royal letter of the 7th of July, 1613, he received a grant of several mountains, bogs, and woods in the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Monaghan, Fermanagh, Donegal, and Cavan, the names of which are given in the Letters Patent, with all other mountains, bogs, and woods in said counties, or the borders thereof, except such as had been theretofore granted by the King by Letters Patent, at the rent of £26 13s. 4d., to hold for ever in common socage.—He married Anne Caulfield, niece of Sir Toby Caulfield, first Lord Charlemont, by whom he had issue Toby, Joan, Lettice Maria, and Maudlin. In 1612 he purchased from Sir John Davis, Castledoe, in the Barony of Kilmacrenan, Co. Donegall, and about the same time several other properties from Sir Richard Bingley and Sir Ralph Bingley, in the same county, the estates of religious houses, and other confiscated property.

In 1618, when Capt. Pynnar made his survey of Ulster, Capt. Sanford was living at Castledoe "with his wife and family dwelling therein, with four other English families on the land." It is probable that about this period he disposed of the mountains and woods to Sir Toby Caulfield, and that the latter took out a new grant in his own name; as on the 25th March, 1619, Sir Toby obtained by Letters Patent all the mountains in the province of Ulster as concealments in that province. This grant is mentioned by Lodge in his Irish Peerage, but is not in the printed Rolls of James I. The Ulster Inquisitions contain one

taken at Lifford, 4th July, 1637, by which it was found that Toby Sampford (the same orthography as in the Patent Rolls), died 7th May same year, leaving his sisters his co-heirs.

J. W. H.

Arthur's Round Table.—As in most other things, so there is a fashion in scepticism, which, not long since, displayed itself in ignoring all of what is called Bardic tradition. May it not be the case that the names which have reached us from the dark ages are those of real personages, though the exploits attributed to them may be principally fabulous? For instance I believe in St. Patrick, though I have doubts of his swimming from Port Patrick to Donaghadee with his own head in his own teeth! In like manner I believe in King Arthur, but *cum grano salis*. The "Round table Knights" are generally repudiated as being of Norman invention: I see no greater difficulty, however, in supposing a British order of Knights, than believing in the Irish "Knights of the Red Branch," whose existence is an admitted historical fact. The "Round Table" itself gives an air of plausibility to the narrative, and I know not what Norman example we have for it. Arthur, one of many British kings, his equals or superiors, may have acquired by his talent the military command; and no wiser regulation to prevent disputes for precedence could be devised than feasting and consulting at a table where no difference in rank was implied; certainly, as the Italians say, *se non è vero, è ben trovato*.

H. P.

Mouth of the Ford.—In several instances in this Journal reference has been made to this curious idiomatic expression of the Irish, as applied to such localities as Belfast. Procopius mentions an African term *Caput Vadi*, "head of the Ford," corrupted in later times into *Capaudia*. This is a somewhat similar expression. Justinian founded a city at this place. Ptolemy calls it *Brachodes*.

H. P.

Harp.—"Romanusque *lyrâ* tibi plaudat, Barbarus *harpâ*,"—is a line from Venantius Fortunatus, quoted by Gibbon, with reference to the request made by Gelimer, to the lieutenant of Belisarius, by whom he was besieged at Papua: "I beseech you, my dear Pharas, send me a lyre, a spunge, and a loaf of bread." Gibbon seems to think that the Vandal king, being a barbarian, must have intended the harp, not the lyre, the instrument of civilized men. It shows, however, that *harp* is an old word, if it prove nothing more.

H. P.

Cauldrons.—According to Gibbon, the Germans, who invaded Italy to support their first emperors, brought back the bones of their princes and nobles who perished in war. On this he gives the following note:—"After boiling away the bones.—The cauldrons for that purpose were a necessary piece of travelling furniture; and a German, who was using it for his brother, promised it to a friend after it should have been employed for himself." (*Schmidt*, tom. iii., p. 423, 424.) What if our Irish brazen vessels were used in this manner? May not the bones found in Round Towers, &c., have some such origin?

H. P.

Burial of the Dead.—It is always useful to compare the customs of rude nations. It is said that interments had taken place in our Irish mounds, and this is considered an argument against the opinion that they were sites of habitations. In Raike's *Exploring Voyage up the*

Niger, &c., published last year, the following occurs:—"Throughout S'gbo the bodies of the dead are generally interred. In Abo this is invariably done, and the grave is always in the hut of the deceased; but this does not prevent the place remaining inhabited." (p. 315.) H. P.

Surnames.—We have a common surname in the North of Ireland, similar in derivation to one of the most distinguished of mediæval Rome. The Ursini were descended from some ancestor bearing the name of *Ursa*, the bear. We have the surname M'Tear, which would seem to be the Irish *MacTire*, a wolf. If this derivation be correct, it affords an example of a very unusual use of the word *Mac:* MacTear would not be "the Son of Tear." How is this to be explained; and how would the Irish have expressed "the Son of MacTire?" H. P.

Tyrone's Bed.—Near Rochdale, in Lancashire, "the site of a few cottages in a romantic dell is still associated with the memory of the unfortunate Earl of Tyrone. It is yet called 'Tyrone's Bed.'"—These few words are extracted from one of Roby's *Legends of Lancashire;* and the tale which he has introduced into his work, evidently a fiction, is illustrated by an engraving of the spot by Finden. H. P.

Antiquities in Donegal.—To the antiquary the ruins of the little church of Ray, close by the "Crossroads" near Dunfanaghy, will be an interesting object; for, imbedded in its churchyard at the west end, with its head lying to the north, are the almost perfect remains of one of the largest crosses in Ireland—perhaps even the largest of its class. The arms at the junction are bound together by a circular rib, the width across the arms being 7 ft. 6 in., and the total length 20 ft. 9 in.; the shaft averages 2 feet wide by about 2 inches thick. The stones in which it was originally fixed are still in existence; and, from some fragments which were discovered, it would appear that the lower part of the shaft was placed between two circular stones, and that a stone wedge or pin was then driven *through a hole in the shaft itself*, corresponding with holes in the two circular plinths, which being built round would effectually prevent the removal of the cross—not an uncommon subject for the mediæval thief or plunderer to exercise his skill upon.—

From Gweedore hotel a pleasant ride brings us to Dunlewey, (Dun Lughaidh ?) Near the marble church of this place are the ruined foundations of one of the earliest monasteries in Ireland. The plan is just sufficiently distinct to show its antiquity. A circular boundary wall appears to have enclosed four circular buildings, each about fourteen feet in diameter. These seem to have been grouped on the south and south-east of a centre, probably occupied by the principal cross; to the north of which are the remains of the church, measuring 24 feet by 10 feet inside the walls, which are no less than 4 feet thick. Near the centre of the enclosure there are three or four stones of a different nature from those used in the walls. Two of them are standing; and one facing east and west has incised upon it the figure of a cross with forked ends, and a circle at the junction of the arms. This stone is now about 3 feet high, but it is evident that it was originally higher; and it may probably be referred to the class of pillar-stones used in the days of paganism.

The archæologist will be interested to learn

that a number of bronze pins, about 14 inches long, have been from time to time discovered by the shifting of the sand-banks here. Some are in the possession of Lord G. A. Hill; and a remarkably perfect one, discovered in April last, is preserved in the Rev. J. Doherty's museum. The head of the pin is globular, with short arms forming a cross, one side of the globe being also incised with a series of cross lines, in the shape of a diagonal, or St. Andrew's Cross. The head is about three-eighths of an inch in diameter.—

About twenty miles north from Derry, on the western coast of Loch Foyle, may be observed another specimen of the ancient Irish crosses. It still remains erect, facing east and west, beside the entrance to the old graveyard of Moville; in height it appears to be about twelve feet, and it possesses also a circular "rib" at the junction of its arms. The base of the shaft is inserted into a rectangular opening in a large flag.

G. Sigerson.

Seven Churches.—I am not aware that any one has connected the "seven churches," often referred to in the annals of this country, with the curious ancient Christian legend of the "seven sleepers." Gibbon gives the authorities for this story, which dates in the reign of the younger Theodosius, and seems to have taken a firm hold on the public mind. Seven persecuted young men of Ephesus, escaping from the Emperor Decius, were built up in a cave, and found alive nearly two centuries afterwards. Of course the interest of the tale arises from their astonishment at finding all familiar things changed during the interval. The legend became a favourite one with both the Latin and Greek church.—After all, however, the most rational explanation of our groupes of "seven churches" in Ireland seems to me to be the Seven Churches of Asia in the primitive days of Christianity; and this accordance affords an additional indication of the early connection of the Irish church with the Eastern or Greek Church. H. P.

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

Dutch Settlers in Ireland.—T. O., in vol. 4, p. 273, has inquired whether any Dutchmen settled at Lough Foil, and whether there is any record of their names. I cannot satisfactorily answer the query, but I am aware that several Dutchmen obtained grants of naturalization in Ireland early in the reign of James I. The Patent Rolls of that king's reign, so far as published, show that 7th June, 1605, *John de la Grandge*, otherwise *Verhoven*, and *John Van Dale*, of Brabant, and their issue, were declared to be free and liberated from the yoke of the servitude of Brabant or Ireland, or any other nation, with privilege to enjoy all the rights of Englishmen, to plead in all courts, to hold lands, rents, offices, and all other possessions whatsoever, so long as they continue to be liege subjects; notwithstanding any Flemish or Irish condition, or any statute or reason to the contrary. Similar grants were made to others; 10th April, 1605, to

Gabriel Behaes, of Antwerp, in Brabant; *Matthew Derenzie*, of Antwerp; 11th June, 1607, to *Will Boell*, of Antwerp; 6th Sept., 1608, to *Jac. Marciis*, of Amsterdam, and *Derriek Varveer*, of Dort, in Holland, merchants; and on the 15th Feb., 1613, to *Wybrant Olfertson*, and *John Olfertson*, of Holland, for a fine of 13s 4d. Irish.

The Derenzie (now De Rinzy) and Olfertson (now Olpherts) families are still extant, and in opulent circumstances in Ireland, the former at Clobemon Hall, county Wexford, and the latter at Ballyeonnell House, county Donegall, with branches in Armagh and Down; but whether any descendants of the others continue in this country the present writer does not know. It is highly probable the Vandeleurs and Van Homrighs settled here about the same time. Burke, in his *Landed Gentry*, traces the present Thomas De Rinzy of Cobemon from Sir Mathew De Rinzy, knight, who obtained a grant of that estate from Charles I., and who is stated in his monumental inscription to have been born at Cullen, in Germany, and to have been descended from the famous George Castriota, alias Scanderberg. I think he is the Matthew of Antwerp.

It appears by the Ulster Inquisitions that Olphard Olpharts was seated at Ballynesse, co. Donegall, and died 12th May, 1637, leaving Olphard Olpharts, jun., his son and heir, and not married; and by two several inquisitions, taken at Lifford, 21st June, 13th Charles II., it was found that Wybrant Olpharts, or Olphert, of the co. Londonderry, having purchased from Henry Hart, of Muffe, for £300, the lands of Enishbofin, Magheryoutragh, Ballenas, Balleconnell, Drumnelumey, Ardbegg, Ardmore, and Gortecarke, in the barony of Killmaerennan, county Donegal, died 15th April, 1643, leaving Wybrant Olpharts, jun., his nephew and heir, then aged six years; Ardmore and Gorticart being held *in capite* by knight's service, the remainder in free and common socage. J. W. H.

Dr. Hume's article (*Journal*, vol. 5, p. 95) on spinning and weaving, refers to Robin Hood walking with his "spindle and *twine*." It is evident some different mode is intended than one where the spindle whirls on the ground. At vol. 2, page 181, of this Journal, an engraving is given which seems to explain the term *twine*.

E. G.

Rapparees.—[Queries, vol. 5, p. 166.]—Story, in his *Continuation of the History of the Wars in Ireland*, (published in 1693,) has frequent mention of the Irish *Rapparees*. At page 50, he says:—"These men knew the country, nay, all the secret corners, woods, and bogs; keeping a constant correspondence with one another, and also with the army, who furnished them with all necessaries, especially ammunition. When they had any project on foot, their method was not to appear in a body, for then they would have been discovered; and not only so, but carriages and several other things had been wanting which every one knows that is acquainted with this trade: their way was, therefore, to make a private appointment to meet at such a pass or wood, precisely at such a time o' th' night or day as it stood with their convenience; and though you could not see a man over night, yet exactly at their hour you might find three or four hundred, more or less, as they had occasion, all well armed, and ready for what design they had formerly projected; but

if they hapned to be discovered or overpowered, they presently dispersed, having before-hand appointed another place of rendezvous, ten or twelve miles (it may be) from the place they were at; by which means our men could never fix any close engagement upon them during the winter; so that if they could have held out another year, the *Rapparees* would have continued still very prejudicial to our army, as well by killing our men privately, as stealing our horses and intercepting our provisions But after all, least the next age may not be of the same humour with this, and the name of a *Rapparee* may possibly be thought a finer thing than it really is, I do assure you that in my stile they never can be reputed other than Tories, Robbers, Thieves, and Bog-trotters." SENEX.

IRISH PEARLS.—[Queries, vol. 5, p. 166.] O'Conor, in his *Prolegomena*, says:—"That Irish pearls were greatly prized among the ancient Irish, is proved by a letter among those published by Ussher, in which Gillibertus of Limerick, writing to St. Anselm, who had consecrated him bishop, says that 'he has sent him *pearls* as a slight token of respect.'" O'Conor refers also to Smith's *History of the County Cork*, vol. 2, p. 264, (published 1750) where he mentions that in the river Arigadeen, which rises in Carbery, "there are pearl-fish taken up, which are found in a large kind of shell-fish, resembling a muscle, but bigger, called here by the Irish a *closheen*." But what applies more immediately to the query of your correspondent R.L., is the following passage from Harris's *Down*:—"The pearl-fishery of this river (the Bann), near Bann-bridge, though it turns to small account, yet must not escape our observation. The pearls are found in fresh-water muscles, in shape and colour like the sea-muscles, but of a larger size; the shells of which are sometimes used by the poorer people instead of spoons. The shell is fastened by two cartilages, one at each end, and in this particular differs from the oyster and scallop, which have only one in the middle. Sir Robert Reading (*Letter to the Royal Society*, 13th Oct., 1688) from his own experience gives an account of these fish, and the manner of fishing for them in some rivers in the county of Tirone. The common method of fishing for these muscles in the Bann is very simple. In the warm months, while the river is low and clear, the poor people wade into the water, and some with their toes, some with wooden tongues, and others with sharp sticks thrust into the opening of the shells, take them up. But these methods can be practised only in shallow water; whereas the large muscles, and the greater quantities, are found in deep smooth water. If dredges or other mechanical contrivances were used to fish the deep waters in the Bann, they might probably meet with better success in the size, and, it may be, in the colour of the pearls." This account was published about one hundred years ago. SENEX.

NAMES OF IRISH COUNTIES.—A correspondent (Queries, vol. 5, p. 166,) has inquired the origin of the names of several counties. Regarding *Meath*, Giraldus Cambrensis says (*Topog. Hib.* p. 736)—"Ireland is divided into five parts, whose extremities meet at a certain stone at *Meath* (apud *Mediam*,) which stone is called the Navel of Ireland, because it is placed in the very middle of the country; whence also that part of Ireland is called *Meath (Media)* because it is situated in the *middle* of the Island." SENEX.

PLOUGHING BY THE HORSE'S TAIL.—I was not aware that this custom had extended to the Highlands of Scotland; but I find mention made of it in a book published in 1755, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, the author of which speaks from his own observation:—"In the Western Highlands they still retain that barbarous custom (which I have not seen anywhere else) of drawing the harrow by the horse's dock, without any manner of harness whatever. And when the tail becomes too short for the purpose, they lengthen it out with twisted sticks."

OLLAMH FODHLA.

STANAGOMAR. [Queries, vol. 3, p. 254.]—I think a better derivation for this name than is proposed by A. A., (vol. 4, p. 276) is suggested by a passage in Dr. Hume's paper on *the Ethnology of the Counties of Down and Antrim*, in the 4th vol. of this Journal (p. 162,) where the following passage occurs, extracted from Sir W. Brereton's Journal in 1635:—"About eight or nine miles from the coast of Ireland, they passed the *stran-gawr*, which is a mightye high running channel, where there is a concurrence and confluence of three strong tides."—This is evidently the same current or tide as the one in question, and is more likely to be the correct name. Now *stran*, in the composition of Irish local names, is the equivalent of the Irish word *Sruthan* (frequently pronounced *Struhan*) "a stream," "a current." The second part of the word, *gawr*, signifies "a goat," *(gabhar)* and may have been fancifully applied from some imaginary resemblance of the waves to the bounding of that animal.

OLLAMH FODHLA.

OLD FORT OF BELFAST.—A correspondent asks where the old fort of Belfast was?—It is marked in Henderson's map of Belfast, published in 1834, but is now quite effaced by a brick-field.

W. B.

TO GO A WOOL-GATHERING.—[Queries, vol. 5, p. 166.]—Among the curious ancient tenures recorded of the time of Henry III., is the following:—"Petrus de Baldewyn tenet quandam serjantiam in Cumbes in Com. Surrey, *ad colligendam lanam* Dominæ Reginæ per albas spinas, si voluerit, et si nolit eam colligere solvet ad scaccarium Domini Regis xx^{s} per annum."—"Peter de Baldwin holds a certain land in Cumbes in the County of Surrey, by the sergeanty of *going a wool-gathering* for our Lady the Queen among the white thorns, if he so wishes, or if not he shall pay twenty shillings yearly to the exchequer of our Lord the King."

SENEX.

QUERIES.

PLAYING CARDS.—Amongst some old family papers I lately found a number of playing cards, on the backs of which were printed the shop advertisement addresses of Dublin tradesmen, and for which purpose they had probably been preserved. I wish to know if it was a common practice, seventy or eighty years ago, to print notices in this way, and whether this was done when the cards were new, or after they became soiled? If the latter, it argues that ordinary address-cards were dear, when old playing-cards were thus re-employed by the printer. E. G.

Why is the Great Mogul generally exhibited on the outer cover of packs of cards?

Can any of your readers produce a pack of David Manson's cards, so much spoken of by old persons? E. G.

What is the origin of our common expression, "to strike a bargain?" It seems to allude to some custom, now lost, of giving a blow in some way or other, as the modern auctioneer still does with his hammer, to indicate the irrevocable nature of the contract. Q. Q.

Can any of your readers inform me if the Downshire family of Trotter were among the colonists from Scotland in 1608; and if they retain the same armorial bearings as those of that name in the counties of Edinburgh and Berwick; likewise what was their origin, whether Celtic, Norman, or Saxon? The belief in Argyllshire is that the first of the name in Scotland came from Ireland with Fergus II.; and that the king's galley being driven by a storm upon the rocks near Dunaverty castle, one of his warriors saved the king's life by calling out "Trouth ar" (come here), catching Fergus by the hand and drawing him safely ashore.

Campbelltown. R. T.

Can any one give any information as to who David Kennedy, mentioned in *Pynnar's Survey*, (as grantee in 1611 of 1,000 acres, known as Gortavilly, and situate within the precincts of Mountjoy, county Tyrone) was? To what branch of the family he belonged? and what family he left, if any? Was he the same as David Kennedy, of Killarne, whose daughter Mary, *circa* 1650, married Hans Hamilton, cousin to the Earl of Clanbrasil? E. N.

Through which of the present streets of Belfast did the old walls and fortifications pass; and are there any vestiges of them remaining? Q. Q.

We read frequently, in old English accounts of Ireland, of the extensive use of linen dyed with *saffron*. Is this correct? The crocus, which is cultivated in England for producing this dye-stuff, is not known in this country, as far as I am aware, except as a garden flower. The extensive use of the material would indicate that the plant must have been largely cultivated at one period in Ireland; but it seems very doubtful if this were the case. If not, how did the Irish dye their linen of this colour?

Conan.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Our readers will render us a service by communicating any particulars relating to the families of the settlers who came to Ireland from Scotland or England at the time of the "Plantation of Ulster." We are aware that many of the descendants of these families still preserve relics of that period, either in the shape of written documents, old pieces of furniture, dress, &c., or anecdotes of occurrences which took place at that time. We have collected a number of particulars with a view to publication, and earnestly request our correspondents to assist us by contributions however trifling and minute, especially as regards the places from which the settlers came, the names of the families, and their manner of living. Papers relating to the foundation of places of worship, about that time, would probably furnish useful lists of names: and it would be desirable to know whether descendants of the same families remain in the neighbourhoods where they first settled. Edit.

ORIGINAL LETTERS IN THE IRISH AND LATIN LANGUAGES,

BY SHANE O'NEILL, PRINCE OF TYRONE,

AND PROCLAMATION OF HIGH TREASON AGAINST HIM BY QUEEN ELIZABETH.

The following documents relating to the history of Shane, or John O'Neill, chief or prince of Tyrone, are preserved in the State Paper Office, London. He was the second legitimate son of Con *Bacagh*, first Earl of Tyrone; but when Con was created Earl in October, 1542, he concealed the illegitimacy of his base son, Matthew, *alias* Fardoragh, who was created Baron of Dungannon, and appointed next in remainder to his father. Con's eldest son, Felim *Reagh*, was slain early in 1542, and Shane, being then young and of no great promise, the father, who was much attached to Matthew, had appointed the latter next in remainder to the earldom; but sixteen years afterwards Shane and his foster-brother, O'Donnelly, slew Matthew, and this cleared the way to Shane's great power in Ulster. In October, 1562, Shane O'Neill repaired to England, where he made his humble submission to Queen Elizabeth. His appearance at Elizabeth's court is described as follows by Camden, in his Annals of the reign of Elizabeth :—

"A.D. 1562. Ex Hibernia jam venerat Shanus *O'Neal*, ut, quod ante annum promiserat, præstaret, cum securigero *Galloglassorum* satellitio, capitibus nudis, crispatis cincinnis dependentibus, camisiis flavis croco vel humano urina infectis, manicis largioribus, tuniculis brevioribus, et lacernis villosis: quos Angli non minori tunc admiratione quam hodie Chinenses et Americanos prosequebantur."*

On the 18th of November, 1563, he bound himself by articles to serve the Queen in the most loyal manner; from which it would appear that the government allowed him to take the title of O'Neill, and even contemplated examining into the nature of his brother Matthew's illegitimacy, with a view to bastardise Matthew's children, and appoint Shane as the true heir to the earldom.

In 1567 he marched into Tirconnell to reduce O'Donnell to his subjection; but, being signally defeated, in the same year he sent for a party of Scots whom he had previously subdued, offering them employment and pay to assist him in subduing O'Donnell. The Scots accordingly landed at Cushendun, whither O'Neill repaired to hire them; but a brawl ensued, in which O'Neill was murdered by the very men who had come to receive military pay from him. "Thus," (says Campion,) "the wretched man ended, who might have lived like a prince, had he not quenched the sparks of grace that appeared in him with arrogancy and contempt against his prince."

* "A D. 1562. From Ireland came Shane O'Neill, who had promised to come the year before, with a guard of axe-bearing gallowglasses, their heads bare, their long curling hair flowing on their shoulders, their linen garments dyed with saffron or human urine, with long and open sleeves, with short tunics and furry cloaks, whom the English then wondered at as much as they do now at the Chinese or American aborigines."

Dr. Stuart, in his *Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh*, p. 261, shows, from the public records, that the war with Shane O'Neill cost the Queen of England the sum of one hundred and forty-seven thousand four hundred and seven pounds three shillings and ninepence, independent of the cesses laid on the country for its support, and of the great damages sustained by her subjects; and that three thousand five hundred of her soldiers were slain by Shane and his troops. He was attainted by an Act of Parliament passed on the 23rd of February, 1569; by which act, likewise, the title of "the O'Neill," with the ceremonies used at its inauguration, were abolished; heavy penalties were enacted against any person who should assume it; and Shane's lands were vested in the Crown of England for ever. It was, however, enacted that a portion of the country might be held, by English tenure, by Turlough *Luineach* O'Neill and his adherents.

The original spelling of the following documents is scrupulously adhered to; but the contractions, which are numerous and difficult, are dispensed with throughout.

The Editor of these documents takes this opportunity of expressing his great admiration of the copious and accurate Calendars [*Indexes raisonnés*] of the Irish state papers, by Mr. Hans Claude Hamilton. But for the assistance derived from Mr. Hamilton's great work, it would have been impossible for an ordinary visitor of the State Paper Office to find these documents, or to find time to read or appreciate their contents. Mr. Hamilton has spent twenty years upon this great work, which he has now ready for the press. He has perused from end to end every single letter and despatch which he has calendared; and they only who have struggled with the cramp writing of the hundreds of correspondents of the ministers of Queen Elizabeth, can form an idea of the toil which such reading must have required; they only who have followed his track, and under his guidance, can duly appreciate the ability and truthfulness of the analysis of the many thousand documents which have passed through his hands. To this patient, most learned, and most accurate writer, the student of Anglo-Irish history is under lasting obligations.

JOHN O'DONOVAN.

Ireland, 1561, 4, *S.P.O.* No. I.

A PROCLAMATION,

SET FOURTH BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE ERLE OF SUSSEX, LORD LEUTENANT GENERALL OF THE QUENE'S MAJESTIE'S REALME OF IERLAND, WITH TH'ASSENT, AND CONSENT, OF THE NOBELYTIE AND COUNSELL OF THE SAME REALME.

The Quene's most excellent Majestie, calling to remembrance the presompteuous, arrogant, fellonios, rebellious, and trayterous, deads of Shan Onell, since the first coming into this Realme of Th'erle of Sussex, her highness' lord Leutenant general of this Realme, and how small effect her gentil favorable and mercyful dealyng with him hath wrought in his cankerd and trayterous stomake, hath therfore thought good to open to her good and loveing subjects, the some[a] as well of

[a] Sum.

her gratius and mercyful proceding with him to reduce him to the acknowleging of the true obedience and dutie of a faythful subject, as also of his arrogant, false, and trayterous devices, conspiracis, enterprisis, and facts to the subverting of the universal quiet of this Realme, the disturbance of all her Majestie's good and faithfull subjects, and the great parrell and danger of her Majestie's Royal estate, dignitie, and crowne of this Realme, contrary to his dutie to Almightie God and his allegance to his Soveraine the Quene.

Fyrst upon an Hostyng called and a Jorney made by her Majestie's said Leutenant, Anno 1556, agaynst James mac Connell and his Brethern forren enemys then reputed; Shane dyd not only refuse to repayre to her Majestie's said Leutenant, but also falsly and trayterously dyd with all his force and power of men of warre repayer to James mac Connell, conspiring and combining with him agaynst our late Soveraine Lady Quene Mary, and therein persisted so fare as he most unnaturally and traiterusly joyned in battell with the said James (then an open enemy) agaynst her Majestie's said Liuttenant and the Nobylitie of this Realm then assembled with him, and the same fight out till God geving the victory he was forced to flyght. At the retorn of her Majesti's said Leutenant, and humble sute made by Shanne for his pardon with his promise and othe openly taken to be a true and faithfull subject and servant from thenceforth, he was then in respect of common quiet that therby was hoped to ensue favorably, gratiously and mercifully receavyd and pardoned of his haynous offences past, and frely and saufly retorned to his owne habytacyon, where he drew to him all the force he could, under coller to be the better abell to serve when he shuld be commaunded.

Anno 1557. After another Hostyng called and Jorney prepared agaynst James mac Connell and his brethren, styll reputed as forren enemis, Shane dyd not onely, contrary to his othe, refuse to repayre to her Majestie's said Leutenant then beyng at the Newrie accompanied with Th'erles of Kyldare, Ormmond, and Desmond, and others the Nobles of this Realme, upon eniy protection or assurance that they could make unto him, but also when Th'erles of Kyldare and Ormmond, with a great part of the Armye, were sent through Tyron to passe that wayes to the Banne, he, for feare of lesyng of his goodes repayred upon suertie to them with all his force, and promised to goo with them to her said Leutenant, and after ii. or iii. dayes abood with them, he sayend to Th'erle of Kyldare to lacke victuales, and promisyng to the said Erle to fetch victuales and retorn immediatly, he departed the Campe without farther knowledg, and so receyving presently into his fosteryng and kepyng the goodes and cattels of James mac Connel and his brethern, he as a faulse and perjured traytour eftsones[b] combyned with them and procured an assaulte to be mad in a pace apon her Majestie's Armye in their retourn, and thereapon dyd not onely felloniously and trayterusly cause his men to pray and borne the possessyons of dyvers her Majestie's true and faythful subjects within the Einglysh pale, but also dyd contrary to the lawes of this Realme expoulse Th'erle of Tyron his Father, and Baron of Doungannon his

[b] Immediately.

brother, honorable faythful and true subjects and servants to her Majestie, of their just and lawful territories and possessyons, and by tyrany and faulse usurpatyon unnaturally, rioutously, violently, and unlawfully, possesse himself; and prepared a great masse of victuals which he brought to Armaugh to serve his trayterous purpose to continewe his entended warrs that wynter. Apon complaynt wherof exhibited to her Majestie's said Leutenant and counsell of that Realm, he was ryghtfully expulsed out of the places he did usurpe, his victuals spoyled and destroyed, his trayterous entent prevented, th'Erll and Baron justly restored and left thereof at the retorn of her Majestie's said Leutenant into England lawfully and justly possessy'd. After the departing of her Majestie's said Leutenant into Ingland, Shane maed ernest and humble sute to Syr Henry Sidney, then L. Justice in his absence, and to the Counsel, to be eftsones receyvd to her Majestie's peace; and so apon articles agred and subscribed by him and his othe taken before commissioners for the performance of them, and to be a true and faythfull subject, he was eftsones in respect of common quiet receavyd by the L. Justice, and all his offences remited. At the retorn of her Majestie's said Leutenant, anno 1558, Shane renewed by his letters his former promise of service, wyshed soum meanes wherby he myght shewe the same oponly, and under coller therof sought styll to make himself strong; and being by her Majestie's said Leutenant required after his retourn out of Scotland and the out Iles, to repayre to him with his force in the North parties to joyne with him eftsones agaynst James mac Connel and his brethern, styl reputed forren enemies, he dyd not only refuse to com, but also upon the brutes[c] of lycence to be com for her Majestie's said Leutenant to repayre into England, and that her Majestie's syster, the lat Quene Mary, was in extreme sicknes and danger of death, he dyd cruelly, wylfully, and trayterously morther his brother the Baron of Donganon, seke to repossesse himself of his father's and brother's estates and possessions, and felloniously and trayterusly cause his men to pray and borne dyverse of the possessions of her Majestie's true and good subjects in the Englysh pale. After the compyng of her Majestie's said Leutenant to our Soverayne Lady the Quene that now is, Shane dyd not only riatously *dyspossesse his father Th'erle, and the lat Barron of Donganon's sonne*, of all such possessions as they rightfully ought to hold by their letters pattens granted to them by her Majestie's late Father of most famus memory, Kyng Henry the VIII. and by the due corse of the lawes of this Realm, and unlawfully possessing himself therof, dyd contrary to ye lawes and orders of this Realm cause himself by usurpation to be nominated and mad Oneil, but also therupon dyd trayterously and contrary to his dutie and alledgance chalenge and usurpe superiorytie and Royall servissis apon her Majestie's true and good subjects, mac Mahone, mac Gennis, mac Gwyer, Ochane, Ohanlon, and others, which do and ought to apertein onely to her Majestie and the Royall Crown of this her Realm, and by his crueltie and powre dyd and styll doth agaynst their wyles subdwe them, and force them to yeld to his unsaciable and dettestable tyranny; notwithstanding which his horryble factes, her

[c] *Brutes*, i.e., rumours; French, *bruits*.

Grace, meaning of her owne good nature and apon her fyrst commyng to her Crown to use favorable and mercyfull mens in reducing of him to the acknowledging of his dutie, dyd direct her gracious letters to him commaunding hem to shew him self as a true and good subject to her highnes, and to repayr bouldly to her said Liutenant apon his retorn, to whom she had geven order to here al his causes and to shew to him all the favour he coveniently myght, yf he shuld fynd him obedient and redy to sarve her Majestie according to the good opinyon she had conceavid of him: apon receipt of which letters he dyd not only presumpteusly refuse to com to her Majestie's said Liutenaunt and Counsell at his comyng into Ierland, anno 1559, but also neyther havyng respect to the assurance of her Majestie's letters, neyther to any protectyon that could be sent from her Majestie's said Liutenaunt with the Nobilitie and counsell of this realm, dyd most arrogatly demand to have Syr Wyllam Fitzwillyams, Uiztresorer, Sir Henry Radclif, Liutenaunt of Leise and Offaily, Sir George Stanley, Marshall of th'armie, and John Plunket, cheif justice of her Majestie's Bench, to remayn as pledgis for him tyll his retourn from her Majestie's said Liutenaunt and Counsell then assembled at Dondalke : to which his unresonable desyr her Majestie's said Liutenaunt and Counsell dyd consent, hopyng the rather apon speach had with him to reduce him to the acknowlegyng of his dutie, wherby soum quiet and commoditie myght ensue to the good subjectis of these parties. At his commyng to Doundalke, after some proud and arrogant wourdes spoken, he dyd in fynne conclud apon certein articls, wherunto he dyd subscribe and seal, and was solemly sworn apon the holly Evangelistes to parform them, and dyd refer his superioritie of mac Maughound and others before named, with al his other causes, to the special order of the Quene's Majestie her self, as in the articles farther apereth; and required letters from her Majestie's said Liutenaunt and Counsell to her highness in commendation of his peticyons to be sent by his messenger; and so were commissioners appoynted to here and end all causes of the borders and to se restitucions mad, which he never suffred to be consommated. Shortly after, her Majestie licensid her said Litenaunt to repayre to her highnes into England, with whom went the deane of Ardmagh as messengir from Shann with his letters and peticyons to exibit to her Majestie, which beyng inded lewd and arrogant, her highnes notwithstandyng dyd gratiously receve, favorably consider, and so retorned the Deane with her letters of answer to Shane that he shuld repayr to her Liutenaunt at his retorn, who shuld with al the favoure he myght order al his causes ; and therapon her highnesse dyd in deed determin to have dealt so favorably w^t^ him by consent order and composition to be made betwene him and others, wherunto she was moved by desyre of an universal quiet of this Realme, as she neyther would nor could by mere justice without some injury to others have done, and retourned her Liutenaunt with commission accordyngly. During this tyme James Mac Connell and his brethern, acceptyng themselves no longer to be forren enemies after peace proclaymed betwen England and Scotland, sought to reconcyle themselves also to the Quene's Majestie's grace and favour touching the causes they delt within this Realme, and offered their service to hyr Majestie in all causes

wherein they shuld deale; where unto her Majestye gave favorable eare; upon knowledge whereof Shane that falsely and trayterously had alwayes before combynded with them whiles they were foren enemies, dyd so sone as he perceyved them to be drawne to hyr Majestye's devocion entter warre presently agaynst them, and so being alwayes as a traytor, and frynde to them when they were foren enymies, became also a traytor and enemye to them when they grwe trwe and frendlie to thys estate.

Apon the retorne of hir highnes' Leutenant into thys realme, anno 1560, and demaunde made by letters from the Leutenant and Councel to Shane for his repaire accordyng to hir Majestie's lettres, he dyd not only most contemptiouslye refuse to come upon any protectione or pledge to receave hys answere, with diverse lewde faulse and slanderous messages and lyes, but olso having in this meane time, contrary to his othe, trayterouslye usurped superioritie upon mac Mahone and others aforesayd, and by tyrany brought them to hys obedience, he rebelliously and trayterously did assemble an army, and by force brought them into the felde agynste hir Majestye, and so continually detayned them in campt with him and procured others also as he might to rebel for the better mainteyning of his mischevos intent: wherupon hir Majestie's Leutenaunt with th'advise and consent of the Nobilytie and Councell of this Realme, assembled an hostyng at the Roche and there incamped for the defence of the good subjectes in those partes, and the subduing and repressing of suche a perylous and detestable traytor; who then fearyng the just scorge of desertes to be at hand offered to submit himselfe to the Quine's Majestie's owne order, and promysed, upon protection receaved from hir Majestie for his false goyng and retornyng, he wolde himselfe goe into Ingland to hir hyghnes to receave hir order. Upon thys offer mad and some hope conceaved that upon his doynges hereof there might without warre or contencion growe suche an ende as might be to the universall quiet of this Realm, th'Erle of Kyldare was with others sent to parle with him: who concluded with hym upon artycles *whereunto he subscrybed and was sworne* to observe them, and to repaier with all spede to the Quene's Majestie so sone as he shuld receave hys protection from hir highnes; and so the hosting was dissolved, and letters were written to the Quene's Majestie for hys protection: hir Highnes, waying therein more the universall quiet of hir Realme then any other respect, was contented to send a protection for his faulse comyng to hir presence and retornyng from hir to hys owne habitacion, penned with such sufficient words as might be. The protection was delivered to th'Erle of Kyldare and others Commissioners chosen for the delyvery therof to Shane; and to parswade him to goe to hir Majestie with spede, letters were written to hym to mete wyth the Commissionars at a daye appoynted, and autorytie geven to the Commissicioners to appointe from tyme to tyme so many dayes of meeting as to them were thought fytte, and all means wrought that myght be by letters and messengers to drawe him to metyng and perswade him to goe to the Quene's Majestie. The dayes of metyng were continually broken, and in fine Shane made resolute answer that if he had a protection signed by the Quene's hand, with the hands of all

hir Counsell in Ingland and Ireland and sealed with the brood Seles of both Realmes, yet wolde he not goe into England except her Majestie wold delyver with hir owne hand hys protection to hys owne man's hand: and therewith spake such favorable words as he might hoope of hir Majesties favor at his comming. He requiered letters to hir highness for furtherance hereof, and the coppies to be deliverd to hys man to be sent unto hym. Letters were writen, the coppyes sent to hym, and her Majestie's Leutenaunt lycensed to repayre into England: upon the repayre of hir Majestie's Liutenaunt into England hir highnes devised wyth him all good and gentle meanes that myght be to reduce by fayer means this monsterous perjured traytour to the acknowledg of his dutie, who sought styll by the means he myght to make himself strong, and by warres and other practisis to drawe O'Donell, O'Raylie, and others her Majestie's noble and faythfull subjects to forget their duties to God and to her Majestie, and to joyn with him in his damnable and trayterus enterprisys; and dyd also mayntaine, ayde, and support contrary to the lawes of this Realme, a ronnagat traytour lat coum from the Bysshope of Roume as Archbyshope of Armaugh, and dyd openly mayntein and confeder with Donell O'Bryne, Wony, mac Liesse, and others, traytours proclaimed. So loth was her Majestie of her habundant goodnes to use her force and sword in the sharpe correctyng of her subjects. Shortly after, Shane's man repayred to her highness with his letters and request of delyverie of his protection by her Majestie's owne handes, to his servantes owne hands. And although he had written in those letters so arrogantly, prowdly, and contemptiously; in dede under cullur of a few fayre set fourth wordes, as in respect of her Princly estate and Majestie, her highnes could not well have tollerated and permitted at any subject's hand without juste punishment; yet her Majestie of her great zeale and favour she beareth to the common quietnesse of this her Realme and subjects, was not only contented to attribute this hys lewdnesse to lacke of scivilitte and understandynge, and so to beare therwith for this tyme, but also gratiously to fulfyll and accomplishe his prowd and arrogant request in delyvering to hys owne man hyr Majestie's protection with hyr owne hands, and speaking therewith to him suche words of favor and grace to be shewed to hym if he upon receipt thereof wold spedely repaire to hyr presence, as wear sufficient to have drawne the heart of any true and honest subject to have obayed, served, and loved his sovereign lady and Quene during his life. And for his better satisfaction, hyr hyghnes gave order to hyr uiztresorar of thys Realme, to receave of him what some he wold delyver to hym of the Queyne of thys Realm, which should be upon knowledge thereof delyverd unto hym in corrant monyes of England, and commaundyng hys man to geve hym advyse from hyr hyghnes that it was hys spedy and not chargeable coming to hyr should content hyr, and that he shuld kepe hys money to doe hyr better servis in tyme of nede, and not in payne expeneys. Hyr Majestie despached from hyr hys man fully satisfyed in all things, accordyng to hys owne desyre: synce which tyme he hath indede sought nothing lesse than to dysepose himself to goe to hyr hyghnes, but doth from tyme to tyme devyse and seke newe and frustrate delayes. The

Quene's most excellent Majestye, therefore, consyderyng these circumstaunces and perceavyng hys faulse and dissembled meanyng to make and delud hyr good subjectes and there powers from hyr, and force them to serve his tyranye to subdue Orayle and other Nobles whome he taketh to be faythfull and true to hyr Majestie, to combynde with all traytors and rebells proclaymed, to sturre as many as by any means he maye to deivcion and rebellyon, and so to growe in strength wyth hys complices to attempt the execucyon of hys abhominable and trayterous intent, in such tyme of the yeare as he thincketh most propice for hys detestable pourpose and hardest for her Majestye to defend hyr true and faythfull subjects, and to ponyshe him accordyng to hys desearts, hath upon the opening of these his rebellious and presumsious arrogant, felonius, and trayterous devises, practisis, conspiraces, intents, and facts of so long time roted in him, delyberatly resolved, concluded, and determyned, to cut of and extirpe clearly in tyme this pestiferous cankar that seaketh so maliciously and daungerously to infecte the hole state of this Realme, to provyde for the surtie of true and faythfull subjects, and to restore the law-full and true inheritors to ther rightfull inherytaunce, which this detestable and parjured trayter, Shane, hath and doth agaynst the lawes of this Realme witholde by force and tyrany from them: and as hyr Majestie hetherto hath, by all good, gentell, and mercifull meanes, more then ever heretofore by any prince hath to a subjecte been shewed, or than hyr hyghnes ever hereafter meaneth to any subjecte to showe, sought to reduce him to acknoledging of his dutie, so nowe, considering the smalle effect hir favour and mercy hath wrought in his cankered and trayterous brest, and howe he hath sought to abuse and wrast hyr clemencie so ofte shewed to hym in respect of the quiet of hir good subjectes to sarve to his develishe pourpose in getting of tyme, the rather to plague and disstroye them, hir highnes as forced thereto and as the last remedye hath thought it nessessary to use the sharp scorge of hir sworde and justice to ponyshe his faulse and trayterous desertes, whoes wicked dysease will not be cured with any gentell medecin: And therefore hir highnes doth, by this hir proclamacion, publish, pronounce, and proclayme Shane Onell to be a ryotus and fellonius disturber of the unyversall quiet of this Realme and the subjects of the same, and a faulse, perjured, sedisious, and pearnicious conspirer, rebell, and traitor against hir Majestie and hir Royall Crown of this Realme; and doth also publyshe all others to be traitors in like sort that after knowldge of the proclaminge herof shall adhere unto him; and so doth aduise all hir good and faythfull subjects that by hys tyranye hath beene forcebly drawne to him, to refuse and forsake hym as a faulse, arrogant and detestable traytor, and to adhere to her Majestye and trulye and faythfully to sarve hir as they tender hir Majestys grace and favour, and will avoyde the ponishment that in contrarye doynge dothe by the lawes of this Realme to such offendors belonge and apparteyne.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

H. D. Cancell. L. Ormond & Ossery. Gerrald Desmond. James Vic. Gormanston.
Rowland. Baltinglas. Rich. Montgaret. James Slane. Chris. Donsany.

P. B. of Trymbleston.	James Kylline.	Chris. Nouthe.	John Curroughmore.
M. Fitz Wyllams.	Henry Radeclif.	Geo. Stanley.	Jaques Loyngfyld.
John Plonket.	Robert Dillon.	James Bath.	John Parker.
Thomas Cusake.	John Travers.	Fraunces Harbart.	Fraunces Agard.
Humfrey Warne,	John Challoner.		

Imprynted in Dublyn, by Humfrey Powell. [No date appears here.—J. O'D.]

II.

Humili recommendatione premissa, plurimum mirandum habeo quâ parte intendit dominacio vestra me fidelem subditum reginæ immotum servientem perdere circa regiam Majestatem absque aliquâ rationabili causâ, sed quod vultis regiam Majestatem agravare sumptibus non necessariis injustum bellum contra me incipientes. Et plura habeo dicenda erga hanc rem, si opus esset; sed hoc solum dico, donec dictos soldarios de Ardmachiâ detrahetis, nullam partem neque transpetam, sed ad posse, Deo favente, me contra vestrum injustum bellum defendam; sed iniquum habueritis contra me opponere proscriptum habitandum soldarios in Ardmachiâ ego coacte adirem conspectus domine mee Regine qui voluntariè in animo habeo, sed semper habere non desinam, meam personam presentare serenissime domine mee; sed ad transitum meum impediendum vos eum primùm in Hiberniam venisti, absque aliquâ justa deliberatione, impetu soldarios missistis in meam patriam, qui deberetis me amicè certificare de vestro adventu in Hiberniam. Provoco Deum altissimum in testem, quod nil majus in animo habeo, nec quicquam equius exopto, quam meam personam representare celsitudini Regine; et quanquam discoret me mendacem esse de habitantibus in Hybernia propter vestram dominacionem; sed ipse te plus mihi mendax esse pro verbo et facto quam comprobassem. Et obsecro vestram dominacionem, si non cupitis injustitiam ministrare mihi, uti debetis ut meum nuncium simul cum meis literis mittetis ad conspectum Regine, uti pollicita erat Domina Regina per meum nuncium, quod si non faceritis, ego viâ quâ potero nuncium mittam ad ejus celsitudinem; et interim nullam peto a vestrâ dominacione securitatem nisi hoc pacto ut dictos soldarios detrahetis de Ardmachiâ. Et scitote pro certo quod transitum quem intendit dominacio vestra impedire erga me, quod perdidi tria millia marcarum de bonis meis ad transitum faciendum ad conspectum Domine mee Regine, et non plus certus sum ego de hac re quam vos ipsi et plures in partibus Anglicanis. Et valete. 1 Julii, 1561.

Misi,

O'Neill.[c]

II. (translation.)

My humble duty premised. I wonder very much for what purpose your Lordship strives to destroy me, the faithful subject and the stedfast liegeman of Her Majesty the Queen, without

[c] This signature is in Shane O'Neill's own hand. The Latin composition is evidently in the hand-writing of Neal MacConnor, who, according to Campion's *Historie of Ireland*, was his secretary when he was murdered in 1567. See Dublin Ed., p. 189, to 192.—The word "Misi" which precedes the signature, both in the Latin and Irish documents, is the Irish personal pronoun in the emphatic form.

any ostensible cause, but that you wish to aggravate her royal Majesty by unnecessary expenses in commencing an unjust war against me. And I have more to say on this subject, if it were necessary; but I say this only, that, until you take away your said soldiers from Ardmagh, I will not go anywhere else, but will, to the best of my ability, by God's favour, defend myself against your unjust war; but since you have unjustly levied soldiers to place them against me at Ardmagh, I being driven to it will approach the sacred presence of my Lady the Queen, which I have long wished to do, and which I shall never desist from accomplishing,—viz., to present my person before my most serene Mistress. But to prevent my journey, you, as soon as you came to Ireland, without any just reason, sent a force of soldiers into my country,—you, who ought to have advertised me friendlily of your arrival in Ireland. I call the Most High God to witness that I have nothing more at heart, and that I wish for nothing more anxiously, than to present my person before Her Serene Highness; and although she may learn that I am mendacious to those dwelling in Ireland on account of your Lordship, nevertheless you* have proved yourself more mendacious in word and deed than I am considered to be. And I beseech your Lordship, if you do not desire to do injustice to me, that you will, as you ought, send my messenger with my letters into the presence of Her Majesty; which if you do not do, I will send a messenger to Her Highness by the way which is in my power; and in the meantime I will seek no security from your Lordship unless on this condition,—that you withdraw the said soldiers from Ardmagh. And know for certain that by the journey in which your Lordship intends to thwart me to make my appearance before my Lady the Queen, I have lost three thousand marks of my property. And I am not more certain of this than you are yourself, and many in the English districts.—Farewell. 1 July, 1561. I am,

O'Neill.

III.

Humili recommendacione premissa. Perlegi vestram contra me proclamacionem, et optarem si placitus esset vestræ amplitudini, ut meum nuncium unâ cum meis literis non tardaretis mittere ad conspectum Celsitudinis Reginæ, ut in singulos articulos in proclamatione contentos excusacionem acciperem uti benè possim; et interim si placerit vobis ducere soldarios de Ardmachyâ et pacem habere inter nos usque adventum nuncii de conspectu Reginæ vellem ego, aut si bellum plus optamini, quod dicere non possum, et pacem majus eligo. Et Deum Optimum protestor pro teste sine causa vultis meum servitium subjectionem et obedienciam separare a regiâ Majestate. Et pro comperto sciat vestra dominacio quòd quicquid mihi erit ordinatum per Dominam meam Reginam congruum juri et rationi, et mihi tuus nuncius mittetur (si pacem aut bellum mecum habueritis) perficiam sine debito. Valete. Ex sylvis meis, xvii Julii, 1561.

Misi,

O'Neill.

* Or rather he whom you left in your place. [J. O. D]

III. (TRANSLATION.)

My humble duty premised. I have read your proclamation against me, and I would wish, if it were agreeable to your Excellency, that you would not delay to send my messenger with my letters before Her Highness the Queen, that I may, as I well can, take exception to every single article contained in the proclamation. And in the meantime, please to say if it please you to withdraw your soldiers from Ardmagh, and to have the peace between us which I wish for, till the return of my messenger from the presence of Her Majesty; or whether you rather wish for war, which I do not decide upon, because I would prefer peace. And I call the Great God to witness that you desire, without any cause, to withdraw my subjection and my obedience from her Gracious Majesty. And be it known to your Lordship for certain, that whatever shall be ordered by my mistress the Queen, agreeable to justice and reason, and which may be transmitted to me by your ambassador, be it war or peace ye wish to have with me, I will accede to without doubt.—Fare ye well. From my woods, this 17th of July, 1561.

I am,

O'NEILL.

IV.

Beandacht ò Ua Nèill do chum an Iustìs mar dhligheas se, 7 do chum na coda ele do'n Chomhairle; agus atàim ag a fiafraighe diobh crèd do rinne me do ni, do rachadh a n-easonoir no a n-dighbhàil don Bhanrioghain no daoibhsi, as ar bhriseabhair orum gan fhatha, gan adhbhur, 7 tairgsin gabhaltus do dhenamh orum, gan giolla, gan liter do chur chugam ò do thangabhair a n-Erinn; 7 an Iustìs do fhagabhair in bhur n-ionadh a n-Erinn go rabhamair-ne umhal dò; 7 nach raibhe do mhailis orum gan mo phearsa fèn do dhol a bh-fiadhnuise gràs na Banrioghna, acht an mhèid gur chuir me iarroidh air sochamal airgid ar an m-Banrioghain, ar son nach imigheann airged na h-Ereann a Saxanoibh, 7 gur fhuràil me mo bhràighe gill fèn do chur ris an innmhus sin no go bh-fillinn fèn as Saxanoibh. Agus as ì so an bhràighe gill, iodhon, an mac is fearr do'm chloinn 7 do mo dhearbh-chomhalta, iodhon, m'oide 7 mo bhuime 7 mo bhrathair, 7 iad sin do chur a ngioll res in big airgid ar nach brisfinn mo ghealla, da m-bèind gan mo gheall ris; 7 gur chuir me mo dhaoine fèn 7 daoine an Iustìs da ath-iarroidh sin a ngioll air na braighdibh sin a g-ceann na Banrioghna; 7 an uair do shaoilemur sin do theacht chugainn re bhur teachtsa a n-Erinn, ni h-amhlaidh sin do rindeabhair-si, acht a ni nar shaoileamar do dhenamh daoibh; 7 dar n-doigh do chuireamar a deich no a dò dhèg do litreachibh a g-ceand an Iustìs do bhi a n-Erinn ò do imgheabhair-si fòs; 7 tugthar na litreacha sin do lathair, 7 cuir is in fiadhnuise de, 7 na litreacha sin orum, 7 fiadhnuise an mhèid thoigerus cogus do dhenamh don Chomhairle, nach mailis no maineachtnoidhe fo dera damh gan dol a bh-fiadhnuise gras na Banrioghna gos ttrasta, acht dith an innmhuis sin no go mberedh se oraind; 7 atà an chèd inntinn do bhi agam gus ttrasta a nois agam um dhul a g-ceann na Banrioghna, acht an mhèid toirmisg do chuireabhair-si orm go h-anoircheas, iodhon, gabhaltus do chur am' dhuthaidh gan adhbhar;

uair an fad bhias èn mhac Saxanoigh am' thir dom' neamh-thoil, ni chuirfe me reidhiughadh no teachtaireacht chugoibh ò'n uair-si amach; acht mo chosaoid do chur slighe cle a g-ceann naBanrioghna, da inisin di mar do chuireabhair-si an toirmeasc sin orum; 7 do dhena me mo dhicheall ar an m-baradh sin, 7 ar gach duine da ccuirfe ann iad, no go m-berthear as iad. Agus ma ta a rùn agoibh gan mo thoirmeasc ni is mò, beiridh bhur muinntir chugaibh ma's toil le bhur n-onoir è, 7 do dhenfa là ribh, mar is taoisge bheireas sibh bhur muinntir chugoibh, do chriochnughadh gach geallta 7 gach trialla da ttug me do'n Bhanrioghain. Agus biodh a dheimhin agoibh nach d'egla chogaidh do ghell me dul 'n a ceand a roimhe, acht a ngioll ar a h-onoir 7 ar a grà-saibh do chumhdach gach neith da bh-fuil ag gach duine, 7 dom' mhèdughadh ò so suas, innus go ttugainn na tìrtha fiadhanta a ta fùm do chum sibheltuis 7 do chum maithis, 7 innus go ccaithind me fèin 7 gach duine da m-bia am' dhiaigh re serbhis 7 re h-onoir na Banrioghna 7 na feadhmantoigh bhias a n-Erinn uaithe: 7 budh fherrde Ere uile mo dhul-sa a g-ceand na Banrioghna do thoil Dè, uair ni bhiadh a n-Erinn èn dhuine do chuirfedh saobhnòs beg no mòr ar a feadhmanntach, ar a se as anadh se saobhnòs sin do chumhachtuibh Dè 7 d'aonntna na Banrioghna, 7 don t-serbhis do dhenaim-ne d'a feadhmantach.

Ni beag; acht guidhmid sibh gach rùn 7 gach fregra bhias aguibh air sin do chur chugam gan mhailis; 7 gan ni is mò do dhenamh orm no go ttuga sibh sgèla; 7 taisbena mo litreacha do mhaithibh na Comhairle.

Misi,

O'Neill.

IV. (TRANSLATION.)

Shane O'Neill to the Earl of Sussex, L. Deputy.

A blessing from O'Neill to the Justiciary, as in duty bound; and to the rest of the Council. And I am asking of them, what have I done that would go [tend] to the dishonor or to the injury of the Queen? or to you, on account of which you have, since your arrival in Ireland, violated your engagements to me without reason or cause, and for which you have offered to invade me without sending me a messenger or a letter? in as much as we were obedient to the Justiciary whom you left in your place[d] in Ireland; and in as much as it was not malice that prevented me from appearing in my own proper person in the presence of her Gracious Majesty the Queen, but that I asked the Queen for a loan of a small sum[e] of money, because the money of Ireland does not pass current in England;[f] and I offered to give up my own hostages for this money-loan, until I myself

[d] *Whom you left in your place.*—This was Sir William Fitzwilliam, who was Lord Deputy in the absence of Sussex, by commission from the Queen, in 1560.

[e] *Small sum.*—Cox, p. 316, states that her Majesty lent him two thousand five hundred pounds, which was no small sum in those times.

[f] *Does not pass current in England.*—Sir Richard Cox has the following observations upon this subject at the year 1560, in his *Hibernia Anglicana*, vol. i. p. 315:—

"Shane O'Neal broke out again into rebellion and overthrew O'Reyly in the field, &c., &c. And about the same time money, which in King Henry the Eighth his days was debased, was raised near to the intrinsic value; and sterling money was stamped, but it was made current at a fourth part more than it passed for in England, so that an English nine-pence was twelve-pence Irish; and so it continued till the year 1661, when Her Majesty's vast expense in Ireland forced her (by the advice of Lord Buckhurst) to mingle brass with the silver, which was therefore called mixt monies; but the Government then was so steady, that the soldiers suffered it without mutiny, although it was of infinite prejudice to them."

should return from England; and these hostages would be the best of my children,[g] and my foster brother,[h] and also my foster-father,[i] my foster-mother, and my brother;[k] and after giving these in pledge for the small sum of money, to show that I would not break my promise, which indeed I would not do if I had delivered up no pledge at all; and when I sent my own people and the people of the Justiciary to request this again of the Queen for a pledge, and when we thought that it would be sent to us at your coming into Ireland, it was not thus you acted, but you did what we never anticipated would have been done by you; and, in good sooth, we also sent ten or twelve letters to the Justiciary who was appointed in Ireland after your departure, and now let these letters be produced in witness for me; and I also appeal to such of the Council as wish to hear conscientious evidence that it was not malice or negligence that prevented me from going hitherto in the presence of the Queen's gracious Majesty, but the want of that loan-money, which we expected to reach us. And the intention which we then had of visiting the Queen we would have still, but for the amount of obstruction which you have unseemingly thrown in my way, by sending a force of occupation into my territory without a cause; for as long as there shall be one son of a Saxon in my territory against my will, from that time forth I will not send you either settlement or message, but will send my complaint through some other medium to the Queen, to inform her how you have baffled me in my said intention [of going to visit her,] and I will exercise my utmost against this force [of your soldiers] and against every one who will place them there, until they are removed. And if it be your determination not to prevent me any more, take your people away with you, if it so please your Honor, and I will appoint a day with you, as soon as ever you take away your people with you, to fulfil every promise and every offer which I made to the Queen: and be assured that it was not from fear of war that I promised to go to visit her before, but on account of her honor and her graciousness to preserve every thing that each party possesses, and to exalt me from this time forth, in order that I might bring the wild countries which are under me to civilisation and to goodness, and that I myself, and those who should come after me, might devote our time to the honor and service of the Queen, and of the servant [Deputy] who should be appointed in Ireland by her. And all Ireland would be the better of my going to visit the Queen, (by the permission of God,) for there would not be in Ireland any one man who would offer the slightest annoyance to her Deputy, as these troubles would be stayed by the power of God, the consent of the Queen, and the service which I would render her Deputy.

This is enough; but I pray you to send me every secret and every answer which you shall have touching this matter without malice, and not to do any more against me until you bring me the news, and to show my letters to the chief men of the Council.—I am, O'Neill.

[g] *The best.*—He was evidently Henry O'Neill, who afterwards escaped with O'Donnell from the Castle of Dublin, and was thought to have been lost in the snow, in the mountains of Wicklow; but he escaped into Ulster, where Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, threw him into prison. See *Four Masters*, p. 1, 917.

[h] *My foster-brother.*—He was Dubhaltach O'Donnelly who was afterwards slain by O'Donnell, A.D. 1567.

[i] *Foster-father.*—He was O'Donnelly of Ballydonnelly, now Castle-Caulfield.

[k] *My brother.*—This might mean "my kinsman." He was probably his youngest brother, who became a bishop.

V.

[*State Paper Office, Ireland*, 1561-4.]

Bendacht annso do chum in Bharuin Slàinc 7 do chum inghinc an iarla; 7 indis dòibh gur ghabh me literachadh in Iustìs as ar thuig me nach toil leis in Iustìs me fèin, mo dhuine, no mo literachadh do chur re mo fhregra a g-cend na Banrighna, 7 nach àil leis ach gabhaltus do dhenamh in m' fhearann 7 in mo dhuthaidh, amhuil mur indistear damh gach laoi gur ab àil leis Iarla Uladh da ghairm de; 7 is maith in derbhadh air sin comh luath 7 thanic in Iustìs a n-Eirind, in tè do dhlighfeadh literachadh maille re gradh do chur chugam-sa da chur a g-cèill damh-sa a thecht a n-Eirind mur nach roibhe a fhis agam, indus go m-beith luathghair orm-sa fa n-a thecht a n-Eirind, mur bu chòir damh a bheith orm re techt òglaigh 7 fhir-inait na Banrighna, is è a chontrail so do rinne in Iustìs; comh luath 7 thanic se a n-Eirind nir chuir techta no liter chugum-sa re sgeala è fèin do thecht, ach thanic ar tùs ind mo dhuthaidh do dhenamh gabhaltuis indti dar leis fèin; 7 is deimhin gur deacair sin do dhenamh, do thoil Dia 7 misi in mo bheathidh, 7 go formhòr in chòir agam do letrom; 7 da m-beith in chuid is ferr do chlannaibh Nèill 7 misi gan anmain, ni dhentai gabhaltus ar in chuid do bheith beò aca; 7 is minic a thairgeadh gabhaltus do dhenamh orra 7 nir criochnaidheadh sin ariamh aca. Agus ataim-se 'ga cosaide ribh-si 7 re maithibh Gall na h-Eirinn, nach me fèin is cintach re dolaidh da n-dentai a bhos no thuas, 7 nach roibhe do mhailis orm-sa fa na dhul a cend na Banrighna, ach fuireach re sochumail airgid d'fhaghail a ngeall air bhraighdibh onorach do mo mhuinntir; 7 ni maille re casonoir no re neamh-thoil do b'àil lium a dhul a bh-fiaghnise na Banrighna, ach maille re gradh 7 re h-umhlacht 7 re tairiseacht; 7 da mu thoil leis in Iustis anois tar èis gach dolaidh da n-dernadh dhamh-sa—mur ata Ardmacha do losgadh 7 do bhriscadh, 7 mo bhaile fèin do bhriscadh damh—na Sasannaidh do bhreith chuigi as mo dhuthaidh, mur is luaithi d'fhedfaind do bhèind a triall a cend na Banrighna; 7 ma atà nach toil leis sin, as deimhin nach bh-fuil da mhèd pairti rinn duine nach m-beithi do ar coimhed orm, 7 go formhòr sibh-si fèin; 7 dar leam fèin ni bh-fuil comhairle agaibh-si no aigi duine ele don Chomhairle ar Iustìs, 7 ma atà is ole in comhairle dibh gan misi do ghabhail maille re h-umhlacht a serbhis na Banrighna, no ni leigenn egla duibh comhairle do thabhairt dò; 7 cuirmuit a fhiaghnuise ar Dia nach bhfuil agaibh (da mhèd 'umhla don Bhanrighain) duine is mò re miangas 7 is mò atà ar ti m' umhlacht 7 mo sherbhis do thabhairt don Bhanrighain no misi, ach mu'r a beith in Iustìs nach àil leis sin do ghabhail go toiltinneach uainn. Ni beg sin. Misi,

O'Neill.

V. (translation.)

Shane O'Neill to the Baron of Slane.

A blessing here to the Baron of Slane, and to [his wife] the daughter of the Earl; and tell them that I have received the letters of the Deputy, from which I have understood that the Deputy is not willing to send myself, my man, or my letters, to bring my answer to the Queen, and that nothing

will please him but to plant himself in my land and in my native territory, as I am told every day that he desires to be styled Earl of Ulster. And a good proof of this is, that, as soon as the Deputy came into Ireland, he who was bound to send me letters with affection to make known unto me his coming into Ireland, which I did not know,—in order that I might rejoice at his coming into Ireland, as I ought to do at the coming of the servant and representative of the Queen,—did not do so; on the contrary, the Deputy, as soon as he arrived, did not send me messengers or letters with the news of his arrival, but came at once into my country, to make a settlement in it, as he thinks he can. But it is certain that it is difficult to do this, God willing and I alive, and as justice is particularly on my side: because, even if the best of the Clann O'Neill were dead together with myself, such of them as remained alive would not be encroached upon; for it was often attempted to take possession of their country, but it was never yet accomplished.

And I am complaining of it to you and to the chiefs of the Galls* of Ireland that it was not by my fault that any misfortune has happened above or below, and that it was not through malice that I did not go to visit the Queen, but that I was waiting to obtain a small sum of money on the security of honourable hostages of my people; for it is not with dishonor or ill-will that I should like to appear in the presence of the Queen, but with love, humility, and fidelity. And if it were the will of the Deputy now, after all the injuries he has done to me, such as his burning and demolishing of Ardmagh and the destroying of my own town, to take away his Saxons with him out of my country, I would set out as soon as I possibly could to visit the Queen; and if it so be that this is not pleasing to him, it is certain there is not among my adherents a man who would not defend me against him, and more especially yourself; but in my opinion neither you nor any other member of the Council has any influence with the Deputy; and if you have, it is a bad counsel for you not to receive me humbly into the service of the Queen; or otherwise you may be prevented by fear from giving him counsel. And we call God to witness that there is not among you a man (how great soever be his obedience to the Queen) who is more anxious to show his humility and tender his services to her than myself, but that the Deputy is not pleased to receive it willingly from us. This is enough.

I am,

O'Neill.

* *Galls*:—Literally "foreigners," meaning the old English settlers. The same term is still used.

RICHARD TALBOT, EARL AND DUKE OF TYRCONNELL.

BY HERBERT F. HORE.

Few surnames stand so high in the family and general histories of England and Ireland as this of Talbot—one of the illustrious names rendered "familiar in our mouths as household words" by the mighty deeds of John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, the warrior hero of Shakespeare. Besides this renown, not many English names can boast a more venerable descent, in well sustained rank and honour. The same may be said of the Irish Talbots, who have lived in high station from the time of Henry II. until now, when the value of their genealogic tree is shown in the present Lord Talbot de Malahide, a nobleman whose personal worth is its latest and best fruit.

Sir Egerton Bridges observes, in his introduction to the account of the Earls of Shrewsbury, that "whoever considers the numerous accidents and decays to which great families are liable from the waves and weather of time, will look with some respect and wonder on those whose male line has survived in the baronial rank for upwards of seven centuries." It has also been the singular good fortune of the Irish branch of the family to have survived the still more stormy and tempestuous periods of Irish history, unscathed by attainder, forfeiture, or degradation; having retained the lordship of Malahide, and other ample possessions, for the same period that the kings of England have held the sceptre of Ireland. During those ages they distinguished themselves variously in the service of the crown; sometimes holding the vice-regal sword of state, and ever acting loyally and readily in the council and the field.

Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, the subject of this short memoir, and whose portrait, taken when he was lord lieutenant, is now before our readers, was, as is generally known, a scion of a junior branch of the Malahide family. His actions and character belong to history: many historians have dealt with the one and some have gone far in vilifying the other. These pages are too scant to admit of an elaborate vindicatory biography of so celebrated a countryman; but a few may be devoted to an endeavour to remove some of the aspersions which a great modern historian has attached to him. The writer of this memoir has no wish to be an apologist either for the subject of it, or for the Protestants or the Catholics of the time, desiring but to give some truths regarding the Earl of Tyrconnell, so far as he has studied and sees them; and, not having space to give the whole truth, is restricted to a few remarks on some passages in Macaulay's *History of England*, relative to the earl, which admit of refutation. The first paragraph admits of it not the least easily. The accusation, quite a minor one, is as follows:—"Talbot was descended from an old Norman family,

RICHARD TALBOT, DUKE OF TYRCONNELL

from a contemporary portrait in the possession of Lord Talbot de Malahide.

which had been long settled in Leinster; which had there sunk into degeneracy; which had adopted the manners of the Celts; which had, like the Celts, adhered to the old religion; and which had taken part with the Celts in the rebellion of 1641." Now, it so happens, that his forefathers seem never to have intermarried with the Irish, and that no other family in the English pale had partaken less of any degeneracy that may have resulted from Celtic alliances and habits. In all probability there existed as much antipathy to the Mac's and O's in the breast of his father, Sir William Talbot, Bart., of Carton, county Kildare, as is felt by the most prejudiced person of the present day. Certainly the Talbots of Malahide did not take part with the native Irish in the insurrection of 1641; and it is nearly certain that neither did the Carton branch of their house. The subjoined pedigree[a] of the subject of this memoir shows that he was of a distinguished family, which had, it would seem, more than any other, preserved its English blood and loyalty; and, though he was of the Roman Catholic faith, there is many an instance (besides the most memorable one of the heroically loyal Marquis of Clanricarde) in proof that the profession of this religion is compatible with tried and due allegiance. Equally untrue is it that all his efforts were directed against the English colonists, and that he joined the Irish in fighting against them during the great rebellion. On the contrary, he fought against the Celtic party led by Owen *Roe* O'Neill,[b] and commanded by Rinuccini, the papal nuncio. He was even so high in loyalist rank as to have served in the Duke of Ormond's army, and was by the duke put into Drogheda, when this town was besieged by Cromwell; and he lay there amongst the dead after the cold-blooded massacre of its defenders. The Anglo-Irish party maintained the cause of the exiled Charles longer than it was maintained in any other part of his dominions. Evelyn remarks that the last stand in arms for him was made by his trusty officer, Sir Daniel O'Neill. Perhaps Mr. Macaulay considers the Anglo-Irish as rebels for the same reason that Cromwell did,—because they opposed the parliament. As for their loyalist acts, he totally ignores them.

In fact, this modern historiographer seems to us to write more as a poet than a faithful historian. He creates, and, painting in words, shades and colours his graphic *tableaux;* in this resembling Sir Walter Scott, who, in the opinion of those whom the romance of human character and life touches most sensitively, is more poetical in his prose works than in those that possess the additional beauty of rhythmical harmony. Similarly, in the kindred art of painting, the genius of Turner glorifies scenes

---

[a] Sir Richd. Talbot, of Malahide, Knight = Maud Plunket.

Thomas Talbot, of Malahide, Esq. = Elizabeth Buckley.

Richard Talbot =

John Talbot =

Rob. Talbot, of Robertston, Esq. = Catherine Lutterell.

Sir William T. of Carton, Bart. = Alison Netterville.

Richard, Earl and Duke of Tyrconnell.

[b] The antipathy between the Celtic and Anglo-Irish parties is briefly noticed in a recent memoir of Owen *Roe* O'Neill in this Journal, contributed by the writer of the present article, and to which he believes he may refer in proof of his desire to write impartially.

that would be tame when delineated by an ordinary pencil, and the imagination of Ruysdael enhances the bright light in which the prominent objects are placed by *dark artistic shades*. Historic events which, described by a mere chronicler, would be almost without interest, become, from the manner in which a real poet exhibits them, affecting to the feelings and impressed upon the mind: moreover, the descriptive drama is that of real national life, presenting all the royal and noble, the leaders and the people, on the stage. But admirable as this treatment is in a professed work of fiction, the first consideration in writing history ought to be to show events and characters fairly and faithfully. Mr. Macaulay exhibits his favourite heroes in so brilliant a light that no defect can be seen. William the Third is especially glorious. Not only is his gold carefully gilded, but some blemishes that appear in other portraits are either omitted or studiously concealed. None can believe that Queen Elizabeth was beautiful at the time she forbade limners to paint her wrinkles; and *ogni medaglio ha il suo reverso*. Mr. Macaulay not merely spares and flatters William, but carefully prepares foils for him. The king's perfections, great as they undoubtedly were, required, in the eyes of our dramatic writer, a dramatic contrast. The villain, quite black enough, stood forth indisputable in Jeffreys, and the reality in his case needed no exaggeration even for stage effect. But a second villain, or variety in wickedness, was deemed requisite—one who should have the vices that could not be attributed to Jeffreys; and accordingly, our author fixes upon Richard Talbot as another foil. Making use of plausible means to blacken him, by merely giving the calumnies of enemies, or at least of those unfavourable to him, and the vulgar libels of the anti-James party, Mr. Macaulay also suppresses all accounts that are not injurious, or which are contradictory of the vile accusations. He even goes so far as to distort the statements of some authors whom he quotes. For example, he refers to Grammont's *Memoirs* of Court Scandal for the purpose of throwing the chief blame on Talbot in the affair of the Duchess of York; although it was only Killigrew who positively asserted anything serious against her conduct.[c] With a hearty admiration of the high merits of Macaulay's epic in prose, we should, however, be glad if the author could now and then have found room for doubts, and are sure that the torch of history ought never to be lighted to throw a glare on some personages and besmear others with smut.

With regard to another assertion, which is mixed up with so much elaborate crimination that one marvels at the finish of the caricature, viz., the assertion that Talbot "had laid a plan to murder the Duke of Ormond," it is the easily-made, but unfounded accusation of an enemy. Had the charge been true, is it likely that, within a few days after the plotter had been sent to the Tower, he would have been seen "swaggering," as the historian writes, "about the galleries" of Whitehall? Plans

[c] Hamilton considered "*les témoinages*" against the duchess as *foibles dépositions*," including the manifestly false evidence of Killigrew. He regarded her light proceedings as merely "*quelques tendres privautés*," *les menus plaisirs d'un commerce*." She escaped well from the plot to induce the duke to discard her; but the plot itself was Berkeley's, not Talbot's, as Mr. Macaulay would have it believed. It is due to say that some of the text is taken from an unpublished paper penned by a relative of the present family, successfully rebutting the odious insinuations connected with this affair, and otherwise vindicating the subject of our memoir. Certainly no writer has evinced more aptitude in condemning characters whom one might otherwise have been inclined to respect and honour, than the brilliant historian alluded to.

and plots were abundant in those days, at least in the informations of Titus Oates. The true cause of the Duke of Ormond's quarrel with the Irish Catholic colonel was, that the latter was the zealous agent of his countrymen for the restoration of their estates. Without accepting all that French of Ferns and Peter Walsh wrote against the illustrious duke on the score of his having profitted by those estates, a case in point may be presently adverted to, in which, as French reprehensively states, his grace's influence served to enrich his secretary at the expense of some of those claimants. In supporting such claims, the Irish colonel was, doubtless, often transported into violent expressions: but his character as a man of business could not have suffered much from such ebullitions, if, as Mr. Macaulay observes, "he was heard with attention on matters of business." "He affected," continues our author, "the character of an Irish patriot, and pleaded, with great audacity and sometimes with success, the cause of his countrymen whose estates had been confiscated." It must have required no small combination of inherent right on the side of a claimant, and of talent on the part of his advocate, to have succeeded in recovering an estate at this period, when, in the words of a simile applied at the time, Ireland was like a prey thrown to hounds, each riving and seizing a piece for himself.

One of the petitions drawn up by this active and patriotic agent at court is signed by all the principal nobility and gentry of Anglo-Irish descent; but not by any of the old native families, who had been so generally and deeply engaged under the dictates of the papal nuncio that they had lost all credit for loyalty, and were bankrupts in reputation, having blindly yielded to every censure of the archbishop, and to every order of Owen *Roe* O'Neill.[d] These petitioners pleaded the cause of those unfortunate and miserable members of their party, who, numbered by thousands, were deprived of all hope of regaining their patrimonies by the arbitrary and cruel premature closure of the celebrated Court of Claims, in which were tried the titles and political innocency of such as sought to recover their estates from the firm grasp of the parties then in power,—namely, Cromwellian veterans and loyalist Protestants. At the time this court was closed, in August, 1662, there were several thousand claimants whose cases were absolutely unheard, and who thus were for ever barred from all chance of redress! Their number is variously reported. A memorial presented by the sufferers, praying for an extension of the term of session of the court, states it at 8,000. The attorney-general, in reply, reduced it to 5,000; who, if there were no more, were so many victims reduced to beggary by being unjustly deprived of all opportunity of asserting their claims. Colonel Talbot, connected by blood and religion with most of these families, (many of the young men of which soon afterwards joined the armies of the continent) was, as the author of De Grammont's memoirs remarks—"*patron des Irelandois oprimés.*" Hence his quarrel with the Duke of Ormond, who, high in power, was more unfavourable to Talbot's *protegés* than Talbot could well bear. The duke, indeed, disapproved of leaving them unheard; but made certain proposals, some of which were vehemently opposed by their agent. It would seem that the proceedings in the Court of Claims were not

[d] Dr. O'Conor's *Bibl. Stow* p. 244.

quiet and reputable as in our present Court for the Sale of Encumbered Estates. There was a little bribery, and too much false swearing:—evils that probably led to the sudden closing of the court. In 1664, it was attempted, when drawing up the Act of Explanation, to defeat, by statute, the claims of any who had had them confirmed in the court by such iniquitous means; and, in the December of that year, "Colonel Richard Talbot was committed to the Tower, by the king, for using threatening words touching the Duke of Ormond; because the duke would have introduced an exception, in the new act of settlement, of all such as had received decrees in the court of claims, either by perjury or bribery."[e] Doubtless, the aged and illustrious duke—the WELLINGTON of the time, if so much might be said—was perfectly right in requiring this proviso. In expostulating, the irascible advocate conducted himself with such insolence towards the ducal premier as to cause his committal. Subsequently, the merry monarch, delighting in mischievous fun, taunted the duke with his endurance of Talbot's violence; till, worried by the royal pleasantries, Ormond turned shortly upon the king, exclaiming:—"Odds my life, Sire, does your majesty then wish that I should doff my doublet at this time of day, to fight a duel with Dick Talbot?"

Mr. Macaulay loads Talbot with abuse for these endeavours to procure the restoration of some of the estates of the loyalist and semi-loyalist Irish Catholics, which had been applied by the parliament and Cromwell to pay their own soldiery, and the confiscation and appropriation of which were, for the most part, confirmed by Charles II., on the plea of necessary state policy. The semi-loyalists had been, to say the least, less rebellious than the Cromwellians whom the restoration of the monarchy found in possession of the confiscated lands. But as, in fact, it was the leaders of the old parliament army, such as Colonel Monk, &c., who brought in Charles, on condition that the army should retain their allotments in Ireland; and, as the island was too limited in extent to satisfy all the claims upon her soil, the least flaw that could be alleged against the claim of any Roman Catholic was eagerly advanced to defeat it. When, indeed, a family like this of Talbot of Malahide boasted an irreproachable loyalty, and where, as in their case, their mansion and patrimony was found defiled by the temporary ownership of a regicide such as Miles Corbet, there was no difficulty in their reinstatement. But in cases where, although the "innocence," as it was termed, of the native claimants was regularly established, some ancestral lapse, or dubious legal impediments, could be discovered; and especially, when the lands claimed were in the possession of some powerful Englishman, the "merry monarch" and his courtiers may have felt indifferent whether the "innocents" migrated to Connaught or quitted the world for a worse place! In our view, it is no slight proof of the magnanimity of Colonel Talbot, that he undertook to redress the cruel wrongs of many Anglo-Irish families. A remarkable petition drawn up by Talbot on behalf of the loyalist Irish Roman Catholics, dated 28th November, 1670, is given in the appendix to Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormond*. It sets forth their services to the crown, and strongly disapproves of the acts of settlement. The sixth article of this document commences with a case which, besides coming first, may per-

[e] *Add. MS., Brit. Mus.*, No. 1328.

haps be fairly referred to and commented on by the writer of the present memoir as one of especial hardship. The case is that of the grandchildren of Philip Hore, Esq., of Kilsalaghan, Co. Dublin, who were decreed "innocent" by the rules of the act of settlement, yet whose decree was made void in favour of Sir George Lane,* the Duke of Ormond's secretary, who had obtained a grant of their estate, comprising some 11,000 acres in the shires of Dublin and Wexford. Their grandfather, who was high sheriff of the metropolitan county previous to the insurrection of 1641, had acted as president of the first assemblies of the Catholic confederates, held at Wexford in the winter of that year, and, as a consequence, had been attainted. In July, 1660, Lane took out a patent for these lands: but in August following, the heirs laid claim before the Commissioners of Claims, produced a deed of feoffment made long before the attainder, and eventually obtained a favourable decree. The patentee challenged the deed, declaring it to be a forgery; alleged that, were it ever so good, its provisions were barred by the attainder; and that he was entitled by the act of settlement to enjoy the estate during his life, because Philip Hore had accepted lands in Connaught during the usurpation. In rejoinder, the heirs attested the loyalty of their ancestor, by showing that he had so strenuously opposed the papal nuncio as even to have torn down the famous notice of excommunication of 1646 [f] from the church doors in Wexford, an act for which he was himself personally excommunicated; and that he had been forced to accept lands during the usurpation rather than starve.[g] They might, indeed, have added that, so insupportable to his family was the thought of exile, that one of his daughters preferred to commit a crime usually requiring more than woman's intensity of feeling,—namely, suicide: so at least, the peasantry around the old walls of Kilsalaghan still relate.[h] Whether the feoffment was actually a forgery, was a legal question which Sir George Lane then obtained the king's leave to try; but at this juncture Colonel Talbot interfered, and drew up an agreement by which the estate was divided between the English knight and the Irish claimants. Had there been forgery, Ormond's secretary would hardly have compromised a matter in which he had law, as well as favour and acts of parliament, on his side. Even under this partition, the case was deemed one of extreme hardship, and was therefore brought forward by Talbot; but the account of his conduct in so doing, as found in Carte, does not elevate his character as a man of business. He seems to have been over-vehement in his advocacy of the claims of the ousted Roman Catholic landlords of Ireland; and it was this advocacy, strenuously persevered in, that made him so many enemies. To understand his position, it must be kept in mind that he had a great many bitter opponents, belonging to two classes. On the one hand, the Protestant Whigs and Republicans were naturally his deadly foes. But it is not so well known that he was equally distasteful to the extreme Papist party, which had almost become a French faction, and was ready to sacrifice every vestige of nationality in order to sever the the connection between Ireland and England. Tyrconnell was resolutely op-

* First Viscount Lanesborough, ancestor of George Lane Fox, Esq.

[f] T C D., F. 2, 11.

[g] *Registers of the Privy Council Office*, Whitehall; in which there are several entries of audiences of this case.

[h] "Mary Hore's cross," i.e., the cross-road where she was buried, is still pointed out.

posed to such an insane scheme. Sheridan, his secretary—one of the most impudent men of an impudent time, and one of his most assiduous detractors—belonged to this party. The deep odium into which Tyrconnell fell, with the revolutionists, was clearly owing to those measures of his which enabled King James to make a stand in Ireland. In his portrait, the viceroy points with melancholy significance to that *ultima ratio regum*, the sword; but it surely was eventually fortunate for our country that his rapier was speedily beaten down by stronger "cut-and-thrust" weapons, since she sooner ceased to be what her own bards used to style her—"sword-land."

Mr. Macaulay's assertions against the manners and deportment of Colonel Talbot are sufficiently invalidated by the personal accounts given of him in Grammont. Let us make a rough sketch of his appearance, and of his early life. At nineteen he must have been, at the least, a soldier-like looking young fellow; and it was probably about this time, when, as youngest of the numerous family of a Roman Catholic baronet in Ireland, and despairing of obtaining a livelihood in his native country, where those of his creed laboured under extreme disadvantages, he set out for the French court, hoping there to achieve the honour and preferment that were denied him at home. In the service of a country where military merit has always received speedy acknowledgment, young Talbot rose to the rank of colonel,[i] and would have done well to have continued in France; but he seems to have been attracted back to his native country during the civil war, by strong sympathy with his party, whose position, of all others, was most embarrassed; for, as Roman Catholic Irishmen, they were detested by the parliamentarians, and yet they were in a large degree alienated from both their king and the hierarchy. During some engagement, or perhaps during the massacre at Drogheda, his life was saved by Reynolds, one of Cromwell's leaders.[j] Escaping to Flanders, he entered into the service of the Duke of York, afterwards James II.; came into England with his master at the restoration; and merited by his fidelity to be selected by Titus Oates for one of his victims. By a timely flight to the continent, he escaped from the fangs of the informer; and, on his return, was rewarded by James with rank and office. "Tyrconnell," writes Dr. Lingard, "was brave, and generous, and devoted to the person of his benefactor; but rash, impetuous, and confident." In person he was far above the common stature, and was extremely graceful and well made. From the reduced lithograph copy of his portrait at Malahide castle,[k] our readers may believe the expressions in Grammont:—"Talbot was possessed of a fine and brilliant exterior; his manners were noble and majestic, &c.;" and *il n'y avait point à la Cour d'homme de meilleur air*."

The modern historian of England describes Colonel Talbot as a mere cully to the Duke of York, "carrying billets backward and forward between his patron and the ugliest maids of honour." Whether Dick Talbot acted "Sir Pandarus of Troy" in this manner we cannot, at this time, by referring to the amusing pages of Grammont, verify, or disprove: but fear that many courtiers have

[i] "*Life*," 1689.

[j] Clarke's *James II.* I., 326.

[k] Lord Talbot de Malahide does not know the history of the large picture of which we are enabled, through his courtesy and appreciation of archæology, to present the annexed lithograph. There is also at Malahide another picture, copied by Zoffany from an original which once formed part of the Jacobite Gallery of the late Lord Beaulieu: and, also, a small minature portrait, by the celebrated Petitôt.

fallen into the error of aiding the amours of others, especially of royal dukes. At any rate, if the duke's mistresses were as plain as is reported,—"prescribed by the priests," as the king imagined, "to his brother, by way of penance,"[l]—there was little danger that even this stalwart Irishman would play false on his own account; more particularly as he twice sacrificed himself on the shrine of beauty, by marrying two of the handsomest of the honourable maidens at that brilliant court. His first wife, Miss Boynton, maid of honour to the queen of Charles the Second, was daughter of Mathew, second son of Sir Mathew Boynton, bart. Her sister married another and more justly celebrated Irishman, the Earl of Roscommon, the poet:—

"Roscommon, not more learn'd than good;
With manners gen'rous as his noble blood."

This maid of honour is the "languishing Boynton" of De Grammont, who describes her as slender and delicate, given to languishing, and sometimes even to fainting. "The first time that Talbot fixed his eyes upon her," writes he, "she was seized with one of these fits." Ever after this accident, the gallant Irishman showed the lady kindness, "more with the intention" continues that *méchant* writer, "of saving her life, than to express any affection he felt for her. This appearance of tenderness was well received, and at first she was visibly affected by it. Talbot was one of the tallest men in England, and to all appearance one of the most robust; yet she showed sufficiently that she was willing to expose the delicacy of her constitution to whatever might happen in order to become his wife." She died in Dublin, in March, 1679, probably in child-bed, since there is an entry of the burial of her child, in Christ Church Cathedral, on the 12th of that month. Her eyes were not closed a year when those of her husband encountered the object of their former admiration, the fascinating Frances Jennings, widow of Sir George Hamilton, but still young and charming. Her former wooer renewed his addresses, and accordingly, in 1679, they were married at Paris.[m] She was sister of Sarah, the celebrated Duchess of Marlborough. Let us pause to contrast, in merely suggesting the thought, the careers of their husbands. The character of Colonel John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, seems directly contrary to that of Colonel Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyreonnel. For ourselves, we dislike the cool and selfish vices of the former much more than the warm and self-sacrificing faults of the latter. But the character, and particularly the military genius, of the victor of Blenheim, was well adapted and serviceable to his era. Since the time of John, Earl of Shrewsbury—

"The Talbot, so much scared abroad,
That with his name the mothers still their babes,"—

no English leader had struck such terror in France. Even at the present day, the peasantry purchase and hang up, as a memorial that he is dead, a flaunting painted print of his funeral obsequies, giving every verse of the old popular song, the most consolatory of which declares—

"Monsieur d'Malborough est mort,
Mironton, mirontain, mirontaine,
Monsieur d'Malborough est mort,
Est mort et enterré!"

[l] Tatler.

[m] *Jesse's Court of the Stuarts.*

Hamilton, the author of Grammont's memoirs, cannot be supposed to have been favourable to Talbot. He was nephew to the Duke of Ormond, rival in love to Talbot, and, also, the brother of Miss Hamilton, whom it appears that Talbot would have married but for his quarrel with the duke, her uncle, since no objection was previously made to him; whereas, certainly, objections would have been made, had the suitor of the beautiful and distinguished Miss Hamilton been all that Mr. Macaulay describes him. The characteristic given of him by the cotemporary author,—his over-readiness "to speak bold offensive truths, and to do good offices,"—is quite incompatible with his being, according to the modern writer, a mere cringing courtier. Of these pungent truths several instances are recorded. For example, on an occasion when King Charles remarked with severity on the hypocrisy of a Catholic outwardly conforming to the religion of the state, Talbot observed, brusquely enough:—"Does not your Majesty do the same?" Again, to Louis the 14th, who, struck with the handsome foreigner's likeness to himself, insolently asked him if his mother had not been at the court "*du roi notre père:*—" the answer was—"*non Sire, mais mon père y était.*" Rejoinders like these must have made the circle of courtiers bite their lips; and their effects may have taught Talbot the lesson Raleigh learned, that if we follow truth too close at the heels, there is danger of kicks. Truly, the personal appearance presented by Dick Talbot does not accord with a cringing disposition: and, indeed, it is to be believed, that, with his commanding form, martial education, and Irish heart and head, he erred rather in the opposite way. His foes styled him "bully:" but the English courtiers, (always excepting the gay ladies,) could hardly have been content with an Irishman who excelled most of them in the natural advantages and the accomplishments which ensure success in much that many men are ambitious of or desire.

During the reign of Charles the Second, Colonel Talbot probably passed almost as much time in his native country as at court. In Ireland he was regarded by all of his creed as a countryman of theirs who stood high in favour, and would stand higher, so soon as their chief hope, the Duke of York, should succeed to the throne. It was, therefore, natural that he should be placed in power in his own country, where he was popular and beloved, so soon as that event occurred. Some of the motives that induced the king to give high military command in Ireland to Colonel Talbot are mentioned in Clarke's *Life of James II.*, in a statement that, in the year 1685, his majesty, with a view to effecting some reforms in the army in Ireland, "and to mitigate a little the cruel oppression the Catholicks had so long groaned under in that kingdom, thought it no injury to others, that they, who had tasted so deeply of his sufferings, should now in his prosperity have a share at least of his protection;" and for other considerations thought it "necessary to give a commission of lieutenant-general to Colonel Richard Talbot, a gentleman of an antient family in that country, a man of good abilities and clear courage, and one who for many years had a true attachment to His Majesty's person and interest." He was shortly after created Earl of Tyrconnell; and soon superseded the king's brother-in-law in the viceroyalty.[n] He then commenced a systematic preparation for the

[n] Lord Talbot de Malahide possesses the original instructions given to the earl on assuming the government. They are framed in a very moderate spirit, and, it is believed, have never been published.

Revolution—an event which cast shadows at its dawn. The obvious mode of securing Ireland for his master was to fill the ranks of the army with men attached to his master's cause. When he became viceroy, his power in this and other measures was greatly increased, and used with a precipitancy that drew on him excessive odium from the opposite party. There is wit enough on this subject in the following satiric verses in the *Irish Hudibras* to entitle them to be quoted :—

"The Roman tribe would be too strong,
If this good luck" (the viceroyalty of Tyrconnell) "should last too long.
How many gallant troops this sot
Will he condemn unto the pot?
How many, fitter to command,
And soldiers, too, will he disband?
And carry on the sly intrigue,
To make a vacancy for Teague."

"Change kings, and we will fight the battle over again!" cried the Irish, bravely, after the battle of the Boyne. Let our readers whose sympathies run wholly with the victors change their point of view of Tyrconnell's conduct, and they will perhaps admit that the methods he used for the safety of his king, are, at least, not open to higher objections than those employed by the opposing party. When national and religious factions ran so high as in our stormy Revolution of 1688, one of the minor results was that the leaders were bespattered with the frothy foam of the waves of political satire. Let us give some further passages from the poem already quoted :—

"Tyrconnell, with his spoils posses't,
The bravest king of all the rest,
His haughtiness, bred in the bogs,
Shall call his betters rogues and dogs;
From butcher's brat raised to a peer,
To be a king in Shamrogshire."

In another passage the natives are represented speaking; they boast loudly of what their favourite "lord debity" shall accomplish for them, to the total discomfiture of the puritans, and to the extent of restoring Ireland once more to the Irish :—

"This devil" (Tyrconnell) "shall do that which no man
Could yet effect,—restore the Roman;
And in his time establish Popery,
Which "Curse ye Meroz" calls a foppery.
Chappels shall up, the churches down,
And all the land shall be our own!"

One more extract, from verses equally archaic, the famous ballad of *Lillibullero*, once sung, with great effect, to the tune now called "Protestant Boys :"—

"There is an old prophechy, found in a bog,
That Ireland shall be rul'd by an ass and a dog;
And now this prophecy is come to pass,
For Talbot's a dog, and James is an ass!

Our archæological readers are well aware of the powerful effects of political satire when the storm of such a cause as then shook the three kingdoms raged; and some may, perhaps, be inclined to give out something from their stores which may show that the wit and poetry of the time was not all on one side.

Little is to be gleaned towards any memoir of the Duke from the "Life" published of him in 1689, a small and rare pamphlet, well-known to book collectors. This unsatisfactory piece of pseudo-biography, written by an enemy, printed in London, under the title of "The Popish Champion, or a complete History of the Life and Military Actions of Richard, Earl of Tyrconnel, Generalissimo of all the Irish forces now in arms," is dedicated to King William's army, then preparing for Ireland. As this *brochure* was struck off to inspirit the English soldiery, it represents its subject as a coward and barbarian. "His greatest glory," says the author, "is, that he is become the champion of the Roman cause." One single paragraph is worth extracting,—the description of the entry of King James into Dublin. His majesty was met and received ten miles from the city by the viceroy-earl, who conducted him thither, having caused the forces to be drawn up at the entrance into the city, where they saluted their sovereign with three vollies of shot, the streets being lined with the Irish life-guards up to the castle gate. The municipal authorities met him with all formality. At night, bonfires blazed in all parts of the metropolis, and James the Second slept in the castle, the old centre of English power in Ireland, amidst the clang of bells, the rattling of *feux de joie*, and the shouts of an enthusiastic people. His next entry into that city was by no means in triumph. When, at nine o'clock on the evening of the battle of the Boyne, he arrived in Dublin, after a hasty flight, the Duchess of Tyrconnell met him at the castle-gate, and, after he was up stairs, asked what his majesty would have for supper; he replied that his breakfast had left him no appetite, and ironically complimented the fair vice-queen on the alertness of her husband's countrymen's heels—a sarcasm that produced and deserved the rejoinder that, in this respect, *his Majesty had the advantage of them.*

It has been asserted that the Duchess was reduced to such poverty, after her husband's death, that she was obliged to live by keeping a milliner's stall under the Exchange in the Strand. But, as sister of Sarah of Marlborough, and related to some of the first families of both kingdoms, it is improbable that this could have been the case; and we have the authority of White, the Westmeath poet, quoted in Prior's *Life of Goldsmith*, that she lived in a highly respectable manner in Dublin, and died there, at her lodgings in Ormond-Quay, on Sunday, the 7th March, 1730-31. White published an elegy on her death;—among the lines, eighty in number, are the following:—

"Tyrconnel, once the boast of British isles,
Who gained the hearts of heroes by her smiles;
Whose wit and charms throughout all Europe rang;
From whom so many noble peers have sprang;
Whose virtue carriage, parts, and graceful mien,
Made her a fit companion for a queen."

Although we have the above testimony that she died in the Irish capital, there is to be seen in the chapel of the old Scots College in the Rue des Fosses St. Victor, at Paris, among other monuments which recal the misfortunes of the House of Stuart and of their adherents, a plain tablet, bearing the following inscription:—

D. O. M.
Æternæ Memoriæ
Illustrissimæ et nobillissimæ Dominæ
Franciscæ Jennings,
Ducissæ de Tyrconnell,
Reginæ Mag. Brit. Matronæ Honorariæ,
Hujus Collegii benefactricis,
Quæ Missam quotidianam in hoc sacrario
Fundavit perpetuo celebrandam
Pro animâ suâ et animâ ejus Do^ni Georgii
Hamilton de Abercornæ, Equitis aurati,
Conjugis sui primi, et D^ai Richardi Talbot,
Ducis de Tyrconnell, Proregis Hyberniæ,
Secundi sui conjugis.
Obiit die XII Martii. An. Domini
MDCCXXXI.
Requiescat in pace.

The registers of Christ Church Cathedral show that Lord Tyrconnell had several children, two of whom he lost, within one month, in the year 1684. Two of his daughters by "la belle Jennings" grew to womanhood. Of these, Lady Charlotte Talbot married the Prince de Vintimiglia; but of her sister the name and story have alike passed into oblivion.

It must be observed that as the title of duke was conferred on Tyrconnell subsequent to James's abdication, it cannot be legally ascribed to him. His character has been estimated according as it was considered by either foes or friends. The Duke of Berwick, in his memoirs, seems to have sketched it impartially, as follows:—"He was a man of very good sense, very obliging, but immoderately vain, and full of cunning. Though he had acquired great possessions, it could not be said that he had employed improper means, for he never appeared to have a passion for money. He had not a military genius, but much courage. After the Prince of Orange's invasion, his firmness preserved Ireland, and he nobly refused all the offers that were made to induce him to submit."

Recent researches tend to show that great pains were taken, and great temptations held out by King William, though in vain, to bring over Tyrconnell to his interests; a fact which his descendants in France could have made manifest. Cox, in his *Life of Marlborough*, says that Hamilton was sent to Ireland for this purpose; but Talbot, unfortunately for his fame in England, remained faithful to his sovereign, and instead of gaining the name and reward of a patriot, as an assistant in the glorious Revolution, with exemption from the accusation of the vices now attributed to him, or at least the preservation of his fortune and rank, by playing a double part between the two kings,

like so many others, at once gave up his position for the sake of his duty, and died in arms as a loyal subject. Our brief memoir cannot be more happily closed than by the following eloquent passage from the pen of a gifted countrywoman, Lady Morgan:—

"Of Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyreonnell, much ill has been written, and more believed; but his history, like that of his unfortunate country, has only been written by the pen of party, steeped in gall, and copied servilely from the pages of prejudice, by the tame historians of modern times, more anxious for authority than authenticity. Two qualities he possessed in an eminent degree—wit and valour; and if to gifts so brilliant and so Irish be joined devotion to his country and fidelity to the unfortunate and ill-fated family with whose exile he began life and with whose ruin he finished it, it cannot be denied that in his character the elements of evil were mixed with great and striking good. Under happier circumstances the good might have predominated; and he, whose deeds are held by his own family in such right estimation, might have shed a lustre on his race, by the talents and heroism which gave force to his passions and celebrity to his errors."

VESTIGES OF KELTIC* OCCUPANCY IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

The interest which the literati of France, and still more those of Germany, have begun to take in the study of the aboriginal language and antiquities of Ireland, is a gratifying fact in the literary history of our era; and Irish scholarship ought to regard this contrasted zeal of strangers as a suggestive rebuke to its own relative inactivity. Dr. O'Donovan, no doubt, has accomplished marvels of industrious research; Mr. Eugene Curry has also done much; and the name of Dr. Petrie will live in future history: but, while we would not unduly depreciate the individual or associated efforts already made, truth obliges us to acknowledge that, as a community, we have done nothing in the higher or *scientific* departments of our national archæology. So far as systematic adjustment is concerned, the antiquities of Ireland, both historical and linguistic, are still in a chaotic condition by no means creditable to our national reputation. With the exception of Dr. Pritchard's book on the *Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations*, we have not in English a really *good* dissertation on what may be termed the philosophy of antiquarian research, in its application to Ireland; and the substance of Dr. Pritchard's information has been avowedly borrowed from Continental sources.

* *Keltic.*—After the example of the German, and even of some British authors, the writer intentionally adopts this orthography for the purpose of *restoring* the *genuine pronunciation* of the word; as its etymology, and especially its relation to the terms *Gael* and *Gaelach*, are obscured by the vitiated pronunciation in current use; while a native Irishman must stare in bewilderment at hearing himself called a *Selt!* The Greeks invariably write Κελτοί and Κελτικη for *Celtæ* and *Celtica*. The Scotch Highlanders at the present day call their country *Gaeltachd*; the *d*, as in many other cases, being probably supernumerary. The original form was consequently *Gaeltach*, or, without the aspiration, *Gaeltac*, of which *Keltica* is merely an attenuation, with a Latin or Greek suffix for the purpose of declension.

Eichhoff and Pictet in France, and Bopp, Grimm, and other distinguished scholars in Germany, have demonstrated the fundamental connection of the Irish language with Sanscrit and the Indo-European family of languages in general, and one radical error has thus been happily abolished. The absurd dream first excogitated by General Vallancey, that the "Bearla Feine," or Scoto-Milesian dialect of Ireland, is a branch of the Phœnician language, has done indescribable mischief by throwing our antiquities into hopeless confusion. Even the more recent researches of Sir William Betham have been vitiated by his adoption of the ridiculous hypothesis alluded to; the effect of which is to confound all the distinctions of Comparative Grammar, as well as those of Ethnology, and to make the races of Ham and Japhet to be one and the same generic stock! If any doubt could ever have existed in regard to the identity of the Phœnician and Hebrew Languages, that doubt has been finally settled by the discovery at Sidon, within the last two years, of a long and most valuable inscription engraved upon the sarcophagus of Eshmunezer, one of the ancient kings of Phœnicia. This inscription, with the exception of a few peculiarities of local dialect, is in very intelligible Hebrew of what is called the "later" period, and is extremely interesting as being the only original monument of Canaanitish literature that has yet been discovered. It also possesses collateral importance to the Irish archæologist, as effectually disposing of a theory which can hardly be mentioned in connection with Irish antiquities without casting contempt upon the whole subject in the estimation of European scholars.[b] The fact also deserves to be noticed, that the pre-historic

[b] As this Sidonian Inscription is the only *direct* specimen of the Phœnician Language that has been obtained, the peculiarities of the latter having been previously only *inferred* from the colonial relations known to have existed between Carthage and Tyre, a brief notice of its discovery may not be uninteresting; especially since the subject, though largely occupying the attention of Continental and American scholars, has been overlooked in this country. In the month of January, 1855, the Rev. Mr. Thomson, a learned American missionary, resident at Sidon, discovered a subterranean vault in the vicinity of that city, containing a sarcophagus of black basalt, finely polished, and covered on the breast with an inscription in the old Phœnician character, consisting of twenty-two long lines, and forming a far more complete specimen of the language than all the Punic Inscriptions in the *Monumenta* of Gesenius put together. Mr. Thomson immediately copied the inscription, and sent it forthwith to the Chevalier Bunsen, by whom it was communicated to the Orientalists of Germany. In the meantime, a dispute arose between the American and the French Consuls about the possession of the sarcophagus, and, after prolonged litigation, the French claim was allowed by the Porte, and this interesting relic is now in the Museum of the Paris Institute. The first critical account of the discovery was given by Professor Dietrich, of Marburg, in a publication issued in 1855, under the title of *Zwei Sidonishe Inschriften*, &c., and containing a copy of Eshmunezer's inscription, from Mr. Thomson's transcript. Professors Roediger and Schlottmann investigated the subject in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Journal of the German Oriental Society); Dr. Hitzig in 1855 also published an elaborate critique under the title of *Die Grabschrift des Eschmunazar*, &c; but the most important contribution, at this time, was the publication of an essay originally read by the Duc de Luynes, an enthusiastic French Orientalist, before the Académie des Inscriptions, and printed in a magnificent form at the Imperial Press, in 1856. Mr. Thomson's transcript contained some errors arising from the similarity of certain Phœnician letters; and the first care of the Duc de Luynes had been to obtain a beautifully executed *photograph* copy taken from the monument itself. All uncertainty was thus removed, and dissertations in abundance followed. M. Munk, a learned Jew, gave an admirable paper on the subject, in the *Journal Asiatique* (*Tom.* vii. No. 27, 1856); and Ewald, at Göttingen, issued his *Erklärung der Grossen Phönikischen Inschrift von Sidon*, &.; while one of the latest investigations is contained in Dr. M. A. Levy's *Phœnizische Studien*, published at Breslau about the close of the last year. In this able work all the previous critics are reviewed. And now a word or two in relation to the contents of the inscription, which begins with the identical Hebrew expression that is found in I. Kings, chap. vi., ver. 38—*Biyerach Bul*, "*In the month Bul*," while another remarkable phrase employed in Ecclesiastes, viz., *tachath hash shemesh*, "*under the sun*," also occurs in this monumental relic of the Phœnician monarch. The inscription, which is written in the name of the deceased, recites his genealogy as "Eshmunezer,

traditions of the Irish Gael, as collected by Keating and other native writers, strongly assert the Japhetic origin of the Gael; and, while contradicting, in this respect, the fables of Vallancey and his school, the same traditions fully coincide with the deductions of Comparative Philology, and confirm, in a remarkable degree, the conclusions of Ethnological Science drawn from independent sources.

Our intention, however, in the present paper, is not to take up, in the first instance, the Ethnological and Linguistic department of the inquiry; but to state, in as brief a compass as possible, a number of interesting results which the researches of German scholars have lately gained within the precincts of Germany itself. Here, it may be necessary to remark that, although amongst our Teutonic neighbours on the Continent, a thorough acquaintance with the ancient language of Ireland is an indispensable condition of scholarship in its linguistic meaning, yet within the last few years, a purely "Keltic" school, as enthusiastic, and, to some extent almost as imaginative, as our native bards and sennachies used to be in the regions of etymology, has sprung up. Amongst the chiefs of this school may be mentioned Dr. Diefenbach, whose collections entitled "*Celtica*," published in the years 1839 and 1840, are a veritable treasury of information on the subject of the ancient Kelts, and their genealogical affinities. In this work have been laboriously included nearly all the references made by classical writers to Keltic subjects, together with those of later authorship, so as to constitute a Cyclopædia of illustrative materials. H. Heinrich Leo, of Halle, is also an enthusiastic Keltic scholar, who, in addition to various disquisitions intended to show that the old German language has borrowed a large number of its vocables from Keltic sources, has published, in his *Ferienschriften*, an excellent Irish Grammar founded upon that of Dr. O'Donovan. Passing over a number of eminent men, whom some high German nationalists contemptuously call "Keltomanen," representing their speculations as the dreams of an "*Irrenhaus*,"[c] ("Lunatic Asylum,") F. J. Mone, superintendent of the public archives, at Carlsruhe, is by far the most prominent member of the school alluded to. This gentleman is a distinguished scholar, in addition to his profound attainments as an archæologist. From original manuscripts he has edited, and illustrated with curious

son of Tabnith, king of the Sidonians; commemorates his mother, Amashtoreth, priestess of Ashtoreth, and (dowager) Queen of the Sidonians;" and an account is then given of the great public works which he had executed, the temples he had built, and the glory to which he had raised the Phœnician kingdom; concluding with the threatened vengeance of the gods against all who should violate the sanctity of his tomb. The value of this inscription, as the only one of its class yet discovered within the limits of ancient Phœnicia, is incalculable; whether it be regarded in a Biblico-critical, a philological, or an archæological point of view;—but into these questions it is impossible to enter in an illustrative note. By way of putting an end to Vallancey's Phœnician absurdity, it is necessary only to quote the two introductory lines of this inscription:—

"Biyerach Bul, bishnath asar vearba lemalki melek Eshmunezer, melek

"Tzidonim, ben melek Tabnith melek Tzidonim, dibher melek Eschmunezer, melek Tzidonim, semór."

"In the month Bul, in the fourteenth year of my King, King Eshmunezer, King of the Sidonians, son of King Tabnith, King of the Sidonians, spake King Eshmunezer, King of the Sidonians, saying:"—then follows the monarch's supposed record of his own public services to the state and to the gods. No man who is not contemptibly ignorant of the structural differences existing between the Shemitic and Indo-European families of languages, can even pretend to make "Bearla Feine," or any other dialect of Irish, out of the language of this inscription. The latter, in fact, does not differ from the later Hebrew nearly so much as does the Irish of Munster from that of Connaught, nor as both differ from the Gaelic of the Scotch Highlander.

[c] Glueck—*Die bei Cæsar Vorkommenden Keltischen Namen*," &c, München, 1857.

annotations, a collection of mediæval hymns in Latin; and he is, we believe, the principal editor of a German periodical devoted to antiquities, and especially to Keltic archæology. With these introductory explanations we proceed to lay before our readers a number of interesting results arrived at by Herr Mone, in his lately published work, entitled—*Celtische Forschungen*, &c., *(Keltic Investigations)* as materials *for the History of Central Europe.*

The object of Herr Mone's book is to examine the names of numerous localities throughout Germany, and to demonstrate that, although many of them are disguised in outward form, yet in reality they are antique Keltic designations, whose significance it is hopeless to look for within the limits of the German language, even in its oldest monuments. Another class of local names has been subjected to Latin influence, so that here some care is necessary in order to discover the Keltic roots so transformed; while a third, and a tolerably numerous class, consists of a purely Keltic word, combined with a German equivalent, usually involving a literal translation of the former. There are other classifications which it is hardly necessary to specify; because from the minute investigations required, and especially from the fact that the Keltic vocables mainly depended upon are chiefly monosyllables, a degree of uncertainty may be attached to the conclusions obtained, notwithstanding the striking, and, in many instances, the surprising coincidences which are found to exist. One remarkable circumstance about these local etymologies is the fact that, although many of the names examined are clearly of Cimbric origin,—that is, belong to the dialects of Wales and Armorica,—yet by far the greater number, probably nearly two-thirds of the whole, are explicable only by means of the Gaelic of Ireland. Our author's theory, we may remark, is, that the Belgæ of Gaul, who were incorporated to a considerable extent with the Celtæ, so far at least as social institutions and national alliance were concerned, were a people of the same race as the Kymry of Wales; and this hypothesis, if well founded, certainly solves a number of otherwise obscure problems, besides harmonizing a variety of ethnological difficulties. We know, on classical authority, that the Cimbri of Roman history, and the Κιμμεριοι of the ancient Greeks, were one and the same people,[d] with differently spelled names; and Strabo has preserved a word used by a Cimbric colony in Italy, together with its Greek equivalent, and this word *("Argel")* has in modern Welsh the identical signification attributed to it by the Greek geographer, viz., a *"sequestered place."*[e] If the *Kymry* of Wales, the *Kimbri* of the Romans, and the Κιμμεριοι of the Greeks, were one and the same generic stock, the pre-historic traditions of the Welsh chroniclers, relative to the connection of their ancestors with Troy and the Trojans, are at once placed in a considerably higher rank than that of popular fables. The Cimbric tribes, so long in possession of the Crimea, really did, within the historical era, occupy the Trojan territory till driven out of Asia Minor by Halyattes, King of Sardis; so that the traditions referred to may be broken relics of history which have floated down to modern

---

[d] Strabo. *Geographia*, Lib., vii., p. 293; Casaubon's Edition, Paris, 1620.

[e] Strabo, Lib. v., p244.

times. It is apparent from the Greek historians, that the celebrated attack of the Gauls upon the temple of Apollo at Delphos was made chiefly by the Celtæ; the Belgæ having beforehand withdrawn in the direction of their future country, Galatia. If the hypothesis of Herr Mone be established, then the assertion of Josephus, that the Gauls were of the race of Gomer, would be correct, assuming the Jewish historian's statement on this subject to relate to the people of Galatia, to whom his personal knowledge must have been chiefly limited. The Irish *Firbolg*, and the Gallic and British *Belgæ*, are now generally understood to have been at least cognate tribes; and hence we have at once a rational and satisfactory explanation of the phenomenon so observable in the ordinary language, or "*Bearla rustach*," of Ireland, namely, that a large number of its vocables belong in common to the Welsh language. From the intimate relationships which existed between the Cimbric and Germanic tribes at an early period, we should naturally have expected the occurrence of far more names of places in Germany with Cimbric than with purely Keltic affinities; and yet, if the researches of our learned investigator may be relied on, the fact is directly the reverse. This is a singular result, coinciding in a remarkable degree with another discovery recently made in Germany, by Jacob Grimm, namely, that, at a period so recent as the fourth century of our era, a language radically the same as the Gaelic of Ireland was still spoken in France, within the boundaries of the ancient *Celtica*. The testimony of this profound scholar is exceedingly valuable:—he is a Teutonic nationalist of a high order, who has strongly opposed the speculations of Heinrich Leo, on the subject of the Malburgian Glossary, and who, on the ground of patriotism, would not transfer to Ireland a single fragment of antiquity which he could legitimately vindicate for "Father-land." Jacob Grimm is consequently not open to the charges preferred against the "Celtic School" amongst his countrymen; and this eminent philologist has published two elaborate essays, originally read before the Royal Society of Berlin, the object of which is to demonstrate, from remaining specimens, the identity of the Keltic language of Gaul with the Gaelic of Ireland, as distinguished from the Welsh and Armoric dialects respectively. We have already admitted that a goodly number of Herr Mone's etymologies may be plausibly disputed; although they possess this signal advantage, that, when regarded as Keltic derivatives, they invariably express a good and consistent meaning, singularly descriptive of some physical peculiarity of the places to which they have been applied; whereas, if traced to a German origin, these names will either convey no meaning, or one characterised by inherent absurdity. In Ireland we know that local names of ancient standing are usually so remarkably significant as to suggest even to strangers the general characteristics of the localities so designated. We shall, accordingly, in the present article, confine our selection to examples about whose validity no discussion can be reasonably maintained; and of this class we expect to adduce enough to show conclusively that a race, identical with some at least amongst the native tribes of Ireland, must, at a remote era, have possessed large tracts of Germany previously to its occupation by the Germans of classical history. A collateral inference of some importance is drawn by Herr Mone from these memorials of Keltic occupancy, namely, that the Gael manifestly came into Germany as

peaceful wandering colonists; whilst the Teutonic tribes as evidently followed in the character of invading aggressors.

In examining the subjoined specimens, it is necessary for the reader to bear in mind the law of phonetic permutation,—that letters of the same organ are interchangeable; and that all the radical consonants in Irish words were originally pronounced. It will also be observed that the German addendum is usually a translation of the Keltic name. The Irish words quoted belong to an *obsolete* type, but this is exactly what might have been expected, and it accordingly constitutes a strong *prima facie* argument in favor of the etymologies relied upon. In the body of his work, Herr Mone has not usually indicated his Lexical authorities, but his examples are all contained in O'Reilly's Irish dictionary and its supplement, with the exception of a few terms for which the *Grammatica Celtica* of Zeuss is cited. O'Reilly alone will, we believe, supply authorities for all the examples annexed.

Achen, hachen, a little brook—Irish, *oiche,* "water,"—in the diminutive form—*oichean.* Achenbach in upper Hesse. Also

Achen, haehin, haken, "houses"—from the Irish, *aicde, acaidh,* a dwelling. Achenheim in Elsatz.

Adel, a steep precipice—in Irish, *adaill.* Adelberg at Schorndorf near Wertheim on the Kocher. Also, Adelsberg, near Alpirsbach, in Wirtemberg.

Achi, a field—from the Irish, *achadh.* The village now called Essfeld, in Wirtemberg, was formerly Achifeld.

Aden, adhen, a house—Irish, *aidhe,* a dwelling, or castle. Ahusen in Hesse was formerly "Aden," or "Adhenhusen."

Aetten, a little hill—from the Irish, *aithin,* a diminutive of *aith.* The Aettenbühl in Geissberg, near Villingen.

Afers—"river-houses"—Irish, *abh,* a river, and *aras,* a dwelling. Afers in Graubünden and Vorarlberg.

Ais, Aisch, a hill—Irish, *ais.* Aisperg and Aispell in Waldshut. Aispell is from the Irish *ais.* and *bill* "little." Also the mountain Aischwang at Reichenbach in Wirtemberg.

Ak, a stone, or rock—Irish, *acha.* Ackstein in Austria.

Alt, a house—Irish, *ailt.* Altdorf, Altheim, and numerous other local designations. Also,

Alt, a river, or brook—Irish, *alt.* Altbach, Altenbach, Altbrunnen, &c.

Andechs, the house—from the Irish *an,* (definite article) and *teagh,* or *teaghas,* a house. Andechs is the name of a place in Bavaria.

Andrefa, Antraffa, Anraffa, Arneffe, a village, or place of residence—Irish, *aitreabh,* a habitation. A village in Upper Hesse at Landorf is called by the above name.

Anden, the rivulet—from the Irish *an,* (article), and *táin,* (water.) The Andenbach in Upper Elsatz.

Apfel, a great river—Irish, *abh*, "water," and *il*, "great." Apfelbach in Wirtemberg.

Appen, a small river—Irish, *abhan*, a diminutive from *abh*. Appenbach in Hechingen.

Argers, Ergers, a house—Irish, *eachrus*. Ergers, and Ergersheim, local names in Elsatz.

Asga, Esch, a river—Irish, *uisge*, "water." Asgabrunnum, Eschborn at Rödelheim.

Assel, a mountain rock—Irish, *ais*, a hill, and *aill*, a steep rock. The "Asselstein" is a great rock on a hill at Annweiler.

Ast, Asten, a dwelling-place—Irish, *iosta*, in the diminutive form *iostán*. Astheim, or Ostheim in Franconia, Asten at Linz, in Austria, and Astheim, near Trebur, in Hesse.

Auras, a dwelling-place—Irish, *aras*. Aurass at Mittelwald, on the Drave, and Auras in Silesia.

Auuin, a river—Irish, *abhan*. Aubach in Upper Austria was formerly called *Auuinpah*. Also Auenbach, at Kottspiel in Wirtemberg.

Bafen, baven, an inclosure for cattle, with a residence attached—Irish, *babhun*. Bavendorf, Babendorf, and Beffendorf, are local names in Swabia.

Baren, or *Barn*, a rivulet—Irish, *biorán*. Bernbach, originally Barenbach, and Barnbehlu, in Nassau.

Barren, small points of an elevation, or eminence—Irish, *barr*, the top or point of anything. The Barrenberg at Aufhausen in Wirtemberg.

Bas, water—in Irish, *bais*. Basbeck.

Beckil, Beckel, small houses—Irish, *bi*, little, and *ceall*, a habitation. Bökelheim on the Nahe has these ancient forms.

Beer, a river—in Irish, *bior*, "water." The "Beera" are rivers in Wirtemberg.

Beilngries, a place in which horses are kept.—From the Irish, *bail*, or *baile*, a "place," "habitation," and *greadh*, a "horse." Beilngries is the name of a town in Bavaria, and may be a contraction for *Bail na ngreadh*.

Bek, little—Irish, *beag*. Beekum in Westphalia, signifies the "little court," from *beag*, and *om*, a "court," or a "farm."

Bennen, a little hill—Irish, *beinnean*, diminutive of *beinn*, a mountain. The Bennenberg at Neresheim.

Ber, Berm, Bern, Beur, &c., are forms of the Irish *bior*, "water," and its diminutive *bioran*. Upper and lower "Beerbach," at Darmstadt, the Bieber at Wetzlar, and also a river and district at Offenheim and Gelnhausen. In old Irish *bi* signifies "little." In Austria and Bavaria there are places called Beurbach. Also, Bierbeke, or Bierbeek at Löwen, Bierbach at Zweibrücken, and Borebach, in Hesse.

Binga, a mountain-house; from the Irish *binn*, or *beinn*, a mountain, and *ea*, or *eai*, a house. Bingen is the name of a village on the Rhine, and also of another in Breisgau. In Upper Hesse, we have Bingenheim.

Boyne, a hill—Irish, *beann*. Boyneburg is a town in Hesse. [In regard to the etymology here

given, we are disposed to hesitate, as *boyne* seems rather to be *buidh an*, or *buidh amhan*, the "yellow river."]

Bracht, Braycht, Bracht, &c., from the Irish *braga*, a "stream of water." The Brachtbach in the Wetterau, flowing into the Kinzig. Braychtpag, now called Brobbach in Nassau.

Brögel, a stream descending from a hill—Irish, *bre*, the face of a hill, and *gil*, a stream of water. The Brögelbach, at Bekum, in Westphalia.

Brogach, a steep height—Irish, *brughach*. The Brogen, called also Brogach, in the Black Forest. The Brogen is the point of separation between the Rhine and the Danube.

Bru, Brûch, Bruh, a boundary, brink, &c.—Irish, *bruach*. Bruhrain is a district between Bruchral and Wisloch, the German word *rain* being an exact translation of the Keltic *bruach*. Various high shores on the Rhine and its tributaries are similarly denominated. Other places called Bruhrein, or Bruochrein, also occur in ancient documents.

Bu, an animal, a cow—Irish, *beo*, a living animal, and *bo*, a cow. In connection with the word *ca*, a house, these terms *beo* and *bo* form a numerous class of local names throughout Germany; as "bocha, bochae, buchae, buchau," in modern times abbreviated into "buch," though formerly written "buah," and "buoch," as Ratolfes-buah, Willigises-buah, Bucheim, meaning habitations for cattle. In some other local names, as Buchholtz, Buchberg, &c., the syllable *buch* is the Keltic *buach*, the brow of a hill. The last-mentioned term is of frequent occurrence in local names, especially of mountains.

Buchuli, a herdsman, a shepherd—Irish, *buachail*. Büchold in Franconia, near Arnstein, in ancient documents is called "Buchelede, Buhhulide," a shepherd's house. There is also a Bocholt in Westphalia.

Can, a mountain-top—Irish *ceann*, the head. The mountain Candal in Breisgau has its name from *ceann*, and *al* a rock or stone—in ancient Irish orthography *ceand-aille*. Cantal in France is similarly derived; but Cannstadt, according to our author's general rule, is from the Irish *gann*, a fort, or fortified place, in combination with a German equivalent.

Chruch, now *Kruk*, a little round hill—Irish, *cruach*. Kruckenberg at Donauslauf, and Crochenperch in Austria.

Dabechen, a little house—from the Irish *dac*, a house, and *beagan* little. Dachstein in Elsatz is called Dabechen or Dabichenstein.

Dahn, a river—Irish, *tain*, water. Dahnbach at Munster on the Kocher.

Darm, a place—Irish *tairm* and *tarmadh*, a place or dwelling, and *tarmon*, a place of protection. Darmstadt in old records appears as Darme, Darmunde, Tharm. Darmenz in Oberinnthal, and Dürrmenz near Pfortzheim seem derived from *tarmon*. Also, Dirmstein, anciently Dirmenstein, in Rhenish Hesse.

Debriach, a dwelling-place—Irish, *dubhras*. Debriach, formerly Tobriach, in Carinthia. [From the antique form of this appellative might it not rather suggest *tobar* a "well," and *acha* a "field," as radical elements? *Tobriach* seems to be a plural form.]

Didin, a fortified place –Irish, *didean*, or *didionn*. Deidesheim, in Bavaria, is called Didinesheim, or Ditensheim.

Dobras, a dwelling-place—Irish, *dubhras*. Dobrasberg, and Dobresberg, also Dobersberg in Austria.

Dormael, *dormale*, a mountain-house—Irish, *tuar*, a house, and *maol*, a hill, or promontory. Dormael is the name of a place in Brabant.

Dorn, a mountain—Irish, *torran*, a hill, or eminence. Dornberg in Saltzburg.

Drais, *Trais*, *Draes*, &c., a place—Irish, *dreas*. Numerous local names such as Treis, Treyes, &c., occur in Baden, Hesse, and elsewhere. Drasdorf and Draesdorf are places in Austria, and are probably contracted from *daras*, a "habitation."

Druff, a house—Irish, *drubh*. Ohrdruff—that is, "houses on the Ohr."

Dübel, a black rock—Irish, *dubh*, black, and *aill* an upright stone, or rock. Dübelstein in the Canton of Zurich.

Duingen, a fortified place—Irish, *daingean*. Duingen is the name of a place in Hanover.

Dune, *Tun*, a city, or fortified place—Irish, *dun*. Dunestat in Thuringia; Dundorf near Münnerstadt.

Eckers, *Ockers*, a residence—Irish, *eachrus*. Eckersdorf, formerly Ockersdorf, in Austria.

Edders, a dwelling-place—Irish, *adhras*. Eddersheim, now Münchhof, at Darmstadt, and Eddersdorf on the Maine, in Nassau.

Egel, a marshy valley—Irish, *aigiol*. Formerly numerous places were called Egelsee, Egelfurt, Egelbach, Egelache, Egelgraben, &c.

Else, *Ilse*, a fairy, elfin, or dwarf—Irish, *aillse*. In old German tales the *Else* is a wild wood-nymph, and the *Elsany* (Irish, *aillse nae*—"fairy-woman.") *Ilsebill* is also a character in popular mythology (Irish, *aillse bill*, little fairy, dwarf.) We may suggest that probably the Irish word *aillse* is a compound for *aill sia*, "mountain fairy."

Epf, a river—Irish, *abh*. Epfbach at Schongau, and Eppenbach at Neckarbischopsheim.

Eres, a house, dwelling—Irish, *aras*. Eresburg is the old name of a place in Saxony; and Ehrenstetten, near Freiburg was originally Erestettun.

Esh, flowing water—Irish, *uisge*, or *eas*, water. Numerous places are called Eschbach, Esbach, &c. *Esch* is also a Germanized form of *ais* a "hill." A mountain in Rhenish Bavaria is called Eschkopf;—Eschbühl is a mountain in Argau, and Eschenberg in Wirtemberg.

Esgin—an antique form for the modern *Eschen* in several instances. Irish, *uisgin*, a diminutive of *uisge*.

Fin, a countryman, or farmer—in Irish, *feine*. The old name *Fingast* (Cod. Laur. 3, 48) means a diligent farmer—Irish, *gasta*, active.

Fivel, a large forest, from the Irish, *feabh*, a wood, and *il*, great. The Fivelgau in Friesland is so derived.

Fladech, a king's house—from the Irish, *flath*, a king, or prince, and *teagh*, a house. Flarcheim in Thuringia is called Fladecheim and Flathecheim, in antique records.

Frien, Frin, a mountain—Irish, *firainn*. Frienisberg, anciently Frinisberg, in Switzerland.

Furent, Furint, Furant, a field—Irish, *fearann*. Faurndau in Wirtemberg was formerly written Furentowa, &c.

Gabel, colonization—Irish, *gabhail*. Gabelkosen, Gebelchouen, &c., in Bavaria.

Gallen, a little river—Irish, *giolan*. The Gallenbach in Odenwald, and Gallenbach at Steinbach, in Baden. Also the Gellenbeek at Minden.

Gann, the summit—Irish, *ceann*, the head. The Cannaspitz in the Tyrol.

Geil, a river—Irish, *gil*, water. The Geilbach at Zweibrücken, and Geilespach in Austria. The Geil is a river in Carniola.

Gembri, winter—Irish, *geimhre*. In Nassau, at Boppart, there is a village called Gemmerich, anciently Gembri-ca, Gembri-ghe, from the Irish, *ca*, a "house,"—literally "winter-houses."

Grinde, Grünen, a mountain top—Irish, *grianan*. Grünenberg in Hesse, and elsewhere, and Gründenberg at Immenstadt, in Bavaria.

Hebsack, a pine forest—Irish, *giubhsach*. Hebsack is the name of a forest-mountain at Freiburg, of a village in Wirtemberg, and of numerous mountains in Swabia, as well as in other places.

Hurvi, and *Hurwele*, a little habitation—from the Irish, *corr*, and *bi*, or *bille*. Hürbel in upper Swabia was formerly written Hurrwele. [*Corr bille* in its aspirated form.]

Kibb, a block—Irish, *ceap*. The Kibbfels, and Kibbald in Freiburg.

Kronach, a fortress—Irish, *cronog*. Kronach is a little town in Bavaria.

Macher, arable land, a field—Irish, *machaire*. Machern and Altmachern are places at Liser on the Eifel.

Maylan, field-houses—Irish *magh*, a field, and *ulon* a habitation. Old and New Maylan, in Austria.

Rin, Rinn, a mountain—Irish, *rinn*. *Rinega*, in the Black Forest, is mentioned; and Rinsberg, at Aehen, has the old names of Rimburg, Rinberg, and Rineberg. We have also the Rinberg at Baiersbronn on the Murg. [The syllable *rine* would seem rather to suggest the idea of a place at which "dancing" *(rinceadh)* was popularly carried on.]

Sau, a river—Irish, *sua*. The Sau at Bihlhaingen, and Saubach at Brettheim in Wirtemberg. Also, Schwabach in Bavaria.

Schachen, bushes, brambles—Irish, *seeach*. This name frequently occurs in connection with mountains. Schachen, a mountain-wood, at Mettenberg in Wirtemberg, Mohrenschachen, another mountain-wood at Hauertz in Wirtemberg; also, the Schachen, a similar locality beside Reinstetten, in the same district. Langerschachen in the lower Black Forest.

Schlif, Schleif, Schliff, Slife, &c., a mountain—Irish, *sliabh*. In Wirtemberg we have the Schliffstein, at Kapfenhardt, the Schleifberg, at Wildberg, the Schleifbiegel, at Waldmannshofen, the

Schleifhöhe, at Kirchhausen, Schliffenwald, a mountain-forest at Leinenfürst, and in Austria Schlifberg, anciently Slifperch.

Tadig, a small house—Irish, *di* little, and *tigh* a house. Tadighem in Westphalia.

Tam, *tan*, a river—Irish, *tain*, or *taom*. The Tampach, now Tambach, at Steyer, in Austria, and Tambach, southwards from Gotha.

Tauer, a mountain—Irish, *torr*, a hill. The Taurs in Saltsburg and Steier.

Techin, houses—Irish, *tigh*. Techinheim in Elsatz, Teckenburgh, &c. Techsdorf, in Lower Austria, is called in old records Utechsdorf, i.e., "farmer's house," from the Irish *uiateach*. [See O'Reilly, *sub voce*.]

Thaur, a place, or house—Irish, *tuar*. Thaur is the name of a village at Hall, in the Tyrol; and Thawrais, Turezz, Tueres, (from the Irish *duras*, a "house,") are old local names in Austria.

The, *Thei*, *They*, a house—Irish, *teagh*. The city Themar, in Thuringia, is called in old documents Theimar, Themar, i.e., the "great house," being the same name as Ossian's *Temora (Tigh Mór.)*

Thengen, a fortified place—Irish *daingean*. Thengen is the name of a castle, city, and village, in Hegau. Also Hohenthengen at Kaiserstuhl, on the Rhine; and in numerous other localities the names Thengen, Tuingen, &c., occur.

Theres, a house—Irish, *daras*. Upper and Lower Theres, on the Maine.

Thor, a mountain—Irish, *torr*. Hochthor, and Thorberg are mountains in the Saltzburg and Carinthian Alps.

Thurse, a Lord—Irish, *tuirse*. In the German and Northern traditions, the Thursen have become a race of giants. [We may here remark, in passing, that although the fact seems to have escaped the notice of all our antiquarians and critics, this rare word *tuirse* explains the real signification of the Scythian tribe-name *Agathyrsi*, as we may have occasion to show at a subsequent stage of our inquiries:—*Aige tuirse*, "the lordship, or sovereignty, is with him"—an interpretation exactly coinciding with the Scythian tradition respecting the origin of the name "Agathyrsus," as reported by Herodotus.]

Tiges, a small dwelling-place—Irish, *teaghus*. Upper Digisheim, in Swabia, anciently Tigishain, Thigesen, and Tigenshain.

Tin, a river—Irish, *tain*, "water." The Tiubach at Klausen, in the Tyrol.

Tobratz, a dwelling—Irish, *dubhras*. Tobratzhofen, a small village in Wirtemberg.

Trais, *Tras*, a dwelling-place, or habitation—Irish, *dras*, *daras*. Traisendorf in Franconia, and Trassdorf at Arnstadt.

Treben, a little village—Irish, *treabh*, in the diminutive form *treabhan*. Treben, near Altenburg, in Saxony.

Trechir, a small piece of ground—Irish, *tric*, "small," and *ire* a "field," or a piece of land. The Trechirgau on the middle Rhine.

Tulba, a torrent—Irish, *tuilbheim*. The district and river Thulba, at Hammelburg in Franconia.

The syllable *ba* here is an abbreviation, the word *bheim, béum,* if Germanized, passing naturally into *baum* (a "tree") and consequently becoming unsuitable as a river-appellation.

Urnasca, Urnäschen, mountain-water—Irish, *aran,* a "hill," and *uisge* "water." The Urnäschen near Herisau, in Appenzell.

Varn, a field—Irish, *Fearann.* Varanfeld, in Austria. [It may be necessary to inform the English reader, that, in German the letter V is identical in pronunciation with the English and Irish F; "*Varan*feld," for example, being pronounced "*Faran*feld." "*Ve*frisse," "*Fe*frisse," &c.]

Vef, a wood—Irish, *feabh.* Vefrisse, "wood-marsh," was a place at Ufgau, on the Rhine, (*Cod. Laur.,* 3, 149) from the Irish *riasg,* a moor or marsh.

Wyske, water—Irish, *uisge.* The meadows at Giessen are still called *Wyske.* [This is a change precisely analogous to that which has produced the English word "whiskey" out of the Irish *uisge.*]

We fear lest the patience of our readers may have been too largely taxed by this catalogue, which, after all, is a mere specimen gathered out of hundreds of similar coincidences noted in detail by our erudite German. The fact, we think, is indisputable, that a very large number of the examples above cited exhibit Irish affinities, about which hardly any doubt can exist. Still, without additional materials, we are not in a position absolutely to draw Ethnological conlusions from the data now established, however valuable the latter may be. The reason is this, that, the Irish language, as it exists in dictionaries, is not exclusively the language of the ancient Celtæ, but is in reality a compound of all the aboriginal tribe-languages of Ireland blended together, and "dominated" by the Keltic or Scoto-Milesian construction. The most, therefore, which can be logically inferred from the conclusions established by Herr Mone is, that tribes cognate with some amongst the early colonists of Ireland must have inhabited Germany before the arrival of the present Germanic races; though, without more exact information, we cannot affirm ethnologically, that the tribes alluded to were Kelts; very strong probabilities, however, being on the affirmative side. It is well known, that the "*bearla rustach,*" or popular Irish dialect, was despised by the Bards and Literati of Ireland as a "*mixed*" language; and what we now mainly want for scientific uses is the means of *separating* the pure, unmixed "*Bearla Feine,*" or Kelto-Scythian language, from the promiscuous assemblage of vocables to be found in O'Reilly's dictionary, for example. Such collections are exceedingly important, and we would not be without them on any account; but the desideratum required is a standard of critical discrimination like that above alluded to. The expected publication of the Brehon Laws, in the preparation of which Dr. O'Donovan and Professor Curry have been so long employed, will, we expect, be one of the richest treasures ever presented to the literary world for the purposes of Ethnological investigation; and we earnestly hope that this great work may be urged forward with all convenient expedition. Another suggestion we venture to make, in consequence of its practical importance:—it is understood that the two eminent Irish scholars above-mentioned have been making collections for a new and comprehensive dictionary of the Irish language, and for this work we also look with special anxiety:—our suggestion is, that,

as far as possible throughout this prospective dictionary, its learned compilers should employ some distinctive mark to indicate all words belonging to the *Bearla Feine*, or old classical dialect of Ireland, so as to enable both foreign and native scholars to make the required separation. With this "appliance" in our hands, when we find Irish affinities in local names on the continent, we have merely to look whether they belong to the pure or to the mixed vocabulary, and their Ethnological value becomes immediately apparent. We are then in a position to determine, whether the local designations examined show a decidedly *Keltic* occupancy, or whether they do *not*; and farther, if any specimen of the genuine language of Scythia be in existence, it is the Bearla Feine in its oldest forms. It is a point of the very highest interest, that, as far as practicable, all the vocables and peculiarities of this unmixed dialect should be distinguished from the extern elements which have been gathered around it; since, as we may hereafter have occasion to show, a clear, consistent system of Irish Ethnology is essential to a harmonized adjustment of classical antiquity itself.

We must reserve for a future paper a notice of Dr. Brandes' work, *Die Kelten und Germanen*, (in which the Ethnological relations between the Keltæ and the ancient Germans are elaborately examined,) together with the results of our own inquiries into this and kindred topics connected with the archæological history of Ireland.

Seumas MacNeachtain.

SIR HENRY SIDNEY'S MEMOIR OF HIS GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND.

(Continued from vol. III., page 357.)

The ensuing portion of this memoir contains notices of two Irish personages, the accounts of whom, as given by Sidney in the text, and in his letters, afford a curious contrast between a feudal Norman lord, of the English shire of Waterford, and an independent Celtic king, in Irish Ulster. John Le Poer, the queen's baron of Curraghmore, whose ancestors had long served the state as peers of parliament, and acted for centuries as hereditary sheriffs[a] (enforcers of law) in their own county, was landlord of one of the "best ordered"[b] English districts in Ireland, and had been proud to entertain that viceroy, whom "O'Neill," when that high officer went expressly to Newry to parley with him, did not even come to meet. Yet the Gaelic toparch, whose real position was merely that of a deposable head of a tribe, was, at the very time, anxiously pressing to be created an earl, and to be made owner in fief of the vast country that belonged to his clan. The text, also, with our notes, gives the real causes of the insurrections of the *Mac an Iarlas*, as the sons of the Earl of Clanricard were called. Their *status* was intermediate between elective succession to temporary chieftaincy, with gavelling rights to the land, under brehon law, (which they adopted,) and primogenitural inheritance of a baronial title and its estate. At the same period that the effects of the security given by the latter system were patent throughout the estates of Lord Curraghmore, every dwelling in Clanricard had been demolished by the two De Burghs, in order to carry on a guerilla warfare against the English. But directly that one of these brothers was secure in his heritable earldom, he effected a vigorous reformation throughout it; and, being able to act as a provident landlord, converted his nomad clansmen into tenants, who gladly "embraced civility," as the phrase of the day expressed a civilisation which implied that they began to build houses and to cultivate the soil under permanent agricultural tenancy. His castle, Loughreagh, became no more an often-contested fortress; but was adorned, to be enjoyed in peace. Sir Henry Sidney, when received there by the old earl, whose sons he styles the "trayterous Clanrickardines," little thought that the widow of his own incomparable son would one day reside in that building as wife of the eldest son's heir. This fourth Lord Clanricard, "a handsome brave Irishman, said to resemble Essex," (wrote the French ambassador in 1602,) having been reluctantly brought forward at court to fill the post of favourite to Elizabeth, vacant by the execution of the nobleman to whom, and also to Sir Philip Sidney, he bore resemblance both in personal beauty and higher qualities, married, strangely enough, "that remarkable woman," Frances Walsingham, heiress of the great minister, and relict of the very

[a] Waterford Verdict, MS., 1537. S.P.O.

[b] Collins' Sidney's Letters.

remarkable men her third husband resembled. Yet Sir Henry would not have been averse to this unanticipated match, could he have read the ensuing passage in an original letter from Sir John Davyes, written subsequent to a visit to Lord Clanricard:—"I found," says Sir John, "the Earl and his wife, the Countess of Essex, living in very honourable style, and his lady very well contented, and everything as well served as ever I saw in England."

The visit of Sir Philip Sidney to Ireland, under the interesting circumstances related by his father, is unnoticed by either his or Essex's biographers. The young and illustrious knight was at that time affianced to a daugher of the earl; and he hastened over on hearing of her father's mortal illness; but came too late to a death-bed at which his presence had been anxiously desired.

Let us turn to a scene of war, and almost see, in Sidney's lively picture of his beleaguerment of Castlemartyr, and the battering his "good fair culvering" gave that rebelliously defended tower, the cannon balls crashing through the lattice windows and roof, and certainly perceive the effect of ordnance on the minds of castellans. Prior to the use of cannon, the fortalices that stud the colonised districts of Ireland were proof against ordinary attacks, for the assailants had no missiles weightier than arrows: but the strongest castles surrendered, when, in the verse of Spenser—

"Three great culverins for batterie bent,
And leveld all against one certeine place,
Did all att once their thundrous rage forth rent,
And made the walls to stagger with astonishment."

Lord Lieutenant Essex, in 1599, tells the queen that the Irish were "neither able to force any castle or house of strength, nor to keep any that they got." Unprovided with cannon, they were powerless to breach walls; and, being without defensive armour, they were insufficiently prepared to carry the smallest pile that was stoutly defended with pike and harquebus. Yet when these arms were in the hands of English assailants, who had plates of steel on their breasts, and stout hearts within them, a tower might be taken without the aid of artillery; at least we have it declared by a great martialist of romance, Captain Dalgetty, who assured the Laird of Ardenvohr that no castle, however secure in its situation, was to be accounted impregnable; "for," said he, "I protest t'ye, Sir Duncan, that I have known twenty-five men, by the mere surprise and audacity of the attack, win, at point of pike, as strong a hold as this of Ardenvohr, and put to the sword, captivate, or hold to the ransom, the defenders, being ten times their own number!" It is observable that few castles were erected by the Gaelic Irish until after the invention of gunpowder had rendered such fortresses untenable. Morasses and forests were the national strongholds, until a faint usage of hereditary succession in the line of some chieftains induced them to fortify for themselves and their descendants. A Connaught lord, who, in the fourteenth century, constructed a fair castle, "the like of which," a cotemporary Gaelic writer stated, "had not been erected by any sub-chief in Erin," evidently was encouraged to build, because he was "the firmest in his patrimony."[c] But no chief-

[c] Hy-Many, p. 141.

taincy was a patrimony; nor was land strictly so, being either appurtenant to the chieftain's office, or liable to be allotted in gavel to others, and it was occupied in common by septs. The instability of Gaelic tenure was, as is well known, the vital defect to which almost all the wars, rebellions, and other historic ills of Ireland are to be traced. As the change from Brehon customs to English law was undertaken by Sir Henry Sidney at the period of the text, as appears by passages in his despatches, we may now briefly notice the extreme difficulty of effecting this great alteration, which is illustrated in the instances of the Clanricardines, O'Neill, and Mac William Eighter, mentioned in this portion of the memoir. In 1569, Sidney had caused an act to be passed, whereby, in order to abolish chieftainships and "settle the seigniories incident to them in a course of inheritance," he was authorised to accept from the ruling chiefs formal surrenders of their Gaelic rights, and to grant them estates to hold by English tenure. From an early period after the invasion, very many chieftains had naturally exhibited the strongest disposition to become barons of the crown, in order that their territories might be inherited by their descendants. But their own laws unhappily hindered their admission to the council and parliament of a country of which the history, during the four centuries they were excluded, would have been very different from the troubled annals those barbarous ages present, had the brehon laws not acted as the barrier that prevented the Irish from uniting with the English. The crown was, of course, always ready to accept the Gaelic people as subjects. But as clansmen had gavelling claims to property, and as communism, with the right of choosing a ruler, had been the law of the land for a thousand years, those men were at once justly hostile to their chief, if he attempted to found rights for himself upon Saxon usages. The opposition modern landlords meet with, when discountenancing subdivision and common holdings, must be slight compared to a clan in arms against their deposable head, whenever he sought to absorb their land, and transmit it to the first-born of his posterity for ever; compelling men as free and noble as himself to become his serfs, as if he were one of those haughty foreigners by whom the fairest lands in Ireland were usurped. As the Scottish proverb declares,—stronger than the chief are the vassals; few, therefore, of the Irish toparchs succeeded in converting their comparatively ephemeral station into a landed inheritance until the close of the sixteenth century, when they received the support of the English government. The very name of that which it was intended to make heritable, viz., "seigniories"—showed the real nature of the sole right of a chieftain, which, so far from being an heritage, was merely the recipience of certain renderings due to him from his clan as their *senior* elect:—for the original title to power over a tribe was but that of being elder of the fraternity—probably in tradition of the obedience commanded to be given to the eldest of the sons of Adam. Some submission, but no exclusive right, in this manner, was given to primogeniture among the Gaels. Thus the younger "Clanricardine," when offering the chieftaincy to his brother, undertook to be "as obedient to him as a junior should be to a senior;"[d] agreeably to tanistic law, by which the elder was the ruler, like the *Seigneur* of Gaulish people, the *Ealdermann* of German

[d] Four Masters, edited by O'Donovan, p. 1745.

races, and the *Grand Signior* of Asiatic tribes. In traditional pursuance of these most antique patriarchal observances, so lately as 1593, Sir Murrough O'Flaherty, "*of the battle-axes,*" (who had been promised a peerage, and who, although without any inheritance beyond a portion in the country, had obtained, as chief of his nation, a sweeping patent grant of the territory,) when making his will ordered his estate to be divided between all his sons, but appointed "the elder his principall heir and chief," (wrote he,) "of and over my children, name, kindred, and country." [e] But as it had become the custom by tanistry that the chief should be the *maximus senex* of his name, a son of one Donell O'Flaherty, "of the wars," usurped the power by strong hand; [f] the mode, truly, by which he "of the battle-axes" had won supremacy, as he himself declared to his counsel when questioned as to title deeds:—"Why man!" exclaimed he, "I got the land by the sword! what title should I say else?" That which one sword had gained, another might take away; so that many a promised peerage was never conferred on men whose station was thus insecure, and would have been rendered much more so, had they excited the jealousy of their countrymen by obtaining English titles. It might happen that a chieftain invested with an earldom one year would be penniless and powerless the next. Few of the chiefs and tanists who were first raised to rank enjoyed it long; most of them having fallen by the hands of their enraged kinsmen. As Sidney demonstrated to the Connacians, "the unstable possession of their lands, whereupon grew their wars, was the verie root and origin of their ruin." [g] He found them, and indeed most chiefs in all parts of Ireland, eager to hold their territories as hereditary fiefs. The tanists and leading clansmen were, however, so vehemently opposed to the projected grants of their countries to the ruling "captains," that some of the latter did not dare accept such patents: but proposed, as a compromise, to surrender their territories formally, and then take them of the crown, "to hold according to the custom of the country," [h] in order that the right of their tanists to succeed them should not be defeated. "Wherever," observed Sidney, "there are many pretenders and collateral competitors, if the land should" be granted to "descend by English tenure to the eldest child, the strife among the competitors would never be stint so long as any were alive!" As feudal grants would, in these cases, produce the very reverse of peaceful security, (the effect intended,) he prudently advised that fiefs should only be created in favour of such chiefs whose pretensions were uncontested by many rivals, and whose sons were able and potent men; all debate, remarked he, would then be extinguished. Before chieftains could be made peers of state, it was, of course, a *sine quâ non* that they should possess sufficient heritable estates to support the dignity. Their insecure hold of land not only precluded them from being admitted to take part with the Anglo-Irish barons in high civilised duties, but large and fertile districts were sparsely occupied and almost desolate by reason of the general insecurity. While the best inclined were almost powerless for good as lords of the land, the fierce and warlike, whose sole property consisted of flocks and herds, augmented it by becoming *prædones terræ*, as they are styled by Davyes, the attorney-general; who, however, as a Celtic Welshman, and from his legal knowledge, probably knew well that the philosophic reason why the

[e] West Connaught, 387, 395-9. [f] Do. 403. [g] State Paper Office, 1 Aug. 1589. [h] Collins, I. 103.

Irish soil lay waste was, that fixity of tenure could not be given by chieftains to the *cultores terræ*. Sidney distinctly traced effect to cause in stating that Iveagh, in the county of Down, (the territory governed by Sir Hugh Magennis, who was notable for "loyaltie and cyvillitie,") was deficient in inhabitants, and but partly cultivated, "because," (wrote Sir Henry,) "he is not sure of it by any certain estate;"[i] and the viceroy therefore promised him a patent to hold it as a fief, and strongly recommended him to the queen for elevation to the rank of a baron, an honour the opposition of his clansmen perhaps prevented from being conferred. The same landlessness that excluded the Celtic kings from admission to English laws and rank, prevented the Norman De Burghs, after they had suffered their territory to be subdivided in course of gavel, from reverting to feudal tenure and loyalty. In 1579 Mac William obtained a promise of being created an earl:[k] yet the title, like his chieftaincy, was only to last during his life: his son, however, was to receive a patent as a baron in tail male, but these promises were never fulfilled; one reason being that neither father nor son had any certain estate in land, as appears by the proviso that left it doubtful how they were to obtain "estates accordingly, of so much as is their own, with a *salvo jure* to all others that have right." Besides this difficulty, his son was so far from succeeding him in the seigniory he himself had wrested from Sir Richard "in iron,"—and of which a firm hold formed their claim to a peerage,—that, on his decease, the mailed warrior "installed himself as chief;"[l] and, before 1584, another competitor, Sir Richard Bourke, of Newton, who was in the English interest, was chieftain; and, as such, received more favour than the discarded baron expectant, by obtaining a promise of a patent grant of the largest share of the clan territory. This new lord was most willing that the chieftainship should be extinguished. The whole shire of Mayo was then set out in allotments for him, his rivals, and other claimants. But the extinction of the valuable seignorial title of "Mac William," to which the best born and bravest of the clan looked forward to succeed, and the proposed grants, to some of the rivals, of estates of various extent yet all comparatively smaller than his apportionment, were clan questions that naturally excited the bitterest jealousy. That the Anglicised chieftain who was promoting these innovations should hand down to his posterity rich manors, that were an appanage of an office, was regarded with no slight "envy" by his tanist and all competitors; some of whom declared they were "descended from Mac Williams of greater fame and reputation" than his ancestors: and each argued that he had a better claim to the superlative estate, which the accident of holding the chieftaincy was about to confer on its occupier. The quarrel was so menacing, that the governor of the province referred the questions as to the allotments and the abolition of the chieftaincy to the decision of the viceroy: and they were attempted to be settled by grants to five principal rivals,[m] accompanied by a prohibition from assuming the title of chief for the future. The conversion of the senior clansmen into landlords had made it necessary to arrange a commutation of the small seigniorial dues to which they were entitled from their septs, and the uncertain renderings which they exacted, into fixed rent from land. Government commissioners, first appointed by Sir Henry Sidney, in the year of the text, had

[i] Collins, I. 76. [k] West Connaught. [l] F. M. [m] West C.

endeavoured to effect this "composition," which indeed was the very basis of change from Brehon to English law; but as the ancient usages and interests of the free occupiers of the land were, of course, strongly adverse to this radical alteration, it is not surprising that it was strenuously resisted by a race of clansmen in whom Norman and Celtic blood were combined. The Bourkes of Mayo are described in a despatch of this time, as men "noble in mind, and of good courage;" and by no Celtic tribe was the change to Saxon institutions opposed with such determined insurrections and continued disturbances. "In their mindes," wrote Sir Henry Dockwra, "did sticke the abolishing and taking away their Mac William, with their oulde Irish customs and cuttings;" and Sir Richard Bingham declared that the true cause for which the Connaught leaders raised rebellions was the restoration of tanistry, by which patent grants would become waste parchment, and they themselves chieftains. The most formidable outbreak, in which the Bourkes and O'Flahertys, who were considered "the greatest nation, and possessing the strongest country, of any people of Ireland."[n] joined with the O'Rourkes and the O'Conors, forming a league of the "proudest, wildest, and fiercest" clans, occurred when the wrecks of the Armada gave them cannon, munitions of war, and the aid of a band of Spaniards. Previous to their revolt, the Bourkes, being without a chief, resolved that whoever committed the most unpardonable offence against the state should be their leader; but, subsequently, proceeding in orderly manner, their "gentlemen swordsmen," numbering some thousands, assembled, proclaimed that they had re-established brehon law, and then forwarded a demand to the President of Connaught "TO HAVE A MAC WILLIAM!" Bingham returned answer that the only officer they should have over them was an English sheriff, who, with the aid of soldiery, would enforce the law. Their petition rejected, they formally inaugurated "the Blind Abbot," the rod of office being given him "with all the accustomed ceremonies;"[o]—an election his seniority as brother of the late popular Sir Richard "in iron" must have decided, rather than any military qualities. Whatever unanimity there may have been as to his nomination, the past and subsequent conflicts—among rivals for a chieftaincy that appears to have been more factiously contested for than any other in Ireland—their intestine war, and its barbarising effects, which increased down to an age when kingdoms blessed with sound laws were rapidly advancing in civilisation—show that it was high time for this and all other Irish kingships to be abolished by a stronger power than the strong hand by which they were generally assumed. The remarkable effect of institutions in moulding various races to the same characteristics is somewhat apparent in the foregoing passages, and in our notes giving an account of the succession to the title of Mac William Eighter. Under the operation of laws that made accession to what men most covet,—wealth, distinction, and power,—depend on choice among kinsmen, who often were at once rivals and electors, the descendants of the Norman De Burgh and the Saxon Gerald became more Irish than the Irish themselves; for the steadfastness with which, (agreeably with their ethnologic characteristic,) they pursued their end—the lust of rule—was rendered more vehement by the hot blood of their mixed descent. "Lively," says an Irish proverb, "are kinsmen, when in battle against each other!"

[n] L. D. to Walsingham, 1589. [o] S. P. O.

CONTINUATION OF MEMOIR.

Thither came to me O'Carroll and Mackoglan, and all three of them wayted on me to the good town of Kilkenny, where I remayned I suppose betweene fifteen and twenty dayes, houlding in that tyme a royall session, in which were endicted, arrayned, condemned, and executed, above sixty persons, and many of them the stoutest of the Butlers' gallowglas, and few of them but for their rebellion; besides a great many hanged by martiall lawe. The session fynished I came to Laghlyn Bridge, where I had before me the principall gentlemen of the county of Washford, and the chieftaynes of the three septs or lynages of the Cavanaghes, the O'Moroghes, and the Kenshelaghes; and for all matters as well to kepe peace as resist warre, I took such orders as I listed, and they allowed them, and obeyed. There (with some cunning) I got to come to me (without protection or other assurance) two brothers, dangerous men, called Kaer mac Kedo O'Moore, and Lysagh mac Kedo O'Moore, sonnes of Kedo, sometyme captain of Leysh, and died in rebellion. Lysagh I had tried in Carlogh for offences done in that county, and there hanged. Kaer I carried with me to Dublin, where he was tried upon an enditement of treason, and then hanged, drawn, and quartered. In this jorney I did as good service as ever I did in any peaceable progresse.

Thus lying at Dublin, Sir Edmond Butler, being prisoner in the castle, hearing that the Earl his brother was gone into England, having too much libertie, wearing no irons, nor locked up in any chamber, but had leave to use the walk on the wall, onely garded with two of my men, whom I thought to have bene more vigilant then I found them; practised, by a little boy whom they allowed him, to have a small corde, I am sure not so bigg as my little finger; found a tyme when I was retorned from taking pleasure abrode in the fields in an evening about Alhallontide; slipped by the same corde over the castle wall of Dublin, a wall I am sure as high or higher than any about the Tower of London; yet erre he came to the ground by three fathom, the cord broke, and he with the fall sore brused, leaving behind one of his mythens which he had prepared to slip down the corde, and much blood. Hot sute was made after him, and, as he himself confessed, he heard the trampling of their horses, and their speeches, whom I sent to recover him if they could; but he went on in the dark of the night till he came to the bridge of the water of Dodder, a myle and-a-half distant from the castle of Dublin, and there, what mad toy soever took him in the head I cannot tell, he went into the ryver, and there stood (as he constantly after affirmed) the most part of that could and long night in the water up to the chin. From thence he crept away, and, by the help of Hugh mac Shane's children he was conducted into the county of Kilkenny, and in the confynes of the

same was secured and closely kept; for, though I did the best I could, I never could gett him during that my deputation. By this may appere the guiltynesse of his conscience, and my meke measuring of justice to him, and his brother Piers, for before his escape I had enlarged Piers. But, good Sir, what case had I been in, if he had broken his neck, or otherwise killed himself in that mad and desperate adventure? I think I should hardly have made my very frendes to have believed otherwise than that I had done it, or caused it to be done, and that the cord lay there but for a colour. He hath synce told me, and said it likewise to others, that it was written to him often out of England, and tould him in the castle, that undoubtedlie I would kill him.

Now approached the parliament, in which what acts were made may appere and be extant in the printed booke of Statutes. Of which prynting I was the first auethor, I am sure to the benefitt of the subjects of that land.

In which parliament were acts made I knowe to the advantage of the crowne, country, and people, invented and sett down by myself; namely the attainder of that arch-rebel, Shane O'Neill, geaving to her highnes and her successors for ever, all his landes and seigniories in fee symple, Clandeboy, &c. Also the lands of the late rebels the Butlers, and Quemberford's lands, and I suppose others of the county of Kilkenny, and others as I think in that county or the county of Tipperary. Likewise was given in that parliament to her majesty and successors the lands of the White Knight, and the Knight of the Valley, and they attainted with others as far as I remember. Hereby (as I take it) Her Majesty won both honour, land, and revenue; for gredily were those lands sought for all the while I was there: and what hope the Earl of Essex had, taking but a small part of the same so given her by that parliament, his enterprise and proceedings manifested. And surely feasible it was to have done good of it, with lesser charge than he spent about.

In the same parliament, there was an act made that no lynen or woollen yarn should be transported out of that realm unwrought; which, I am sure, would have been the beneficialest act for that country that ever was made, for the suppression of idleness and profit of the people, with gayne by custom to the Queen. For while it stood uninterrupted (which was but a few moneths) there were sett up above 100 loomes of the one kind and the other, and the cloth made there sould at Bristoll and other places. I caused to plant and inhabit there about fourtie famelies of the reformed churches of the Low Countries, flying thence for religion sake, in one ruinous town called Swords: and truly (Sir) it would have done any man good to have seen how diligently they wrought, how they re-edified the quite spoiled ould castell of the same town, and repayred almost all the same. and how godlie and cleanly they, their wiefs, and children, lived. They made diaper and tickes for beddes, and other good stuf for man's use; as excellent good lether of deer skynnes, goate and shepe fells, as is made in Southwark.

This good act did Sir William Gerrard (then Lord Chancellor of Ireland,) utterly overthrowe by obtaining a license of Her Majesty to transport a number of packes of yarne unwrought; for I had by the same act restrayned myself and successors for ever to graunt any like license, leaving it

always in the power of the Sovereign, as reason was, to do their pleasures. The license was counted worth fyve thousand marks, what he made of it I cannot tell; sued for, it was, without my privitie, and granted without my counsaill.

One other act I devised, which was the imposition of a custom to be paid for wynes, to be discharged within that realm; the lymiting but sixteen cities and towns in the same realm to have shippes with wynes unladen in, as by the Act in the printed book may appeare, I being the first that caused the lawes of that realm to be put in print.

This custom is the readiest revenue that Her Majesty hath in all Ireland, and for so moch the best of any one nature of rents casuall: for I am credible advertised that synce the making of that statute, yerely hath been answerred to Her Majesty's Treasurer £2,000 sterling. And I upon my creditt affyrme unto you, that I might have £2,000 in readie gould to have been silent in the cause, not to have stayed the giving of the royall assent to it, when it had passed by voyce of the two houses, but onely that I would not have husbanded the cause by the meanes I could with the principall in creditt of either house.

During this session and about the beginning of the same, came to me the Earl of Claneare, from the uttermost part of Munster to Dublin, and there most humbly confessed his rebellion, alledging that Sir Edmond Butler was the cause thereof, in that he reported to him, those foolish and frivelous speaches of the Earl of Leycester and me, as is before mentioned, and with teares seemed to be sorie for the same; and in most lowlie manner that might be devised, he submitted himself, goods, lands, and lief, to Her Majesty, protesting he was not worthie to enjoy any of them, but had most shamefully forfeited them all, in that he had offended Her Majesty in so high a degree of treason, at whose hands he had received such degree and nobilitation. And when he had uttered his mynd on this manner in English in farre other and better termes than I thought he could, for that he sawe many in the chamber in Irish mantells, whereof indeed there were some of right good accompt, he desired that he might reiterate there his former speeches in the Irish tongue, which he did with so good words and gesture, as they that understood him and were of judgment wondered at it. And being bidd by me to stand, (he still kneeling all this while) he said he would not, nor was not worthie to kneel upon any ground of Her Majesty's, but rather to make his submission lying prostrate in the vilest dunghill in his own countrey, and besought me that he might do the like which he had done there (being the chamber of the Queen's presence) in the Cathedral Church of that city, which the morrow afterwards he did in forme or better than he had done before, in the presence of the best then thereabouts, and of a multitude of others. This act I left registered, and I think remayneth of recorde.

Towards the end of this parliament came the oxe, I should say earl, of Thomond, having found that he could fynd nothing in France, but according to his worth suffred to lyve there without releif. He made such meane to the then lord ambassador in France, as he obtayned of her Majesty over great grace, and most gracious letters to me, with some reference to use my discretion; which

my discretion was that he should, as well in the chamber of her presence in the castle of Dublin as in the high Church of Dublin, called Christ Church, submitt himself as a rebell and traytor; and resigne into her highnes' hands all his lands, castles, and seignories, which he did, and as it seemed penitently. As I had him before in prison so I kept him still, and his castles warded by my men, whom he victualled, namely Bonratty, Clare, and Clonrawd. This as the other I caused, and I think so remaineth recorded.

Well, Sir, by this you may perceive that during and among my almost continuall marciall garboylles, I was not altogether sluggish in polletique and profitable busyness, and brought them to some perfect and established end. But notwithstanding all this, the Earl of Ormond (my professed foe) sometyme with clamour, but oftner with whispering, did bitterly backbite me; saying that his brethren were dryven by my cruelty to rebell, and that he nor his could never have any justice of me, nor any constituted by me in auctority to mynister justice. And according to his pikent speeches I had sower letters, which in trouth to me were torteous, for *(oi me)* when my designs were reasonable, my proceedings paynfull, and my successe and the event both profitable and honourable, what should I or can I say more but *miserere nobis Domine.*

Thus tired with toyle of mynd and bodie in that cursed country, I once agayne procured and obtained my revocation from the same, and came to the Courte; where, after more cold acceptation than I hoped for, it was of some often and in many places said, as I before recited, that the Butler's war was made by my malice borne to them, and that ells there was little or nothing done. *Melius merui.*

Now (Sir), I know not by what destiny, but ill inough I am sure for me, nor how things went and were governed when I was from thence, but I was not at home many monethes unsent for, for consultation sake for the affayres of that country, and caused to attend at the Court, and in that sort oftentymes to my great charge, without any allowance; for there was some in great auethority that had no will that I should go thither; and so upon everie letter of *omnia bene,* I was dismissed without reward: and, being thus wearied with often sending for to no purpose, I resolved to goe thither agayne; the place, I protest, before God, which I cursed, hated, and detested, and yet confesse with supposition, that I could do that which had not been done before, and in great hope hitt where others had missed; and so eftsones the third time I toke upon me that thanklesse charge, and so taking my leave of Her Majesty, kissing her sacred handes with most gracious and comfortable wordes, departed from her at Dudley castell, passed the seas, and arrived the XIII. of September, 1575, as nere the city of Dublin as I could saulfly; for at that tyme the city was greevously infected, and so was the English Pale round about the same on everye side, with the contagion of the pestilence, whereof there died many daylie.

I went to Tredath, [Drogheda] and, as sone as I could, received the sword of the then Deputy; and taking some order for the polletique and peaceable government of the English Pale, and after conference had with the Earl of Essex, for the best possession I could put him in of his country

of Farney, parcell of the attainted landes late remembred, and given him by Her Majesty, I jorneyed to Carregfergus with a competent company of the garrison, all sorts of warlike men as well landlords as followers of that tract attending upon me; from whence (after a few days sojournance) I went through Clandeboy, the Glynnes, and into the Rowte. There had I interparlance by commissioners with the Scott Sorley-boy,[85] then grown a strong man, proud and stubborn; for, not two days after myne arrival, and before I had received the sword, he had defeated a company of foot-men left there as parcel of the Earl of Essex's regiment, led by captain John Norreys, but he was not at the defeate, but in the English Pale; his men were commanded by a lieutenant of his, a certeyne Italian, who, his company said, rann full fowllie away.

And for that I was not in very good case to make war with the Scott at that time, and finding him desirous of peace, and largely offering to hould the Glynnes and Rowte[86] of the Quene by rent and service; and for that I was not well assurred of Turlo Lenough, who was then also grown proud and strong; I was content for the time to temporize with the Scott, and made as sure covenants as I could with him for observation of the peace, which in trouth he observed as longe as I was there, suffering anything that was bred or made under his rule to come and be sould at Carregfargus, (God knoweth at easie prices,) and would buy such things as he needed in the same town, and paye troulie for it.[87]

He humblie and very earnestlie desired to have agayne the Island of Raghlyns,[88] which his ancestors had occupied seven or eight score years before, and claymeth it as their rightful enheritaunce; wherein the Earl of Essex had in the tyme of *his General Enterprize for Ulster*,[89] planted a garrison, and indeed to good purpose, that enterprize proceeding,—but it ceassing, to none at all but a great charge, needlesse and loste: and therefore I removed the soldiers and returned to Carregfargus; where, after I had taken order as well with the garrison as the country, the one very willing to serve the other with all kind of victual at very low prices, and the other very willing to defend the countrymen and keep good order among them; in very good order I left the town. And then intending to goe to Dublin, where by that time the plague was somewhat ceased; but by the time I came to the Newry, (Sir Nicholas Bagenal's house) Turlo Lenough[90] sent a very trustie agent of his to me, with letters of great credence, desiring me that I would come to Armagh where he and his wief would not fayle to mete.

Albeit I moch disdayned to turn my foot backward, and having a great mynd southward, for that I heard the Earl of Desmond was growen somewhat insolent, and like enough to play such parts as synce he did, I thought good to graunt Turlo's request, and went to Armagh, where he and the ladie his wife gave me reverent meeting, ratifying the former peace made by me in the other tyme of my government, saving for the service of MacGuire, which, as it appeared, the earl of Essex in the tyme of his generalship had given him. He desired to be nobilitated by the title of an Earl, and to hould his lands of the Queen by rent and service.

The Scotts[91] sent their agents to me, craving that they myght enjoy the land they occupied, and to

yeld rent and service for it. And the ladie, Turlo's wief, as earnestlie sueing that she myght have the same lands assured to her children, which she had by James MacConnell, Sorley's eldest brother, and would give more for it than he would.

The Mackgwillims of the Route came also to me, whom I settled in their country.

Thus leaving all things in the North in good quiet, and yet left such a pick between Turlo and Sorley as within one month after, Turlo (with the aid of some Englishmen whom I suffred him to hire) killed a great number of the best of Sorley's men, and his best and eldest sonne, to the great weakning of the Scotts; I jorneyed towards Dublin, doing justice in the counties of Louth and Meath. From Dublin I wrote of my proceeding with Turlo and the Scotts; for Turlo he was thought too base to receive such nobilitation; for the Scotts it was deemed too dangerous a course to grant them plantation in Ireland; but yet I thank God I satisfied them, and kept that country in quiet as long as I taried there.

And now albeit it was in the depe of wynter, I travailed towards Corke, keeping sessions in the Counties of Kildare, Carlo, King's county and Queen's county, and took order with the Baron of Upper Ossory, O'Caroll,[92] Mac Coghlan, O'Moloy, Macgoghigan, and Shenogh, in English called the Foxe. With O'Magher and O'Dwyer I might not deale, for that they were of the county palatine of the Earl of Ormond, in truth the very gall or rather poyson of all Munster.[93]

From thence I went to Waterford, and sojorned there some dayes. [He writes from thence, 16th December, 1575, *Sydney Papers*, I. 85.] Hither came to me the Lord Poer[94] and Sir James Fitzgarrett, then lord of the Desies, his brother the Viscount of the same being dead. The lord Poer convited me to his house, and there made me great and civell chere. These two noblemen with many other principall gentlemen of that county attended upon me from Waterford through that county, where I had constituted an Englishman to be sherief, who had his termes and courts as well kept and observed or better than in the English Pale.

I went to Dungarvon, where then ruled the renowned soldier, Harrie Davells,[95] so exceedingly well as he is worthie imortall good report. There I laye some nights and tooke order for the fortefying of the town, and repayring the castells, as well by hightning the walls and flanking the same as strengthning their gates. Somewhat I gave them, but for every penny that I gave them they spent a shilling, which hath done good syns as well appeareth, for it hath held itself unhurted, whereas, synce my coming away, Yoghill, being a farre stronger town then it was, and more populous, hath been twise burned and spoyled. Whither from thence I went, being at that tyme a good and a ritch towne, and so to Lismore, and Lysfynen, where at that time dwelt Sir John of Desmond, then in all appearance a good and a loyal subject; who with the gentlemen and horsemen from that part of the county of Corke, attended me from his house, where he made me exceeding good chere, untill I came to the citie of Corke, I think three or four days from Christmas, and there laye till it was Candlemas.

By the waye I should tell you how I was entertained at the Viscount Barry's house, called

Barry's Court, where I lay three or four nights so exceedingly well as it passed expectation; the people of the cittie said there never was such a Christmas kept in the same; for there was with me the Earl of Desmond, the Earl of Clancare, the Viscount Barry, the Viscount Roche, Macarte Reagh, Sir Cormok Mack Tege, then Sheriff of the county of Corke, and then and yet Lord of Muskry; the lord baron Fitzmaurice of Kerry; the Lord Courcy; Condon, but truly written Canton,[96] a great landlord in that country; and all their ladies and wiefs, and all the captaines and principall gentlemen of the Mackswynes,[97] captains of galloglas, who are a stronge lyniage, and counted manfull men in the country; with the rest of the petty lordes before written of in the tyme of my first deputation.

Fynally there came to me such a number of noblemen, principall gentlemen, horsemen and galloglas, as the cittie could not hold them, so as I might have thought myself rather in the city and county of York, than in the city and county of Cork.

I found such humbleness in them and willingness to become English, and accordingly to lyve under English lawe, and by the same to be defended, each weaker from his stronger neighbour, as I did ask nothing but it was granted; insomuch as they yealded to beare soldiers as well lying in their owne countrys, as to delyver food for horse and man, being placed elsewhere out of their own countreys; which they bare and obeyed while I was there, and I do not fear but they do so still, saving such as have burst into actual rebellion.

During my abode in that cittie, I heard that the Seneschal of Imokilly, a Garrandyne by race, of the syrname of Clangibbon, a capitall rebell, had bravely boasted that he would keep his strong castle of Ballymartyr against me; and accordinglye had well stuffed and furnished it with bases and small shott, men, munition, and victuall. I thought not good to leave it unattempted, nor attempting it unwon, and for that I would work the surer; besides my fielde peaces before mentioned, I carried thither by sea a good fair culvering, with powder and bullet good store; and there came with me, of the townsmen of Cork, 150 or 200 well appointed and arrayed men. I approched the castle, being very high and strong, and planted my artillery as nere as I could, and lyvely my men went to work, which cost some good ones of them their lyves, for the rebels shot freshly out of the castle both bases and small shott, where the stout and fast canonyre, ould Thomas Eliott, now a sueter at the courte, was stricked through the thigh. The culvering made such bounsing at the walles, the saere and mynions such rattling at the roof and casework, as the rebells were so affrayed that in the night, my watch being negligent, they stole away, leaving the house, as afore is written, well victualled. There I left a ward, which contynued long after; and went back again to Cork.

From thence I went to the Viscount Roche's, and there was passingly entertained; and from thence to the town of Kilmallock, being in the county of Limerick, all the way being attended upon by the most or at leste by the principal and best of the forenamed personages. I remayned in Kilmallock two or three dayes, and thither came to me all the best and principallest gentlemen of that

side of the county of Limerick, who attended me unto the same cittie; there I remained I think a weeke, found great obedience and willingness to do anything that I would have done; they submitted themselves to any taxation for bearing of soldiers that I would impose upon them.

Thither came to me all the cheefest gentlemen of the other side of that county, and of Kerry and Conylough, and the freholders of the Knight of the Valley's country, the name of which I do not now remember. Likewise there came three or four Bushops of the provinces of Cashel and Thewnne, [Thomond?] which bushops (albeit they were Papists) submitted themselfs unto the queen's majesty, and unto me her deputy, acknowledging that they held all their temporall patrymony of the queen's majesty, and desired humbly that they might (by her highnes) be inducted into their ecclesiasticall prelacie. Here was some hould between the Bushopps and me, too long to be recited; for they stood still upon *Salvo suo ordine*, &c., and I of the queen's absolute auctoritie.

I at that time took order for the re-edefying of the long ruyned castle of the same cittie, which (before I lefte the lande) was in effect finished; what hath been done on it since, I wott not.

This done, I went (27th February, 1575-6) into Thomond, where the earl mett me, albeit he had come to me unto the cittie of Limerick before, and reverently and in good sort used and entertayned me, for as before is written, I had counterpoysed his force with his owne kynsfolkes beforenamed.[98] I there subdued a rebellious race of the syrname of the earl, the O'Breens; their captains were called the Bushop's sonnes,[99] and indeede the bastards they were of a bushop of Kilallow, which bushop was sonne to an O'Breene, captain of Thomond. Of this wicked generation some I killed, some I hanged by order of lawe, but all I subdued; and so leaving that country in quiet, which is a great one, and by me made a county of the name of the county of Clare, I went out of the same into O'Siagnes' country, which I found all in garboyle and violent warres. The captain[100] whereof (as I thought he ought to be, his brother being dead, and having before served my Lord of Leycester) I settled in his due roome, and quieted all the rest; and so went to the good town of Galloway; in the way to which mett me the Earl of Clanrickard,[101] myne old acquayntance, in very reverent manner, and attended me to Galloway, where I remained I wott not how many dayes, but in that tyme I had all the potentates of Conaght, or at the least as many as I would came to me, with most humble submission; namely, Mack William Eughter of English race, and by syrname Borough, there called Burke, but in Latyn anciently and modernly written De Burgo;[102] and with him a number of pettie landlords of sondry syrnames, the most English, and many of his own syrname.

There came to me also Mack-eorish, of English syrname Brymicham; Mack-Jordan, of English syrname De Exeter; Mackostilogh, do. do. De Angulo or Nangle; Mackeviley, do. do. Staunton; MackMorris, do. do. Prendergast,—and should before have remembered MackPhilippin, by English syrname a Burke, and of English race. All these submitted and seemed desirous to lyve in loyaltie, and under the lawes and subjection of the crown of England, detesting and abhorring their degeneration and inveterate barbaritie.

The earl of Clanrickard, as he said, caused his two most badd and rebellious sonnes, Ulike and John, to come to me, with humble submission; whom I would to God I had then hanged, but their submission (with over much elemencie) I accepted. Albeit I committed them, and in the chief church of the town had a sermon made of them and their wickedness, by a countryman of their own called Lynch, sometime a frier in Greenwich, but a reformed man, a good devyne and preacher in the three tonges, Irish, English, and Latin. The young men publiquely in the church I rebuked very sharply, and they as humbly submitted, and again to prison I committed them. And having settled every thing in Galloway, in effect as I would have it, I departed from thence, dismissing Mack-William Euter and the forenamed sober barons.

I should have remembered that O'Donnell came thither to me, with great show of curtesy and kyndness to me, and likewise O'Connor Sligo, who faithfully promised their perseverance in loyaltie, which they have for ought that I know eversyns performed. And so travelling toward Alone, I was convited by the Earl of Clanrickard to his house of Balie Logh Reogh, still leading with me his two sonnes as prisoners in my marshall's ward. In his house he did most honourably entertain me, and attended upon me till I came to Alone, where I used him as familiarly and frendly as I could, telling him with as good and loving speech as I was able to utter (for of very ould acquayntance we were,) what love I bore him, and that if he would take upon him the government of Conaght, and suppresse the most vile and tyrannical extortion of coyne and lyverye, I would make him governor under the deputie of that provincc. He couldly thanked me; accept it he would not, his reasons for which are not worth the writing. His sonnes I still led with me, captyves upon their oath and his promise that they should never passe the ryver of Shenan, nor come into Conaght without me special license in writing; and thus in frendly maner we departed, I to Dublin with his two sons prisoners, and he home with his frends and followers, where I used John at my table frendly, and Ulike as my well looked on servant, and at last licensed them to lyve with their friends, so as they exceeded not their forenamed and appointed bounds.

I had not been longe at Dublin but I heard of some disorders of the Cavanaghs and some of the good county of Washford, unto which I addressed myself, and having gone one days' jorney southward towards them, I was crediblie advertised of the revoulte of the two young Clanrickardynes before named, albeit they were mortall enemies, though brethren, yet in *odium tertie nempe*, the Queen and English government, they connived and joined in actual rebellion; shaking off and cutting in pieces their English garments upon the ryver of Shenan, saying that those should be their pledge for their remaining by east Shenan.

The first memorable act that they, or one of them at least, did, which I am sure was John, was that they or he went to Balieanrhie, a very ancient English town, in English "the kings town," a great town, and by their English ancestors founded, amplified, and with bloodie battails defended against the Irishrie. In this town was the sepulture of their forefathers, and the naturall mother of the same John buried; the chief church of which town they most violently burned; and being

told and besought that he would spare the burning of the church where his mother's bones lay, he blasphemously swore, that if she were alyve and in it, he would burn both the church and her too, rather than any English churle should enhabit or fortefye there. I had there some workmen, whom they most cruelly killed; and indeed I had begun some fortifications there, but finish it I did not; worthie the fynishing it is, if the reformation of Ireland be worth the consideration.

Thus advertized I diverted my course from the south into the west, and that with such expedition as I was there before they looked for me, and brake off some of their intended enterprise. I passed the river of Shenan, I went to the Earl of Clanrickard's chief house beforenamed, I broke it, and took him, he protesting ignorance and innocencye, but God knoweth untrewly, and so hath syns most manifestly been proved. I proclaimed the sons rebels and traytors, and committed, led away, and still detayned the father; I planted there two worthie and sufficient gentlemen, namely Thomas Le Strange and Captain Collier, with a garrison of 250 men, who valiantly did their devoyre as well in offending the rebells as in defending the subjects. I sent for the Earl's followers to come to Gallway, as well English as Irish, whose names I have forgotten, saving one Mackuge and Mackremmon.

There came to me also a most famous femynyne sea captain, called Grany I'Malley,[103] and offred her services unto me, whersoever I would command her, with three galleys and two hundred fyghting men, either in Ireland or Scotland. She brought with her her husband, for she was as well by sea as by land more than master's mate with him. He was of the nether Burkes, and now as I hear Mack William Euter, and called by nickname, Richard in Iron.[104] This was a notorious woman in all the coast of Ireland: this woman did Sir Philip Sydney see, and speak with; he can more at large inform you of her.

Here heard we first of the extreame and hopelesse sickness of the Earl of Essex, by whom Sir Philip being often most lovingly and earnestly wished and written for, he with all the speed he could make went to him, but found him dead before his coming, in the castle at Dublin.

From thence I marched with horsemen and footmen in prosecution of the rebels, but overtake them I could not; divers castles I wonn from their partie takers, and with a longe and paynfull jorney at the last I came to a strong castell called Castell Barry, the which I beseged, for held it was and wrongfully from MackWilliam Euter, then being in the camp with me. In the night the rebels sett the castell on fyre and stale away in the smoke; the castell I delivered to MackWilliam Euter. And divers others of either race aforesaid would not come at me; to those that came I manifested the rebellion of the sonnes of their landlord, and detected his disloyaltie as well as I could, specially being descended of so noble an English syrname as he and some of them were; they seemed all to be sorie for it, and promised and swore loyaltie, and some of them performed it.

And so departing, leading the Earl with me, leaving the town and castle of Balie Logh Reagh well stuffed with men and munition, and fortefied more than needed against any Irishmen, and victualled so farre above ordynary for the owner, as it might well appeare that it was for an extra-

ordinary and unlawful extent; I tooke, before I went, his castles of Clare and Balieslough, the one being within six miles of Galway, the other within twelve myles of Alone, the uttermost confynes of his country. I garrisoned them with soldiers, and left them furnished, and at the commandment of the two gentlemen before named. These gentlemen did sundry notable exploits against the rebels worthie comendation and memorie.

I caused a bridge to be begonn at that tyme over the great ryver of Sowke, hard by the castle of Balislogh, which synce was perfected by the worthie soldier, counsellor, and colonel, Sir Nicholas Malby, who fynished my worke, and a good worke, for after I had settled him in that province, I had no cause to care for that province, as it well proved by the valliant overthrowes of the rebels, polletique pacification, large and great inhabitations, rents and services revived, and newlie erected and still contynued, out of the which he receveth his entertainment to his contentation, which never was before my government; and thus I left that province of Conaght. To make short, having been too tedious with you, under the government of this good knight Sir Nicholas Malby, who if he had continued longer in the charge of Munster, the crowne of England had not spent so much, nor the good subjects of Ireland suffred so much, as synce the withdrawing him from that place they have; you know this, Sir, peradventure better than I.

(To be concluded.)

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES TO SIR HENRY SIDNEY'S MEMOIR.

[85] *Sorley Boy.*—Somhairle *Buoy*, the man to whose extraordinary vigour the success of the settlement of the McDonnells in Antrim is mainly due, was the youngest son of Alexander, the exiled Lord of the Isles, and appears to have been elected chief of the Irish Scots upon the death of his senior brother, Alexander Oge, whose son, *anno* 1575, he detained as a hostage in Rathlin.—[*Devereux's Lives.*] Two years previously he obtained a charter of denizenization. [*Archdall.*] Sidney wrote, in 1575, that the Scots were *now* governed by this chieftain, who is "very hawtie and proud by reason of his late victories over our men." Immediately after the viceroy landed in Ireland.—"For my *bien venu*," says he, "to welcome me into the country, Sorley Boy, with his companie came to Knockfergus, there to make the prey of the town, and gave so proud an assault as they slew Capten Baker, and his lieutenant, and 45 of his band, besides townsmen and others." Carrickfergus was in such danger that the viceroy determined to march thither; and he lamented the insufficiency of his force to banish or even daunt the Scots—"now grown so proud." He described Clandeboy as "utterly disinhabited," owing to the recent war against Lord Essex's enterprise; and the important town of Carrickfergus as utterly decayed and impoverished.

He considered that, although Sorley *Buoy* was in possession of the Glynns, the right lay properly by descent in the son of his elder brother James, whose widow, lady Agnes O'Neill, solicited that the country should be granted to her second son, Donnell *Gorm*. But it was not until the 18th Sept 1584, that Sir John Perrott, having marched into the extreme north to expel Sorley Buoy from the Route, whilst in camp near Dunluce, entered into articles with "Donell *Gorme* McConald" promising him denizenization and a grant of "so much of the Glynns as were the lands of Mysset, alias Byssett" [*Hardiman's Minstrelsy*, I. 174.] By Marshal Bagnal's account, Perrott succeeded in temporarily banishing the Scots. But Donnell *Gorme* was slain in Connaught in 1586; and thereupon the queen determined to lease the Glynns to his brother, Angus, Lord of Cantire, and to Sorley *Buoy*, who appears to have again become the sole lord, having long and bravely, from 1560, if not earlier, maintained his hold, notwithstanding the claims and hostility of the senior lines of his house, the frequent attacks of O'Neill, and the power of the crown.

[86] *Route.*—A singular instance of clansmen discarding their *cean-ciné*, and giving the lordship and seigniorial rights of their country to an alien but great chief, occurred in this district; the "freeholders" of which, finding their chieftain a man "feeble both of witt and force," unable to defend them, and they being "desirous to be pro-

tected and shielded by one mightier in power and policy, contented themselves" (to quote Sydney's words to the Lords of the Council) "to imbrace the Scot"—Sorley *Buoy*—whose enjoyment of the country was so complete that he laid claim to have a grant of it; a request the viceroy desired should be flatly denied him, and at the same time (1575) settled, as in the text, and as he informed the council, "the issue of the late proprietaries, men able, with a little help, to keep the Scots out of it, or at least for being much better by it." McDonnell, however, continued to hold the territory by the strong hand;—and, in 1584, hearing that the council had, as the *Four Masters* state, ordered L. J. Perrott to "restore the Route to its rightful inheritors, and banish himself to his own original patrimony in Scotland," sent in haste for large reinforcements from his native country. The McLeans and other Western Scots came over in such force on this summons that it was considered their invasion might lead to a breach between the courts of London and Edinburgh; and an envoy was sent by the king of Scotland to clear him from being in any way chargeable with it. [*S. P. O.*] Sir John Perrott marched northward with a large army, chiefly composed of the "hosting" of the Pale, the loyalist lords of Munster, and many of the Irish chiefs. But McDonnell evaded him in the manner usual in Gaelic countries. Withdrawing with all his people and herds of cattle into the wide woods of Glenconkine, he temporarily quitted a district he could speedily reoccupy when the army, unable to find support, should retire. After a campaign of but ten days in the Route, the viceroy, finding he could accomplish little with a force of which its numbers were an evil, retreated; leaving, however, thirteen companies of regulars on billet, for the purpose of reducing Sorley *Buoy*. On his return he forwarded a plan to government for maintaining 1,100 good soldiers in the heart of Ulster. By the end of October these few companies of red soldiery, led by, (as Edmund Spenser styles him), "the most valiaunt captaine," Sir John Norreys, then president of Munster, had so successfully assaulted the fugitive chieftain and his forces, that the viceroy proudly announced to the Privy Council that—"Sorley, who was lord over 50,000 cows, has but 1,500 to give him milk." [*S. P. O.*] He had lost that which formed the principal commissariat of a clan when in defensive rebellion. But this chieftain seems also to have carried war over sea by conveying so cumbrous a cargo as a vast herd of cattle with his troops. At least so it may be conjectured from the Quixotic proposition the Earl of Antrim made to Strafford in 1638, to break the "small black cloud" (to quote Clarendon) that had gathered in Scotland, by transporting 8,000 men into the Isles "with 10,000 live cows to furnish them with milk; which the Earl," as the amused lord lieutenant says, "affirmed had been his grandfather (Tyrone's) play." The insertion "Tyrone's" is an evident mistake of Strafford's. The Earl possibly had a tradition that the renowned Sorley *Buoy*, who *was* his grandfather, which Tyrone was not, had, on the occasion of some warlike insular expedition, carried with him a large herd of cattle, to ensure support by them, whether alive or dead, for his followers, in islands whence all provisions might have previously been removed.

The Route was soon recovered by Sorley *Buoy*, who, before 1506, as stated by Marshal Bagenal, had driven the rightful chieftain into a corner of the territory, where he was supported by Turlough Luineach.

[87] This last quality of punctual payment was no doubt an admirable trait in the character of this or any Irish lord; but it would puzzle all but an antiquarian to discern any merit in his permitting his tenants to carry their produce to a good market. However, such was the tyranny of the nobles at this time, that they would not suffer their vassals to sell in other towns than their own. On this topic refer to the recent paper in this Journal on "Ancient Irish Income."

[88] *Raghlyns.*—Lord Essex describes the expedition made in July, 1575, for the capture of this island, in which "a castle of very great strength" was taken by Captain Norreys, and garrisoned. Essex being of opinion that 100 men kept there, whereof sixty should remain on the island and the rest be employed at sea, would do more service against the Scots and Irish than 300 men elsewhere in the north. But in October, Sidney withdrew the forty soldiers who had been placed there, and who declared that, for a full month before they came away, they had been compelled to kill and feed on their horses. This rugged island is chiefly remarkable as having been the place to which Robert Bruce fled in the year 1306, when his patriotic resistance to English usurpation made him a proscribed man. It was then partly owned by Sir Hugh, Lord Byssett, who forfeited his estates for his adhesion to the Bruces on their subsequent invasion of Ireland. Possibly its lord, when—

> "The rebellious Scottish crew,
> Who to Rath-Erin's shelter drew
> With Carrick's outlawed chief"—

were under his protection, may have given their illustrious leader that idea of carrying war into English dominions in Irelaud, which the Bruces afterwards put into execution. John Byssett went over to Scotland prior to the invasion of Edward Bruce, and returned with the invaders, [*Grace,*] so that he acted the most prominently of all the Ulster Englishry who took part with the Scots. The Byssetts are stated [see *Journal,* vol. iii page 158] to have come to Ireland from Scotland; so that they may have had a divided allegiance, or perhaps have been considered intruders by the Earl of Ulster, whose feudal yoke they appear to have desired to throw off. Yet it seems, by page 105, and vol. ii., 155, that their settlement was earlier than that described at page 158. If, as also stated there, McMartin as well as McEoin sprang from this race, they abandoned their Norman name for two Gaelic titles; having broken into septs, as did the Bourkes of Connaught. But in a note, *sub anno* 1321, to the *Four Masters*, it is stated that the clan Martin was a sept of the O'Neills of Tyrone. O'Martain was bishop of Clogher in 1431. Castle-Martin, near Cushendall, probably took its name from this Gaelic rather than Norman family, who appear, like the Byssetts, to have been virtually extirpated in the 16th century. In 1540, O'Neill, when making overtures to become a feudal subject, wrote to Henry VIII. asking a grant either for himself or one of his sons of certain barren lands and a deserted castle near the sea side, "que vulgariter Hyer Lacc O'Martin nuncupatur"—(query *Iar lucht O'Martin*, the western people descended from Martin ?)—and promised, if this boon was conceded, to be prepared to serve the crown as

his predecessors had anciently been used to do. Recurring to the text,—the period Sorley-*Buoy* stated as that from which the McDonnells had occupied this island, (*circa* 1415,) coincides with Firbis' statement [*F. M.*, p. 1894.] as to the time of their first settlement in the Glynns.

An order had been made in 1560 to admit him to be tenant of the lands he claimed by inheritance. [*D. Curiosa Hib.*, I., 3.] He had an "apparent title" to the Glynns, as acknowledged by Sidney at this date, who added, showing how completely the Byssetts were extirpated:—"I knowe no man of this country's birth to claim it, or care for it, but the surname of the Scots; therefore I wish they had it, yielding a convenient rent and service."

[89] Here is a confession of that which was attempted to be denied to the Irish, that Essex ambitiously contemplated the reduction and colonization of the entire North, founded on the act of O'Neill's forfeiture, and that he hoped to be created Earl of Ulster.

It must, however, be recollected that this cherishing of dissension between two dangerous chieftains was the easiest mode of weakening them, and it served to keep alive those feuds, which prevented a general combination, a phenomenon hardly ever observed in Ireland. Nor is it to be forgotten that tanistry was even more fruitful in producing discord among clans

[90] *Turlough Luineaeh O'Neill.*—It was often impossible for a viceroy of Ireland to prevail on such an independent chieftain as O'Neill to give him a meeting; for governors occasionally had not been scrupulous in taking advantage of the opportunity, by seizing the person of the too confiding chief; or, at least,—and it amounted to the same thing,—the Irish believed they had not been so. There are frequent historic notices that such lords as McCarthy More, McWilliam Eughter, &c., had never been known "to repair to any governor." Even after peace had been concluded with Shane O'Neill by the Earl of Essex, this wary rebel would not trust himself in Dublin. [See vol II., 218.] Long after the apprehension and decapitation of the accomplished Thomas of Desmond, the successors of that well-beloved nobleman claimed and acted upon their privilege of not "coming in to" any governor, unless they thought fit.

Sir Henry Sidney, in whom great confidence was reposed by the Irish leaders, declares in one of his despatches that he could have induced Turlough *Luineach* to come up to the seat of government by means of a grant of pardon, and the security of a "protection"—guarantees that would also, the viceroy believed, have brought in Shane O'Neill "when he was," says Sidney, "in the height of his pride." It had been the honourable boast of Sir Anthony St. Leger that, during his government, mighty potentates of the Gaelic provinces, whom 10,000 men could not reduce to obedience, freely repaired to the castle, when summoned by a simple letter.

Sir Walter Scott's edition of Lord Somers's Tracts contains a curious engraved representation of a meeting between Sidney and Turlough *Luineach*. The forces of the state are depicted encamped in tents in the open country. Sidney, seated in the viceregal pavilion, is receiving the submission of the northern *ardrigh* and his *oirrighs*, who are on their knees. "O'Kneel" was then an apt title; as, no doubt, the viceroy's jester said! The figures of all in that singular scene are largely and accurately drawn, manifestly from a sketch taken on the spot. The original engraving is in the *Image of Ireland*, written in 1578, by John Derrick, a servant of Sidney's, who accompanied his master in his Ulster expeditions: and who, besides describing the wilder Irish in quaint doggrel verse, pourtrayed both the Gaelic people and English army of the day in drawings, which, though not daguerreotypes, seem tolerably exact; and which we hope to see re-engraved for this Journal.

Another interview with the great O'Neill was the subject of the pencil of Captain Barnaby Gooche, who, 2nd April, 1574, sent the secretary of state a drawing of a meeting between the Earl of Essex and this chieftain:—on occasion of which "parley," as the earl terms it, he was guarded by 300 soldiers. [*Devereux's Lives.*] The engraving in Derrick is entitled "The commying in of Thyrlaghe Leonaghe, the great Oneale of Ireland, with the effect of his submission to the Rt. Hon. Sir H. Sidney;" and probably was that held on the Bann side in 1568, when the new chief had "grown proud and insolent," and demanded that all the ancient *oirrighs* in Ulster should be his subjects.

In November, 1575, the viceroy wrote to the lords of the council—"At my return to Armagh, T. O'Neill's wife," (Lady Agnes Campbell, *née* McDonnell,) "came unto me; she is one very well spoken, of great modesty, good nurture, parentage, and disposition; she was aunt to the Earl of Argyle that last was, and to him that now is; and a great desire she hath to have her husband live like a good subject, and to have him nobilitated. The next day he came himself, singly, without pledge, promise, or hostage." Sidney then advised that this chieftain should be created Earl of Clan O'Neill, but *only for life*, a creation befitting a mere life occupant of a chieftaincy, and for which there were precedents. The lord deputy, at the same time, recommended that this chief's son should be created a territorial baron; in the political hope that when "O'Neill" had been deprived of his *ardrigh* power, his family would soon lapse into mere feudal peers. The viceroy reitcrated this "speciall request" in the ensuing year. In January, 1577, on proceeding to Newry for the express purpose of conferring with the Milesian prince of the north, Sidney was baulked of the expected meeting by Lady Agnes, who would not permit O'Neill to speak with him, lest he should accede to some proposal to repel the Scots, whom she hoped would in course of time effect a firm settlement in Antrim; and of whom she expected that her younger sons, by the late Lord of the Isles, would become the established chiefs, and, as she phrased it, "stark in Ireland." To benefit them, and serve her countrymen, were, she plainly declared, her main objects; and these designs quite outweighed her wish that "her husband should conform himself like a subject, and be ennobled;" since she now desired him to maintain his independency, and to retain a considerable band of Scots in pay, as he afterwards generally did, to the number of between two and three thousand. Sir George Carew states [MS. 635] that Turlough "refused and despised" a proffered peerage. The refusal, therefore, was not, as Sidney says in the text, on the part of the crown to ennoble this rude chief, but on his to accept a nobilitation that was merely for his own life, without inheritance to his son! To this subject we may revert at some future opportunity.

[91] *The Scots* were in possession of the Glynns and the Route, under the sway of Sorley *Buoy* Mac Donnell, who

had usurped the rule of the latter district from the last captain of the Maegwillims, a dissolute fellow, with neither sense to hold, nor force to defend, his country. The lord deputy, however, repossessed the rightful owner. Sidney acknowledges in his letter to the lords of the council, the title of the Scotts to the Glynns; and recommends Lady Agnes O'Neill's request of a grant to her second son, in preference to leaving the country with the uncle, a usurper—*more Hibernico.*

[92] *O'Carroll.*—In this year Sidney granted the clan territory of Ely O'Carroll to Sir William O'Carroll, and made his sons, who were illegitimate, heirs of the land in primogenitural order. The story of their feuds for the succession, as related hy the *Four Masters* and Sir Geo. Carew, shows that the substitution of inheritance for election did not at once extinguish those terrible methods by which chieftainey had too often been obtained. Sir George states [*Harl. MS.* 1425] that O'Carroll entailed his estate first on his son John, seeondly on Callogh, and thirdly on Mulrony, son of his son Teige; and that Sir William "was at last slain by the practise of his sons." The annalists say he was killed by some of the O'Connors, and that he was sueceeded by his son, John *Fhasaigh*, John "of the wilderness," who, according to Carew, had "plotted the death of his father, and was himself slain by the practise of his brother Callogh." The annalists describe this John as having been slain by his nephew, Mulrony, the youngest heir, who was then put to death by Calvagh (Charles). This (Sir) Charles O'Carroll was the rightful heir to his brother, and, as he had become chief, his act, probably, was rather executional than criminal; for it must be recollected that chieftains were the sole officers of justice within their territories.

[93] *Palatinates.*—Laying aside Sidney's prejudice against the Earl of Ormond, there is no question but that the palatinates of Tipperary and Kerry, with their separate jurisdictions, immunities, and privileges, were productive of the worst effects in harbouring thieves, outlaws, and rebels. It is surprising that they were not abolished by parliament.

[94] *Lord Poer.*—Sidney, in a letter to the Privy Council, dated 1575, gives the following account of Lord Power, which, with respect to the government of his territory, is in very creditable contrast to the statement as to Decies:—

"The day I departed from Waterfforde, I lodged that night at Coragmore, the house that Lord Power is Baron of; where I was so ffed, and (with souch plentie and good order enterteined) as addinge to it the quiet of all the countric adioyninge, by the people called Power's Countrie, (for that that surname hath beene since the begininge of Englishe men's plantinge inhabitaunts there,) it may be well compared with the best ordered countric in the English pale; whereby a manifest and most certain proffe may be conceived what benifitt riseth both to the Prince, meane Lorde, and inferior subjecte, by suppresinge of Coyne and Lyverie; for nowe they are both willing and able to beare and pay any reasonable subsidie towardes the findinge and entertainment of soldiours, and Cyvill Ministers of the Lawes, that I will impose upon them. And the Lord of the Countrie, though he be in scope of ground a farre lesse territorie than his neighbor is, yet he lyveth in showe farre more honorably and plentifullye than he or any other, whatsoever he be, of his callinge, that lyveth in that provinee. And al be it the soyle, for the most parte, of itselfe, is very barren; yet there is not any gentleman or freeholder in that countrie, but may make more of an Aere of Lande there than they have of three in the Countie of Kilkennye, the next county confininge on the one syde, (where the soyle is very good,) or in the Decies, the Lordship next adjoyninge on the other side; and this was openly spoken before me, and affirmed by credible personnes, having lande in bothe: and this was yielded for the reason, for that they suffer no idle men in the one, and are oppressed with them in the other. The next Countrie adioyninge to this is the Decies, whereof Sir James Fitz Gerrald is chiefe Lord; his brother was Viscount of the same, who beinge the first created, and dyenge without lawfull issue male, his lands (though not his title) descended to this Gentleman, who is one of bad government; and so it well appearethe: for, beinge left by his brother, and other freiends, verie ritche, is since moche spent, and almost no better than a bankrupt, his landes beinge verye great, I am sure in quantitie fower tymes as moche as my Lord Power's is; and yet made so wast, as it is not hable to finde competent foode for a meane famelye, in good order: yet are there harbored and lyve more idle vagabondes, than good Cattle breed."—*Collins's Letters and Memorials of State*, p. 90.

[95] *Harrie Davells.*—Was afterwards assassinated by a brother of the rebel Earl of Desmond, in Tralee castle. An error may here be noticed, (into which I fell,) in stating that Davells was murdered by his chamber doorkeeper. [*Gaelic Domestics*, vol. iii., 126.] The Gaelic page was but an accessory; and the Desmond knight is said to have committed the murder with the not extraordinary object of putting himself *hors de la loi*, and thus binding himself to the rebel party.—H. F. H.

[96] *Condon* was, as the archæologic Sidney observes, written Canton, or aneiently Caunteton. Sir William C. was Lord of Eglwyswrw in Pembrokeshire, 12 Hen. II., and, according to a MS. in the possession of the Earl of Cawdor, "born a Norman." Sir Reymond C. accompanied the first invaders from that country to Ireland. His descendants owned the barony in the County Cork still known as "Condon's." This Condon of the text was attainted in the same year, 1575, and his "great landes" forfeited. [*Collins.*] In 1605, a petition against the proceedings of Arthur Hyde, ancestor of the Castle Hyde family, was presented to the secretary of state by David Condon, who described himself as "chief of his sept, of as noble a house of English race as most in Ireland, and by birth Baron of Ballyderrowen." The old Lords Condon had frequently been summoned as barons to parliament. The petitioner added that his ancestors for 500 years had never matched but with earls or barons. His ease arose from that of Patriek Condon, whose attainder Sidney mentions, and who had received a pardon from that viceroy. Hyde had falsely, as is alleged, accused him of being out with James Fitz-Maurice; and he was dispossessed consequent on his attainder, on which, in a fury, he joined Desmond.

[97] *The McSwynes* of Munster were a sept of hereditary galloglasses, whose profession being war, Sidney styles them "a brood not a little perilous to the provinee." [*Collins*, I., 93.] Sir George Carew [*MS.*, 635,] gives this account of "the McSwyne galloglas of Carbery in

County Corke, called "Slought Moylemurry *backagh*."—"Bryan McSwyne was hired by Finin McCarty *reaghe* to serve him in Carbery, from Tirconnell, in which they still remain, living upon bonaght, (without inheritance) and other allowances, being kept by the McCarties as mercenary followers for their defence.

"Bryan *ballagh* McSwyne and Edmond McSwyne of the other sept, (descended from Donnogh McSwyne, who was hired by another of the McCarties,) did in the tyme of the last government of Sir Henry Sidney, fight a combat at Cork, but were not permitted to kill one another; the cause of the combat was upon a contention whether of them was the better sept, either pretending his own to be the best. These septs have been ever in mortall malice, so much as whensoever any of them did meet they did assuredly fight; in a short time they grew to be very great nations, and many great slaughters have been committed on eche other. The cause of their inserated mallice is that either sept doth thinke themselves of the better descent than the other."

The date of the importation of these mercenaries into Carbery, the chief who hired them having lived in 1504, and some other evidence, seem to show that galloglasses were not retained by the Gaelic lords until about the 14th and 15th centuries, when the increasing wealth of the Irish clans enabled them to make head against the English. The Mac Sheehys did not become galloglasses to the Earls of Desmond until 1420, [*F.M.*] a date that serves to verify Finglas's statement as to the recentness of the rise of those earls to power, which resulted from their retaining a body of these troops. In the last earl's time as many as 1,360 of these armed police used to be maintained in the shire of Cork. [S.P.O., Dec., 1589.] From the circumstance that the higher Anglo-Irish nobility retained bands of the McSweynes as "constables," it is probable that Spenser was correct in stating that the first galloglasses were English servitors; and it may have been that the first Norman barons employed their services because they, like themselves, were of Scandinavian, Danish, and Anglican origin. "Sweyn" signifies a servant or "swain;" so that Mac Sweyn was the son of a servant; and even so late as 1537 it was stated that the greater number of galloglasses were still slaves. [S.P., II., 448.] But as the Mac Sweyns came from Insi-Gall or the Hebrides, where their name is still common, the first servitors may have been so to the Celtic kings of the Western Isles. Other principal septs of the same profession were the Mac Donnells, a branch of the Hebridian kings or Lords of the Isles themselves; the McCabes, a race of Danish origin, according to Firbis, and hereditary foreign servants, (*galloglach,*) to the O'Rourkes and O'Reillys; and a sept of the fierce McLeans of Cantire.

These brave mercenaries were to the Irish chiefs what the Swiss and Scottish archers, in the pay of the Kings of France, were to those monarchs—faithful soldiers and guards. During peace they were a species of armed constabulary, and were employed in assisting in the collection of tribute. Of their undaunted valour in battle there are many accounts.

[98]A letter addressed by Sidney at this time to the lords of the council in England exhibits the fatal consequences, and miserable results, of this "counterpoising" system, based on the Machiavellian policy "*divide et impera.*" He writes that he entered Thomond attended by the earl of that country, with Sir Donald O'Brien, Teige Mac Murrough, Teige Mac Connohor, Tirelagh, the earl's brother, and Donogho Mac Murrogh; "all these are gentlemen," he observes, "of one surname called O'Brien, and *yet no one of them is friend to another;* and sometymes they have been named kings of Limerick. They are the greatest doers, and only un-doers, of their owne countrey and neighbours, yet so neer kinsmen, as they descend of one grandfather." He was also accompanied by the two Mac Nemaras, "chiefe gentlemen of that countrey, which, if it were in quiet, they might lyve lyke principall knights in England." With these came the two Mac Mahons of Thomond, and O'Laghlan of Burrin, "three captains and lords of large territories:" "all these, and many more, complayning upon the O' Briens, and eche of them upon another, for the ruyne of this countrey. And truly in such desolation and waste it is, as, if they were not a people of more spare diett than others are, both of flesh, bread, and drink made of corn, it were not possible that a soil so wasted could sustaine them, and yet many they are not in nomber." —*Sydney Letters*, fol., vol. i., p 102.

[99] *Bishop O'Brien's Sons.*—Sir George Carew, Earl of Totness, states, in his valuable pedigrees of Irish families, [*Carew* MS., 635, and *Harl.* MS., i., 1425,] that "Moriertagh O'Brien, Bishop of Killalowe, married Slaney, daughter of Dermot, Lord Insequin, divorced from Tirlogh O'Brien, of Corcomroe; and had issue Tirlogh Mac Aspick," ("son of the bishop,") "lord of the barony of Ara, 1615."

[100] *O'Shaughnessy.*—The predecessor of this chieftain was in power at the period of the Invasion, for, in the Norman metrical history of the conquest, his name is recorded among those of the Gaelic kings who attacked Trim castle:—

"O'Sathnessy, de Poltilethban;
Si alad le reis Molethlin,
E reis O'Rorig son voysin."

The chieftain in the text appears to have been notable for his civilisation. [*See Gaelic Domestics*, Journal, vol. 3.]

[101] *Richard, 2nd Earl of Clanricard.*—Sidney's acquaintance with the Earl probably commenced in England, where he had resided for some time. [*Ware.*] This nobleman, representative of the ancient "Mac William Uachtrachs," was considered by his clansmen to have cast off Gaelicism so thoroughly that they called him *Sassenagh;* a characteristic reversed in his favourite son. When at length placed by the state in possession of the earldom, the faction descended from former chieftains still made head against him. In 1551 he wrote that upon being restored to the dominion of his country he "has caused certain gentlemen to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which is so much the greater terror to the rest, as the like execution was never seen before." [*S. P. O.*] Notwithstanding these signal punishments, the tanistic malcontents were in 1554 making strong war against this earl, whom they considered a feudal usurper. External rivalry was presently quelled. But a contest for the inheritance of the earldom subsequently broke out during his lifetime between his two sons, Ulick and John, and led them to discard feudal or English law and revert to Gaelicism in order to obtain a gavelling division of the estate. So early as 1567, L. D. Sidney reported, as a matter that presaged disturbance,—"the disorder of the earl's two sons, whom he hath by two

wives, both of whom are living, and these two young boys, in the life of their father, do strive who shall be his heir." His first marriage, impugned by John the son of the second, in the end was not considered invalidate. Ulick afterwards declared that his father, instigated by the mother of his half brother, had sought means whereby the title and estates should fall to her son. [*S. P. O.*] The first insurrection of Lord Clanricard's sons had a palliative object. In 1571, the earl had been charged with the enormous fine of 1,000 marks for "contempt" to the newly-established English governor of Connaught. [*Council Book, Add. MS.*, 4790.] In the ensuing year, during the holding of a high court of justice in Galway, the turbulent young nobles, his sons, fearing arraignment, secretly quitted the town, on which their father was instantly arrested. Assembling their forces, they endeavoured to rescue him. But the governor hurried him away to Dublin, and he was afterwards committed to the castle "for not bringing in his sons." To procure his release they commenced a systematic insurrection; they demolished the castles and dwellings throughout Clanricard, to prevent them from being seized and occupied as garrisons; they burned and almost razed the walled town of Athenry, and carried on a course of havoc against all the surrounding English and their adherents. "Shane *Seamar oge*," John of the Shamrocks, a designation perhaps assumed not from the national emblem, but from a bold declaration that he and his followers would subsist on this grass, rather than submit to the English, as many a Gael had done, was the warrior name of the younger De Burgh, a man of abilities and daring, who stirred up many chieftains to rebel, and sustained his own insurrection in the most determined spirit. The arrest and incarceration of the earl seem to have been questionable acts. He was enlarged by order of the queen, and his sons were then pacified. Whether the ruinous fine laid on him had been attempted to be enforced does not appear; but a tax for the re-edification of Athenry was subsequently ordered to be raised off his country. In 1574 the old dispute between the brothers was renewed, and the warlike John prepared for battle by engaging numbers of mercenaries:—the quarrel, however, was appeased for the present, but two years afterwards broke out afresh by his "despoiling divers of his brother Ulick's followers," as stated in a despatch of the day; which adds that "thereupon there is such heart-burning betwixt them as all the water in the Shannon, without the death of one or the other, will not quench" [*S. P. O.*] They were soon after carried away to Dublin by Sidney as pledges for the reparation of the destruction they had committed in their revolt four years previously; but, as the Gaelic annalists record, "the heart of the viceroy melted into kindness" towards the captives, and he released them on condition that they should not cross the Shannon and pass into Clanricard until they were given permission. But these young chieftain leaders immediately repaired to the brink of their Rubicon, where they were visited by their father, and, with his connivance determining to resist the levy of the tax, crossed the river by night, and, once more in their native country, cast off their English garb, "put on their wonted Irish weed," recommenced a course of havoc, threatened to sack Galway, and destroyed the new fortifications of Athenry:—"No English churl," said they, "should inhabit there!" Lord Clanricard, in letter dated 28th June, 1576, five days after his sons had broken out in rebellion, gives the following explanation of the cause. Having chanced, he says, to send for them to the water-side, at McLaghclane's, he conferred with them on business, and two days afterwards they crossed over, for which he is scarce able to excuse himself;—that one Robert French, a merchant of Galway, had showed them writings in which they and their men were bound to pay £6,000 for the reparation of Athenry, a sum that all Connaught would scarcely be able to make up. He adds that "the said Owley and John" were bound to answer for their men, and that he was bound in the sum of £2,000 to answer for them. For himself he declares that, never having been a money-master, unless the lord deputy will take castles and lands, which shall always be at his command, in lieu, he could not make up half a thousand pounds in money. For his sons, they are ready to give up the half of all they have in Clanricard, both horn and corn, and are willing to be ruled by the commandment of the viceroy. In the meanwhile Sidney marched with a large force in rapid pursuit; the earl was again made prisoner; and a fierce war ensued between the soldiery and the clan, that did not cease until the country was utterly exhausted, and the rebels had been driven into impenetrable fastnesses. During the succeeding protracted incarceration of the earl in the tower of London, his younger son usurped the greater and richer portion of the territory, held the son of his elder brother as a hostage, and evidently reigned as "Mac William Uachtrach;"—while Ulick, who claimed to be Lord Dunkellin, sought to secure succession to the earldom by adhering to the side of the English. In 1580, at a time when, (wrote the annalists,) the brothers were "at strife with each other, but at peace with the English," the garrison in Loughreagh was suddenly assaulted and put to the sword by John of the Shamrocks;—who immediately, in order to withstand the inevitable war this fierce act brought upon him, endeavoured to enlist his brother in the Irish cause. Many a well-armed follower doubtless supported the right of Ulick; and the brothers thought that if they joined together they might expel the enemy, and then share their father's land in amicable compromise, according to ordinary Gaelic usage. The brehons of Clanricard waited on Ulick with offers from his brother that he would cede to him the principal demesnes "in token of his seniority," surrender his hostage son, and be as obedient to him "as a junior should be to a senior:"—plainly proposing that he should become the "Mac William." These ancient law-givers of the clan then reminded him that gavel and tanistry had been the law of his forefathers ever since two great chiefs were installed in the room of the Earl of Ulster;—assured him that all the native lords, except two or three recreants who had been elevated to hereditary rank in order to abolish the native customs, were ready to join in resisting the detested English and their law;—and, entreating him to abandon the idea of promoting his interest by adhering to the Saxons, conjured him to declare himself thoroughly Irish. Lord Ulick was not proof against these offers, which, at the least, promised him the chieftaincy and half the patrimony, and which, with the subsequent proceedings of the De Burghs,—(each of whom might reasonably expect to obtain the honours of a

peer of state, and of whom the son of the eldest became an English earl, and his son, the Roman Catholic marquis of Clanricard, surpassed all his countrymen in the devotion of his loyalty.)—might be thought to show that these brothers were content, late in the 16th century, to live like primitive houseless chiefs of a pastoral wilderness! They both "rose out with one accord against the English," and renewed their desperate work of demolishing every defensible pile in Clanricard, with the apparent design of completely reducing their territories to that state of nature which the Gaels had proved to be their best safeguard against subjugation. Most of the Irish of Connaught took part in the ensuing attacks on "the foreigners," with the marked exception of O'Brien of Thomond, whose feudal estate and peerage were securities for his peacable conduct. The real objects of this third offensive war were doubtless those of the preceding disturbances, viz. the release of their father, who was perishing in the Tower, and freedom from penal taxation. This they obtained first; and, in 1582, Lord Clanricard was permitted to return home, and brought a pardon for themselves. The aged lord died soon after from the effects of his captivity. The controversy as to succession to the peerage was, of course, hotly renewed; and, as the brothers had already effected an amicable division of the estate, the commissioners appointed to settle the affair advised, as the best remedy, (which the crown acquiesced in for the sake of diminishing the power of the chief of the Clan-Ricard,) that the new earl should have no more than he then held, and that his younger brother should be created baron of the territory he was to retain in Leitrim A weighty condition was added, that if either lord rebelled, his land was to devolve on the other. [*S. P. O.* 14, *Sept.*] Their partition of the vast territory was, however, rearranged; and, in the words of the annalists, they were publicly at peace, but privately at strife. This extraordinary division of an earldom, effected as a matter of state policy, seems unwarrantable, as the right of the eldest son to succeed to the land was as complete as to the peerage. Lord Leitrim, whom the annalists praise for his good sense, noble deportment, and valour, was miserably slain in the year following by his brother, as the Friars of Donegal describe, adding their severest comments on this fratricidal act committed about "the partition of a territory." Their record of numberless crimes that originated in similar disputes might have even drawn from them the conclusion which is our sole object in now recurring to these historical events, viz. that Celtic Irish customs of succession to property and power, in producing those internecine feuds that blacken every page of Irish annals, were the real cause why Irish kingdoms did not stand. Redmond, the son of the slain lord, was (Sir G. Carew states) reputed by government, and styled, baron of Leitrim, but became "a great captain among the rebels in Connaught, and was much esteemed by them for his witt and valour." He was a fugitive in Spain in 1615. On succeeding to the earldom, Ulick commenced a strenuous reform of his clan and estates; set up gibbets in all the mountain passes, and "daily executed" offenders. Any cattle-lifter taken hot-foot was hung up with a quarter of the stolen beef round his neck; and whenever rent-drivers acted oppressively they were publicly flogged. [*S. P. O. vol.* 61.] Under this salutary discipline his lordship's country "embraced civility"—the invariable first-fruit of change to feudalism. Houses and castles were built up again; and Loughreagh, the principal residence, was reconstructed by Lord Ulick; who had, as early as 1564, married the daughter of a great nobleman in England, (Fitz Allan of Arundel,) and who evidently, rather than having desired, like his brother "of the Shamrocks," to live as a rude chief, inherited both the English disposition and the title of his father. Sir Nicholas Malby, the stern president of Connaught, wrote to secretary Walsingham in 1583, praising the "singular honesty and virtue" of the earl, and prognosticated that he would prove "an extraordinary servant to her majesty." This nobleman served the crown most loyally during succeeding insurrections. "Clanricard has ever carried himself becoming his quality," wrote viceroy Fitzwilliam to Lord Burleigh; adding testimony to his "valour, and honourable disposition to do good service to the Queen." [*S. P. O.* 1589.] But when the great rebellion under Tyrone gave prospects to recusants, his allegiance wavered; and it was then that his high-minded son, afterwards "the great earl," joined the queen's army in order to place himself as a hostage or bridle on his father's conduct. If a lower motive than loyalty—namely self-interest—may be ascribed as actuating his *heir* in taking this step, this resolute act was one, at least, of the good results of feudality, the superiority of which, as opposed to tanistry, the foregoing notices serve to illustrate,

[102] *Mac William Iochtair*;—Sir John Bourke and not Sir Richard "in iron," to whom Archdall mistakenly ascribes the contemporary eulogistic notices of this chieftain in Sidney's despatches. He was grandson of "Mac William" who was slain in 1506, and had superseded Sir Richard prior to 1570. [*F. M.*] In 1566 Sidney wrote, that having sent for the Earl of Clanricard and Mac William Eughter, "upon whose factions all the intestine wars in Connaught had grown, they both repaired unto me to Dublin:"—and added:—"I made believe that McWilliam Eughter *hath never heretofore repaired to any governor*; and then praised this chief for his conformity to loyalty. In 1569 John Bourke was sheriff of Connaught. [*W. Con. p.* 235.] When in 1576 Sidney proceeded to Galway, immediately before the rebellion of the Earl of Clanricard's sons, "Mac William Iochtair—John, son of Oliver," as the annalists style him, came to meet the viceroy. But at the same time they style Edmond mac Ulick of Castlebar, (who was of a senior line, as grandson of Edmond, slain in 1513.) "Mac William Burke," their usual title for the chief of the *iochtair* Burkes; which proves that there was then both a "Queen's" and a "clan's" Mac William. The latter joined the rebellion; on which Sidney dispossessed him of Castlebar, and banished him. The viceroy describes the loyalist chief as "very sensible; wanting the English tongue, yet understanding the Latin; a lover of quiett and civilitie; desirous to hold his lands of the queen, and suppress Irish extortion;" that is to say, to obtain a patent in hereditary right to the lands he was in temporary possession of, and to receive rent from them, instead of uncertain exactions. He then "bound himself to hold his lands of the crowne," and received the country from the lord deputy by way of being "seneschal" over it; being knighted, "whereof he seemed very joyous;" and he requested to have an English sheriff sent down to enforce English law in his territory.

Many of the Irish chiefs at this time made a similar request; for such an officer would execute all orders of courts of law that served to confirm them as feudal landlords. Sidney, in his letter to the lords of the council, remarks on these loyal overtures of the Mayo chieftain:—"Surely, my lords, he is well won, for he is a great man. His land lieth along the west-north-west coast of this realm, wherein he hath many goodly havens, and he is a lord in territory of three times so much land as the Earl of Clanricard is." This is probably an exaggerated guess. The Earl was lord of six baronies in the shire of Galway. [*Hy-Many*, 18.] The first division of territory between the Galwegians and Mayonians must have been more equal. The latter subsequently extended themselves by expelling the Gaelic inhabitants and subjugating several subordinate Teutonic races. The lord of Mayo was able to bring a large force into the field. From one barony alone, Tirawly, 360 horse and foot rose at his command. [*Hy Fiachrach*, 455.] Yet this large district paid him but 60 marks rent; so that the muster-roll of this chief, like that of every other, was longer than his rent-roll. To diminish the one and increase the other was the important endeavour with government:—but the difficulty lay in securing a great estate to the ruling chieftain, as he was not previously hereditarily entitled by clan-law to any. This Sir John Bourke is described by the viceroy during the rebellion of Clanricard's sons against the change from territory and gavel to feudality, as "the only man of power in Connaught that hath shown himself loyal." But this loyalty weakened him with the clansmen, though it obtained him the temporary assistance of the viceroy; who by force of arms put him in possession of Castlebar, restored to him all the castles they had taken from him, and "settled him quietly in his own, with such credit and countenance as" (wrote the viceroy), "I hope he shall be able to maintain himself in spite of all his enemies that shall hereafter attempt anything against him." In 1579, the queen, in consideration that this chief had shown great forwardness in service, "embracing all civility, and showing good example to the Irish captains in their compositions," (viz. the commutation of seigniorial dues and exactions or "extortions" into fixed money rent,) and "forasmuch as he is dissended of a noble house of English race," had resolved to give him the title of an earl *during his life*, and to create his eldest son a baron in tail male. [*Titus B. XII.* 227.] Her majesty's gracious intention was, however, frustrated by the death, in 1580, of this good chieftain, who was called "the great," and by the non-succession of his son to power, which was re-assumed by Richard "in iron." This son, Walter, who was thus disappointed of becoming an hereditary peer, obtained the manor of Bellick in the curious manner recited in a Gaelic deed dated 1584, [*Hy-Fiachrach*, 460,] to the effect that he was to possess the larger portion of the manor for defending the right of the owners, the Barretts, in the residue. By a Latin deed of the same date, another Barrett granted him half his farms for the same valuable consideration. His son Theobald, was elected "Mac William" in 1595; but as succession by tanistry was then interdicted by government, he was attacked by the queen's forces, and compelled to quit the country. It is remarkable that while the Castlebar line of chiefs was the senior, and lost the territory by rebellion, and Sir John's son for the loyalty of his father,—the first peerage and hereditary power was conferred on the very junior and equally rebellious race of Richard "in iron."

[103] Grana O'Mailley was daughter of Doodara O'M., "sometime chieftain of Upper Owle O'Mailley," so she herself states; and she was, at the period of the text, widow of Donell *Ichoggy* (*a'chogaidh*, "of the wars") O'Flaherty, chieftain over the barony of Ballynehinch, and also, then wife of another and greater lord, Sir Richard Bourke, nicknamed "*in iron*." Her paternal clan owned, beside a large sea-coast territory, the isles of Arran, and were "strong in galleys and seamen,"—the buccanneering leadership of which was so extraordinarily aequired by this "most famous femynyne sea-captain." Some further particulars regarding her may be found in the recent paper on "Ancient Irish Income" in this Journal.

[104] *Richard in iron*:—Sir Richard mac David Bourke, who is said to have received the sobriquet of *an iarrainn*, "of the iron," from constantly appearing in armour; probably from wearing a panoply of plate armour, contrary to Gaelic usage, which was, as seems by Derrick's plates and Spenser's account, to wear no more in time of peace than the quilted leather jacket the poet describes:—but this chieftain was so frequently made war on by competitors for the *cendus*, or headship, that he required constant personal protection. Although Sidney wrote of him in 1583 as the new Mac William Eighter, he had been chief thirty years previously, when he was defeated in battle and made prisoner by a rival faction. In 1558 he was still the "Mac William," and then engaged to support a large band of Scots "to plunder his neighbours and harass his enemies." [*F. M.*] Prior, however, to 1570, Sir John Bourke, called "the great," either deposed him or was made "Mac William" by favour of government. The annalists chronicle the death of the latter in 1580, and the mode in which he was succeeded, in these words:—"Mac William Burke (John) a munificent and very affluent man, who preferred peace to the most successful war, and who always aided the sovereign, died; and Richard *an Iarainn* installed himself in John's place, without permission of the sovereign." Two years afterwards "Iron Dick," as he was called by the English, was at war with his rivals, the senior line of Castlebar. The Four Masters close their notices of this turbulent chief by chronicling that in the ensuing year, Richard *an Iarainn*, "a plundering, warlike, unquiet, and rebellious man, who had often forced the gap of danger upon his enemies, and upon whom it was frequently forced, died; and Richard mac Oliver was installed in his place."

This successor, who is designated "Richard de Burgo, *creatus* Mac William," in a document dated 1584, [*Hy Fiachrach*, 458], appears to have been created by Sir Richard Bingham. Tanistry and male-gavel were abolished during his chieftaincy; and the clan-lands of the Bourkes, which had hitherto been temporarily occupied without regular inheritance, were applotted or bestowed as permanent estates by letters patent upon the principal gentlemen of their name. This important settlement was, of course, not to be effected without great jealousy. The division was made in 1585. (*Iar Con.* 331.) Although the new chieftain, who was knighted, (Sir Richard B. of Newtown,) was of a junior line, he ob-

tained a promise of the largest share of the clan-territory, subject, however, to this remarkable proviso:—

"Whereas there appeareth certain emulation or envy betwixt the above named McWilliam Eyghter and his kinsmen, whereof there are some competttytors that, by reason of their byrth, being descended of McWilliams of greater fame and reputation than the said Sir Richard Bourke, thinke themselves more worthy of the English succession now devised by this composition; and others, standing upon the expectancy of succeeding his place, wisheth for the continuance of that customary name, that it shall rest in the consideration of the lord deputy for the time being, how and in what sort the above-named castles, manors, lands, seats, and signorys belonging to the name of Mac William shall be disposed or limited to the said Mae William and his said kinsmen." This seems to show that, besides proposing to confer the land appanage of the chieftainey as an hereditary estate on the occupier of the dignity, it was not yet determined to abolish the title; and Edmond Bourke of Castlebar is expressly styled "tanist" to the then chief. But lord deputy Perrott "extinguished the name of Mac William," [*Harl. MS.* 1425.] or forbad the election of another, upon the decease of Sir Richard in this same year; so that "no person," wrote the *Four Masters*, "was elected his successor:"— they add, however, that "the Blind Abbot held his place, as he thought, in despite of the English." William, "the abbey *kiagh*," "the blind abbot," as he was called by the Irish, had, in 1584, as stated in Archdall, sworn to the queen's supremacy, and published a recantation. He was brother of Richard *an iarainn*, and appears to have taken the title as assuming to be senior in race of the clan. In 1589 he is styled "eldest of the lower Burkes." [*Iar Con.* 396.] His right was, however, disputed by Edmond of Castlebar, the tanist, who, "though old and bedrid, coveting the name of Mae William," (as wrote Sir G. Carew,) "which the state would not permit him to have, animated his sons and others to rebel; for which cause, being apprehended by Sir R. Byngham, and condemned by twelve men, he was executed."—*Anno* 1586, [*MS.* 635.] A famous warrior of the clan, on whose prowess their hopes so much rested in this rebellion that they gave him the name of *Fal-fo-Eirinn*, "the fenee of Ireland," was also taken and executed. Three years afterwards, when insurrection broke out fiereely against the severe government of Bingham, the Blind Abbot was regularly inaugurated as Mae William. He had six sons, [*Carew MS.* 635.] who fought valiantly to support him in power. A number of competitors succeeded him and each other until the elose of the century, two sometimes assuming the title at the same time; and almost all the assumers of the interdicted chieftainey were either slain or executed The Four Masters chronicle that in 1695 "the clan William Burke were at varianee with each other eoncerning the lordship of the territory, each of the candidates thinking he himself was entitled to it."

Theobald, son of Sir Richard, mentioned by Sidney, was at length, in 1627, elevated to a hereditary peerage.

(To be continued.)

SURNAMES IN THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

I. INTRODUCTION.

It is evident that if we could, in any particular district, point out the precise spots occupied by the members of certain families, we should be furnished with a key to many facts of great interest in ethnology, history, and social economics. On a physical chart, it is easy to distinguish the land which lies above a certain elevation by a contour line, or by a peculiar colour; and the depth of lakes and seas may be indicated in like manner. Why, then, should it not be possible to map out the habitations of certain persons, exhibiting their position to the eye, when they exist in a degree of density or absolute number sufficient to warrant this distinction. It has been thought that all this and much more could be done, without any unreasonable amount of trouble; and the present paper, with its illustration, is an attempt to show both the matter and the manner.

The largest official list of names connected with the County of Antrim is the Roll of its parliamentary constituency. Before the passing of the Reform Bill, such a list would have been more extended; but it may be questioned whether, on the whole, it would have contained a more perfect picture of the people by their names. The fluctuations in agriculture and commerce occasion, from time to time, a

breaking up of the strata of society, and the arrangement of the materials in new layers and relative positions. But the materials are still all there; and there is no great convulsion to eliminate one element or set of elements, or, on the contrary, to introduce new ones. All classes of a mixed community have their share of elevation and depression. And, in the course of generations, families of every name have their per-centage of loss from emigration, or cessation of male issue, and of gain from casual settlement or change of name. There are, however, particular families nearly all of which are land-owners, while others drain off their superabundant population in the ordinary channels of trade and commerce. It is sometimes said, too, that many of native Irish descent are farm servants and cottagers, not at present rising into the grade of land-owners or county voters. This may have been true at one time, or may be partially true still; but on the whole, the county constituency forms an exceedingly fair epitome of the whole population.

The List for 1857—containing all those who are rated at £12 per annum to the poor—comprises 9,538 names; and the inhabited houses in the county were in 1851, 58,281. This was a slight diminution from 1841; but, as that diminution has not gone on, this number may be fairly taken to represent the households or families in the present year. Practically, then, each name in the "*List*" represents six *families*, and (adopting the proportion of the Government Census) thirty-six *individuals*.

There are also fourteen baronies or "half-baronies" in the county; and, in each of these, the names from all the townlands are arranged alphabetically. All those names which exist in groups of six[a] or upwards have been selected for examination; those which do not exist to that extent in any of the baronies being for the present disregarded. No leading name, therefore, in the county, or in any large district of it, has been overlooked; and, though it is simply possible that one of minor importance, but grouped in a barony, might take the place of one of major importance, more widely diffused, in the present instance no such fact has occurred. Many existing names are unimportant both in numbers and the influence of the persons; while others represent important persons but are of rare occurrence. It should be carefully borne in mind that the printed "*List*" contains land-owners merely, and of these none of the lowest class.

There are 186 separate surnames which fulfil these conditions, every one of which is laid down upon the accompanying map. Some of them, as might be supposed, occur frequently, reaching the number six or upwards, in several baronies; and, in *all* such instances, they are given on the map. We have thus 186 separate words laid down, in all, 333 times.

The actual number of distinct[b] surnames occurring in the whole list was not ascertained; but the

---

[a] This plan appears to be slightly defective, as six names in a small barony, or one thinly populated, might be equivalent to eight, ten, or twelve in a larger or more populous one. No other plan, however, is on the whole open to so few objections.

[b] Names which are identical to the ear, or nearly so, but which differ to the eye (i.e. in the printed spelling,) have been treated as practically the same. Aikin, Aicken, Aitken; Corry, Curry, Currie; Graeme, Graham; Higgison, Higginson; Johnson, Johnston; Macauley, McAuley; Magill, McGill; Rainey, Reaney, Rennie; Stuart, Stewart; Thompson, Thomson; Warwick, Warrick. Some of these are merely varieties in dialect or fancy; and all who have attended to the subject

number of those in each of the baronies was reckoned. The largest number is in Upper Belfast, where they amount to 410; and the smallest in Upper Glenarm, where they are only 144. The average number of separate surnames is 217 to a barony; and there are probably about 700 in the whole county.

II. NAMES IN THE WHOLE COUNTY.

Arranging the whole 186 names in tabular form, and placing opposite to each the number representative of it in each barony, the sums exhibit to us in a moment the leading *county* names. There are twenty-one names, for example, which occur 50 times or upwards in the whole list of the county, and up to 129 times. That is to say, (adopting the proportions already laid down), these twenty-one names represent from 300 to 774 households respectively, and from 1800 to 4,644 individuals. The only name which reaches this highest limit is THOMPSON, which is, therefore, *the leading name in the county*. The others of the twenty-one, given in the order of their frequency, are Wilson, Stewart, Smith, Moore, Boyd, Johnson, M'Mullan, Brown, Bell, Campbell, M'Neill, Crawford, M'Alister, Hunter, M'Auley, Robinson, Wallace, Miller, Kennedy, and Hill.[c]

The list suggests two reflections, the one positive in its character, the other negative. The first is, that in a county the general character of which is Scotch, and the leading creed of which is Presbyterian, some of the most prominent names are English. For example, in the first six names four are English,—Thompson, Wilson, Smith, and Moore; while Stewart and Boyd are Scotch. If we take the ten names at the top, six are English. This is partly explained by the fact that English forms of spelling are now adopted, the Scotch names (but not their creed) being fused up and assimilated. In this way, Broun becomes Brown, and Muir,[d] Moore; just as the Scottish Johnston or Johnstone is assimilated to the English Johnson. Other names, by dropping the Irish and Scotch prefixes, have become English in appearance though they are not so in reality; as O'Neill, Neill, M'Cook, Cooke; M'Conaghy, Conaghy, or Conway; M'Kendry, Hendry, or Henry; MacGregor, Gregor, or Greer. Besides, in the lapse of two centuries, and in the caprices of taste, as well as the varying conveniences for public worship, it is not unlikely that some of English origin and name

know that the varied forms of the present day had their origin in the unsettled orthography of former times. Thus Shakspeare is spelled in seventeen ways in the Stratford registers; Drummond is found in about eighteen forms in ancient and modern documents; and Hume with at least fifteen varieties, [Hewme, Hom, Home, Hoom, Hoome, Houme, Howm, Hume, Huyme, Hwme, Hwime, &c.] I have seen a letter from an Irish rector, in which the name of his own parish was spelled in four different ways; and I know a Scotch family resident in England, the members of which spell their patronymic in three ways!

[c] The following are the next 20, extending in all to 41 in the order of frequency. Craig, Black, Kilpatrick, Ferguson, Anderson, O'Neill, Graham, M'Bride, White, Hamill, Reid, Blair, Martin, M'Kay, Patterson, Dunlop, Kerr, M'Cormick, M'Kendry, Alexander. The first 21 occur in the list 73 times on the average: they thus represent, all round, 438 families and 2628 individuals each. The remaining 20, mentioned in this note, occur in the list 42 times on the average, ranging from 35 to 49: they thus represent, all round, 252 families, and 1512 individuals each. [See list at the end of the Paper.]

[d] A curious case of the force of dialect in family surnames is the following. The old English word "eld" is obsolete, but its comparative "elder" is current; and we have accordingly Elder as a surname in England, Auld in Scotland, and Ould in Ireland.

may have become Presbyterian in religion. All these reasons, however, are to be regarded as exceptional in their occurrence, though serving singly or *in cumulo* to explain the curious fact noticed.

The other fact is the remarkable absence or limited prevalence of certain names which almost every one is prepared to expect, from situation, historical association, or other cause. For example, O'Neill, which is Irish, is twenty-seventh in order, while MacNeill, which is Scotch, is twelfth. Campbell, which from the proximity of Argyle, one might expect to equal[e] any other, is eleventh only; while Mac*Donnell*, which figures very prominently in the history of the seventeenth century, comes in as fifty-sixth! Mac*Donald* is a totally distinct name, yet, even if we add the two together, the result is unimportant. Hamilton, also, which is very prevalent in Ulster generally, and which was very influential from the beginning of the seventeenth century, might be expected to be about as numerous as Stewart; indeed, it has been said that Stewart and Hamilton are the two leading names of the county: yet the latter occupies only the forty-third place.

The following general facts may be put upon record. There are six surnames which comprise 633 in the printed list; and ten which embrace 913, or nearly one-tenth of the whole. If we take the first fifteen, they embrace 1,215 names, or more than one-eighth; and the forty-one which have been given in their order in the text and note, embrace 2,384 names, or one-fourth of the whole. The first 67 comprehend 3,179, or one-third of the whole; and the first 157[f] extend to 4,768, or half of all the voters, householders, and individuals in the county. Of course, the remaining half of any of these is spread over about 550 surnames.

The next point of interest is the *distribution* of these surnames. There is only one which is found in the whole of the fourteen baronies; and that is not the highest, but the second, viz., Wilson. Thompson is, of course, found in large numbers where it does exist. The following, however, are all well distributed, being found in thirteen baronies, viz., Campbell, Johnson, Kirkpatrick, Martin, Thompson; though one of them (Martin) occurs only thirty-third in the list of frequency. Again, Graham, Hunter, Kennedy, M'Keown, Moore, Patterson, Robinson, Smith, Stewart, and Wallace, are found in twelve baronies; one of them (M'Keown) is forty-sixth in the order of frequency.

If we view these names in another aspect still, as occurring with the degree of frequency necessary to entitle them to a place upon the map, the facts take a form somewhat different. Thus, Smith is in reality the best distributed, for it occurs in groups varying from nine to fourteen, in nine different baronies; and it is accordingly printed on the map at nine places. Thompson and Wilson occur eight times in like manner; Boyd and Moore seven; Brown six; and Bell, Campbell, Craw-

---

[e] It is somewhere recorded that a Scotch regiment was quartered at Carrickfergus in the seventeenth century, which contained no fewer than 110 John Campbells.

[f] Within the last few days I have been occupied in analysing the surnames of a parish in the north of Lancashire, the population of which at present is about 3,000. I arranged, in alphabetical order, every name occurring in any of the registers, except those of persons married from other parishes, from 1595 to 1615. Even among the scanty population of that period, I find more than 120 different surnames.

ford, and Hunter, five. These facts will help to illustrate a previous statement, to the effect that 186 names are printed in 333 places on the map.

The worst distributed name in the whole county is Coates, which occurs only in Upper Belfast, and there to the extent of ten printed names or sixty families. The next to it is Pinkerton, which has twelve printed names in Upper Dunluce, and one in Lower; then M'Caughan, which has only two names out of Carey, and nineteen in it, representing 114 families. M'Cann has ten printed names in Upper Toome, and three out of it; Turtle has ten in Upper Massareene and four out of it. None of these names occur in any other instance in the printed Roll.

III. EXAMINATION OF THE NAMES IN BARONIES.

The groups of names in baronies sometimes attain considerable dimensions. The largest clusters occur in Carey on the extreme north coast, where the population is peculiar, and the surnames few in comparison with the absolute numbers. There the name M'Mullan occurs thirty times in the printed list, representing a population of 1080. This is not equalled in any other part of the county. In the same barony and near neighbourhood, the name M'Curdy appears 27 times in the printed list, representing a population of 972. It is somewhat remarkable that both of these names are local, and that they have never represented, to any appreciable extent, either the intelligence or influence of the county. The next is MacAuley, which is better known, occurring in large numbers in Lower Glenarm, and somewhat less frequently in Carey; while Wilson, which equals M'Auley in numerical strength, has its principal centre in Lower Belfast.

Whenever the group of names in one barony amounts to fifteen or more, it is printed on the maps[g] in *SMALL CAPITALS;* where it ranges from ten to fifteen, it is printed in BLOCK TYPE; where it amounts to eight or nine it is in ordinary **Roman Letter;** and where only six or seven, in *Italics*. Each of these forms may occur in several of the divisions of the county, according to the facts. Again, at the point where a name reaches its highest limit it is preceded by a †, showing the nucleus or point of concentration; and, if it attain the same limit in two baronies it is so marked in both; as Boyd in Carey and Upper Belfast. It is curious, also, to observe the gradual decline of a name, as we recede from its culminating point. Thus, MacAuley reaches a high maximum in Glenarm; it is still of the second rank in the similar region of Carey; it sinks just below the fourth in the adjoining districts of Kilconway, Toome, and Antrim; and everywhere else it is practically unknown. Again, M'Mullan reaches the highest point attained by any in Carey, but it is shaded down to the third and fourth rank in the surrounding baronies of Lower Glenarm, Upper Dunluce,

[g] In the Roll of names, the townland of residence is attached to each. By means of these the parish in which the name appears to preponderate has been ascertained, and therefore it has been marked at that part of the barony. Thus not only in the whole county, but in each of its great divisions, the relations of place have been preserved as far as possible.

and Kilconway, beyond which it practically disappears. A careful examination of the map will, no doubt, bring to light other instances, perhaps more curious and illustrative.

Nineteen names reach their culminating point in numbers of the highest class, (fifteen or upwards); of these nine are in Carey, and three in Upper Massareene. Nineteen others reach their highest in numbers of the second class, (ten or upwards); of these five are in Lower Belfast. The great preponderance of native Irish in Carey, and of English in Upper Massareene, and the condensation of population in and around a large town, afford a sufficient explanation of these facts.

When a name occurs at only one point, that is, reaches any of the four limits in a single barony, it is preceded by a peculiar mark ∴ to define its exclusive position. These, therefore, are not so much culminating points as sole centres of particular surnames; and it is evident that their positions afford material for inquiries of a most interesting kind, respecting origin, immigration, and the acquirement and possession of property. In general, these names are in *Italics*, or reach only the lowest numbers; but this is not always the case.

The force of cohesion, like other facts, is seen strongest in Carey. There, M'Cormick, M'Caughan, and M'Kay, jointly represent a population of more than 1,000: they attain to numbers of the very highest class; yet they appear nowhere else upon the map! No other instance occurs of exclusive names reaching this limit. But so many as nineteen of them, in different parts of the country, combine so as to reach the second limit. Six of these occur in the English district of Upper Massareene, of which four are purely English; three in Upper Dunluce, which have a Scottish echo, Getty, Knox, and Pinkerton; two (Eslar and Owens) in Lower Antrim; two Macs in Upper Toome; M'Kinley and Sharpe in Carey; and Bryson, Coates, Gaston, Robb, at other points. Of the "exclusive" names, therefore, only twenty-two reach the first or second class; while 102 others are in the third and fourth.

The English district has just been noticed, lying up the Valley of the Lagan, and along the low country to the shore of Lough Neagh. It was described in a former number of this *Journal*, [vol. 1, p. 246,] and the following remarks tend to corroborate those made on that occasion. The leading names in Upper Massareene are Bell, Johnson, and Thompson, all of them English; and the holders of them are English in their religion, traditions, and habits. In like manner, the names of the second class, just alluded to, are Green, Hall, Higginson, M'Clure, Watson, Turtle; not one of which appears at any other part of the county. Beside and among them, too, we meet with such names as Belshaw, Nelson, Falloon, Peel, Martin, and Moore, some of which occur elsewhere, but all of them telling the tale of their origin.

The moment we ascend the hill towards the region of "cold clayey Killead," we meet with a set of Scotch names. There are Erskine, Graham, Robb, Stewart, M'Connell, and Crawford; while M'Cullough, Armstrong, and Mairs lie on the border.

The purely Irish districts exhibit the usual characteristics. In Carey there are fourteen names of the first rank and six of the second; which is more than equal to all those classes in the whole remain-

ing thirteen baronies. So many as thirteen of these are Macs, those of the first class being specially so. Again, in Lower Glenarm, a comparatively small portion of which is arable and habitable, there is only one decidedly English name of fifteen which appear on the map; and even this may be accounted for. It is the name Black; and such translations[b] of Irish names into their Saxon equivalents are not unusual to the present day. Morrow is merely a softening of the Hibernic MacMurrough.

The leading name in each barony, or the one which occurs most frequently, is followed on the map by the symbol =; but, in three instances, (Lower Massareene, Lower Toome, and Kilconway,) there are two such names equal, both of which are given. We have thus seventeen names in the baronies, instead of fourteen; of which Thompson occurs four times, Wilson three, and Moore twice. Those which occur only once as leading names are Crawford, MacAlister, MacAuley, M'Mullan, Miller, Smith, Stewart, and Wallace.

From this it is obvious that the design of the map is to exhibit the absolute, the relative, the local, and the exclusive. It is hoped that it will also be found to be eminently suggestive of other principles which are not noticed here.

IV. REMARKS ON PARTICULAR NAMES.

A very slight inspection of the printed Roll is sufficient to show that the localization of particular surnames takes two distinct forms. In one case, persons of apparently the same family are widely scattered over a parish, or district, or barony; showing probably that the tie of relationship had drawn some kinsmen into the same general neighbourhood two centuries ago, and that they are represented only in larger numbers by their descendants at the present time. Facts of this kind occur in every newly-settled country, such as New Zealand, New Holland, the United States, and the Canadas.

In other instances, and they are not a few, we find persons who seem to be members of a family densely packed upon the same spot; hardly spreading into the adjoining townland, or not crossing the boundary of the parish. The inference is frequently quite irresistible, that several of these are the descendants of one man, who obtained his section of land in the seventeenth century, which was divided and subdivided as its occupants increased and multiplied. Time will bring to light many such cases in North America, when the township which a single settler has purchased, and called by his name, will be divided into component squares, appearing on the map (as the counties and townships now do in the United States) like the checks of a chess-board.

[b] So late as 1465, we find this enactment in the Irish Statutes, 5 Edward IV., Chap. 3. "That every Irishman that dwells betwixt or amongst Englishmen, in the counties of Dublin, Myeth, Urriel or Louth, and Kildare, should take upon him an English surname of one town, as Sutton, Chester, Trim, Skrine, Cork, Kinsale; or colour, as White, *Black*, Brown; art or science, as Smith, Carpenter; or office, as Cook, Butler; and that he and his issue should use such name under the penalty of forfeiting their goods yearly." The principle was carried out at other times and places; and to a limited extent is still followed.

The following are examples of the second principle. There are seven families in the list of the name Gibson, of whom five are found in one townland, Ballynalough, in Templepatrick. The Gilmores amount to but five in all, and, therefore, do not appear on the map; but they occur without exception exclusively in Lower Malone. McKee is found in Templecorran, in the districts of Forthill and Blackhill; and Eslar, a rare and peculiar name, has its centre not only in Ballyclug, but in the large and "hungry" townland of Cross. The Gordons, from Scotland, are all found, not only in Racavan, but in Drumleckney, a constituent part of it; and the Nelsons, from England, all find their homes in Rory's Glen, in the parish of Carncastle. Knowles is found in Feenagh of Ahoghill; and Telford in Ballykennedy, (near Ballymena,) better known, from the Moravian village, as Gracehill. The Loves appear to have named a townland from themselves,—a little "Agapomene" of their own; it is Love's Corkey, in the parish of Loughguile. The Cochranes are found in Loughanlinch, a part of Billy, near the Giants' Causeway; and the Forsythes in Rosedernott, a townland of Dunaghy, comprising only thirty families in all. Finally, the rare surname Gaston occurs in considerable numbers in Killycowan, a townland of Rasharkin.

The examples of wider distribution are very numerous, and they present from time to time interesting peculiarities. The names of this class, however, like those of the previous one, have been concentrated in the *parishes* where they predominate, especially as it would have been both unwise and impossible to follow the more minute subdivisions.

The English name Hull, (or as it is pronounced, "Hool,") lies within very narrow limits, being found almost exclusively in the townland and parish of Magheramesk. The Connors have for their maximum limits the parishes of Magheragall and Ballinderry; and they exist there in such numbers and proximity that distinctive epithets are necessary in conversational intercourse. The following epigram, having reference to them, is well known:—

"There's tory Tom, and honest Tom,
And Tom of Aghalee;
Yet tory Tom's the honestest
Of the whole three."

The name is pronounced Connior or Conyer, probably from the predisposition which Irish speaking gives to the organs; such names as McDonnell being occasionally pronounced McDoniel. The Peels of the same district were fond of the family name Mark. There was therefore red Mark, with white Mark, black Mark, and "cappy" Mark. This last gentleman seldom wore a hat.

The Biggars are Scotch in origin, deriving their name from a well known parish in North Britain. They are found in the barony of Lower Belfast, and also in commercial life in the town of Belfast. But, in the north-west part of the county, another family is found, similarly concentrated, and possibly of the same origin. In the latter case, however, the name is, without exception, spelled Biggart.

There are several distinct colonies of Moores, one apparently a remnant of the English settlement

on the north coast, and another in Ballinderry. The ancestors, in the latter case, were connected with the lords Conway; they preserve to this hour the traditions of their former home, near the Severn and Avon; and some of them were extensively occupied, during last century, in the manufacture of cider. One venerable member, Mr. William Moore of Portmore, has now completed his ninetieth year. His grandfather resided with Lord Conway in the Castle; and he still possesses some of the furniture of his ancestor's apartments.

The Turtles form a respectable and numerous body to the south of Upper Massareene. The position which they occupy is not very far removed from that of the old tribe named the Hy Tuirtre, on the mediæval maps of the district; and it is worth inquiring whether they be not Anglicised, in name and religion, from the Irish sept. I have no information on the subject, but the name and locality are suggestive. O'Neill is still a prevalent name in the neighbourhood of Shane's Castle, though the representative of the family name has been called to his long rest.

The M'Stravicks are found in Derrymore, part of Aghagallon, and nowhere else, a district formerly occupied by the Danes. Irish in lineage and name, they occupied "the great oak wood" in a district of bog. They are too few in number to obtain insertion on the map. So also are the Chisms, evidently cadets of the Highland Chisholms, which a proverb well known round the Murray Firth alleges to be one of the two[i] oldest of the Highland clans.

Some of the transformations which names undergo are so peculiar as to require a special notice. From what we know of several English words, which almost make the circuit of all our vowel sounds without losing their identity,[k] we are prepared for changes of vowels. Thus, Herbison and Harbison are related like merchant and *marchand;* Backet, Becket, and Bickett, occur in the same townlands of Upper Dunluce; and Gillan, Gillen, Gillin, are all found. M'Ivor, and its cognate form, MacKeever, constitute an example of the same kind; and the three forms, Walsh, Welsh, Welch, exemplify changes both in vowels and consonants.

The changes of consonants are extremely interesting, following the labials, dentals, palatals, gutturals, liquids, sibilants, &c.; and frequently dropping the gutturals entirely, which the pure Englishman is unable to utter. Thus, Wodrow, or Woodrow, becomes Witherow, through the change of *d* to *th;* and Lauder becomes Lawther, or Leather. Through the interchange of *r* and *w* (with that of vowels, of course, at the same time), Ervin, Erwin, Irvine, Irwin, and Errin, are all the same. Through the delicate sounding of *t* (a provincialism which in the neighbourhood of Dublin sometimes converts *butter* into *busser*) Watson and Wassen are identical. The MacKinnons of Skye,—one of whom used to relate, about 1800, his embarrassment at donning his first pair of trowsers, in Blaris, after his escape in 1745,—are found also in Antrim. In addition to their proper name, however, they bear that of M'Kennan, M'Cannon, M'Kenna, and Kenna. The O'Cahan's, formerly very prevalent about Coleraine, have softened their name into O'Kane, Cain, and Kane; while

[i] There are only four *The's* in the Highlands: *The* Chisholm, *The* Mackintosh, *The* Devil, and *The* Pope. It is like the Irish proverb,—"the Pope, the Devil, and the O'Connor Don."

[k] As band, bend, bind, bond, bound.

Mahoney becomes Môney, and Mooney,—just as the duellist of the last century, Lord Mahon, was called Moon. M'Lagherty becomes M'Laverty, M'Clarty, Laverty, and Lavery; Dod assumes the forms Dodd, Dodds, Douds, Dowds, and perhaps others. Smyrll, or Smirl, becomes Smurl, and in two syllables Smyrrel.

At the southern limit of the county we have a specimen of the origination of surnames. The Laverys, on the Lagan side, near Moira, were separated into the fair and the ruddy, according to complexion, until the distinguishing epithet became the surname, and the original surname was lost. Thus, "red" Hugh Lavery became Hughie *Roe;* and "fair" Molly was known only as Molly *Bawn*.[1] The members of the present generation are known by these second surnames respectively, and by no others. In the process of Anglicising, the word which approximates nearest [m] in sound is frequently adopted, without much, or indeed any, regard to meaning. It is in this way that the Scotch MacConochie becomes the English M'Conkey, and the Irish MacGurnahan becomes the Scottish Gordon! The names Dumphy and Granny, occur in the county; but, in all probability, they are nicknames, which, by their general adoption, have resulted in surnames.

It is not necessary at present to track each family back to their primitive haunt, though that would be an operation of great interest. As might be expected, the east Border clans appear in very small numbers; the name Douglas, which took the lead, being scarcely known. Nor do we find those of the west Border in the abundance which we might reasonably expect, namely, the Scotts, Elliots, Armstrongs, &c. The Jamiesons, Jardines, and Christians are also few in number. The border clan Graham, which comprehended Montrose, Dundee, and others among the most brilliant of the Scottish cavaliers, was also celebrated for its propensity to plunder, most impartially, both English and Scotch. A few who were transported after the manner of the olden time,—before offenders were sent, as Burns says, to "herd the buckskin kye for't in Virginia,"—landed below Bangor in Down; and there their name in an altered form still remains in the name of a village, *Grooms*-port.

A large number of the townships in England have given origin to family surnames; and the farms and villages of Scotland have produced the same effect. The more prominent of these are well known, as Hull, Preston, Glasgow, Moffat, Peebles, Wakefield, Chester, &c., all of which are surnames; but it is only by examining a list of townships, or inspecting a map on a large scale, that we can see how general this law of formation is. Some names such as Dick or Dickey show that they are Scotch; Emerson is from the County of Durham; Archer is from Berwick-on-Tweed, on the borders of the district where the long-bows flourished; and both Getty and Mac Adam are derived from the south-west of Scotland, the former from Wigton, and the latter from Kirkcudbright. Hogshead occurs in the county Roll; but probably it and Hawksett are both only audible varieties of Hawkshead, a village in the north of Lancashire. The many changes and the few coincidences

[1] See the ballad preserved in Jamieson's Songs and Ballads, vol. i., p. 194.

[m] A similar change takes place in Geographical names. Thus, when some Welsh ship-owners wished to Anglicise Abermaw, they stepped from the pronunciation "Abermow," which formed a sort of middle term, to the English "Bar-mouth."

will be seen by comparing a map of the mediæval period and the era preceding the settlement of Ulster with the one which represents the present time. The three great elements of population not only take their respective districts; but some of the older fragments of the broken up strata are still found *in situ*.

V. ALPHABETICAL LIST OF NAMES.

The following table is designed to facilitate a reference to the Map. Every name which is there laid down will be found here in alphabetical order, with the Baronies indicated in which the name appears. The figure 1 denotes that the name is printed in that Barony in small capitals, and occurs there with the greatest degree of frequency. The figures 2, 3, 4, indicate block type, Roman letter, and Italics respectively, which represent certain distinctions already explained. The numbers prefixed to the names show the order of frequency in the whole County. For example, Adams is 42nd in order, or there are 41 which occur more frequently: Agnew is 73rd, and Aikin 96th.

If the present attempt to elucidate the ethnology of the district be favourably received, I may, at some convenient opportunity, analyse the names in the County of Down in a similar way. But as the operation is in a great degree mechanical,—requiring only great patience and absolute accuracy,—it might be performed by some other hand, especially as a plan has here been laid down. In like manner, it might be accomplished for other counties; and if we had a complete set of such ethnological maps for Ulster, (or one large one for the whole,) new and beautiful relations would be discovered of which at present we have no idea. A couple of contour lines, showing the bogs and marshes on the one hand, and the elevations of 400 feet on the other, would no doubt enclose between them and within them whole classes of names which could easily be accounted for historically. Whether anything of the kind be ever executed or not, I trust that the present attempt will be found both instructive and suggestive.

A. Hume.

NAMES.	Antrim.		Belfast.		Carey.	Dunluce.		Glenarm.		Kilconway.	Massareene.		Toome.	
	L	U	L	U		L	U	L	U		L	U	L	U
42 Adams, ..										3			4	
73 Agnew, ..	4	4												2
96 Aikin, ..													4	
40 Alexander, ..			2	4						4				
83 Allen, ..	3	4												
25 Anderson, ..	3		4			4								
62 Armstrong, ..	4										3			
116 Barclay, ..	4													
148 Barron, ..				4										
10 Bell, ..	3		2								3	1	4	

NAMES.	Antrim.		Belfast.		Carey.	Dunluce.		Glenarm.		Kilconway.	Massareene.		Toome.	
	L	U	L	U		L	U	L	U		L	U	L	U
176 Belshaw, ..												4		
97 Beggs, ..		4												
117 Biggart, ..									4					
117 Bigger, ..				4										
22 Black, ..					1		2							
32 Blair, ..		4	2							2				
9 Brown, ..			2	2	4	3					3	3		
6 Boyd, ..	3		3	1	1	3		4			4			
99 Bryson, ..		2												
159 Butler, ..					4									

NAMES.	Antrim.		Belfast.		Carey.	Dunluce.		Glenarm.		Kilconway.	Massareene.		Toome.	
	L	U	L	U		L	U	L	U		L	U	L	U
171 Bunting, ..											4			
11 Campbell, ..			2	4	4	3				4				
49 Carson, ..	1												4	3
138 Chestnut, ..							4							
118 Christie, ..							4							
146 Coates, ..				2										
124 Cochrane, ..						3								
131 Connolly, ..							4							
112 Connor, ..											3			
21 Craig, ..		3	3										3	3
13 Crawford, ..			4						2	2	4		4	
68 Cunningham, ..										4				
160 Cupples, ..										4				
59 Currie, ..	1				3	4								
41 Davidson, ..	3													3
126 Delargy, ..								3						
164 Donnelly, ..					4									
36 Dunlop, ..						4	2			4				
132 Erskine, ..											4			
93 Eslar, ..	2													
172 Falloon, ..											4			
24 Ferguson, ..			1		2		4							
149 Ferris, ..											4			
140 Forsythe, ..										4				
109 Fullerton, ..				4										
71 Fulton, ..				4										
151 Galt, ..		4												
95 Gaston, ..										2				
88 Getty, ..							2							
177 Given, ..						4								
101 Gibson, ..					4									
141 Gillin, ..							3							
75 Gordon, ..	3													
27 Graham, ..	3	4									4	4		
74 Green, ..												2		
85 Hall, ..												2		
30 Hamill, ..				3			3							
43 Hamilton, ..				4			3							
50 Hanna, ..										4				
69 Henry, ..							3							4
155 Herbison, ..													3	
107 Higginson, ..												2		
20 Hill, ..			2		1									4

NAMES.	Antrim.		Belfast.		Carey	Dunluce.		Glenarm.		Kilconway.	Massareene		Toome.	
	L	U	L	U		L	U	L	U		L	U	L	U
173 Hopkins, ..					4									
60 Houston, ..	4													
110 Huey, ..						4	4							
153 Hull, ..												4		
15 Hunter, ..			2	3	2	4					4			
44 Jamieson, ..							4							4
7 Johnson, ..	2	4		2								1	4	4
55 Kane, ..				4		2								
67 Kelly, ..														4
19 Kennedy, ..	4		3										4	3
142 Kernahan, ..													4	
37 Kerr, ..				4			2							
23 Kilpatrick, ..							2				4			
174 Kirkwood, ..				4										
120 Knowles, ..							4							
51 Knox, ..							2							
157 Larmour, ..												3		
90 Laverty, ..					4									
133 Lavery, ..												3		
165 Lawther, ..		4												
175 Livingstone, ..														4
166 Love, ..							4							
119 Magee, ..												4		
70 Magill, ..											4			
161 Mairs, ..												3		
33 Martin, ..	4											4		
181 Megarry, ..												4		
18 Miller, ..	4		4								2		4	
45 Montgomery, ..	3					4								
76 Mooney, ..								4			4			
5 Moore, ..		3	2		2	2	1					4	4	
102 Morrow, ..								4						
91 Mulholland, ..												4		
134 Mulvenna, ..								3						
69 *Murphy, ..								3						
77 Murray, ..				4										
14 M'Alister, ..					1			2			2			
16 *M'Auley, ..					2			1						
28 M'Bride, ..			2		1									
63 M'Cambridge,					2			2						
105 M'Caw, ..					4									
127 M'Clelland, ..		4												
80 M'Clure, ..												2		

NAMES.	Antrim.		Belfast.		Carey.	Dunluce.		Glenarm.		Kilconway.	Massareene.		Toome.	
	L	U	L	U		L	U	L	U		L	U	L	U
53 McConaghy, ..					1	3								
86 McConnell, ..		4									4			
38 McCormick, ..					1									
182 McCorry, ..											4			
52 McCullough, ..	2										4			
121 McCann, ..													2	
81 M'Caughan, ..					1									
33 *McCurdy, ..					1	3								
56 McDonnell, ..					4									
48 M'Dowell, ..			1										3	
180 McFarland, ..				4										
143 McFerran, ..			4											
183 M'Ilhatton, ..							4							
84 M'Ilroy, ..												4		
34 McKay, ..					1			4						
98 McKee, ..			4											
39 M'Kendry, ..					1	4			4					
46 McKeown, ..													2	
82 M'Kinlay, ..					2									
144 McKinstry, ..											4			
145 McLaine, ..					3									
57 M'Laughlin, ..					3			4						
8 McMullan, ..					1			3		4				
167 M'Murtry, ..			3											
106 McNeice, ..							4				4			
168 McNeight, ..											4			
12 McNeill, ..	3				1			2						
162 McKinney, ..						4								
129 Neeson, ..													4	
94 Neill, ..						3								
61 Nelson, ..			4							3	4			
128 Nevin, ..						3								
169 Nicholl, ..													4	
150 O'Boyle, ..													3	
78 O'Hara, ..								4						
26 O'Neill, ..								2					3	
47 Orr, ..			4											
89 Owens, ..	2													
35 Patterson, ..							4			4	3			
154 Peel, ..											3			

NAMES.	Antrim.		Belfast.		Carey.	Dunluce.		Glenarm.		Kilconway.	Massareene.		Toome.	
	L	U	L	U		L	U	L	U		L	U	L	U
156 Phillips, ..				4										
123 Pinkerton, ..							2							
137 Price, ..				4										
130 Rabb, ..												2		
111 Rainey, ..														4
135 Rankin, ..						4								
72 Rea, ..				4								4		
122 Redmond, ..					3									
31 Reid, ..				2								3		
16 Robinson, ..			4			4		4						3
64 Ross, ..			4											
113 Scally, ..					3									
115 Sharpe, ..					2									
103 Shaw, ..				4										
65 Simpson, ..												3		
92 Sloane, ..											4			
158 Small, ..						4								
4 Smith, ..	2	4	2	2	4	3					4		4	2
79 Steele, ..						3								
3 Stewart, ..			1	4	1	2	1				3	2		2
163 Suffern, ..												4		
58 Taylor, ..						3								
147 Telford, ..												3		
136 Templeton, ..			4											
1 *Thompson*, ..	1		3	1		2	2				2	1	2	
87 Todd, ..	4													
114 Turtle, ..												2		
135 *Tweed, ..							3							
54 Walker, ..			3											
17 Wallace, ..			3			4					3		2	
152 Warwick, ..	4													
170 Watters, ..												3		
108 Watson, ..												2		
100 Weir, ..														4
29 White, ..	2			4								3		
2 Wilson, ..	2	1	1	3		4					4	2		1
139 Woods, ..				1										
104 Woodside, ..					4									
125 Wright, ..			4											
66 Young, ..													4	

P.S.—In affixing the numbers which indicate the order of frequency, two or three names were overlooked. They were afterwards numbered at their respective places in the series, and an Asterisk was added.

LETTERS ON IRISH ANTIQUITIES.

BY A CORNISH MAN.

Continued from page 187.

LETTER IV.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

Sir,—During the Great Exhibition held in Dublin in 1853, I had ample opportunities of carefully examining the several cases in which the ancient articles made of flint belonging to the museum of the Royal Irish Academy were exhibited. At first I was struck with their great number, and with the perfection of manufacture exhibited in many specimens; but on mature consideration, to which I was led by the careful and exact classification adopted in the arrangement of the objects in the cases, I confess that I was disappointed to find so few orders, species, or varieties of true typical forms. One, and a remarkable feature, too, appeared to me to be common to all the arrow-heads. No matter how elaborate the form or perfect the workmanship, no provision was made by a notch for tying or securing the arrow-heads to their shafts, like the arrow-heads made of obsidian and flint found in North America. In the ancient Irish arrow-heads the total absence of one or more notches for the tying which usually attaches the head to the shaft, evidently indicates an intention in the party constructing those heads,—a wish that they should remain in the wounds they made; or, in cases where the arrows missed wounding the objects fired at, that their heads should become detached on their striking the ground or any hard object; and thus that the arrows, once shot away, might afterwards be unserviceable to the enemy, who would be given no chance of using them against those who had prepared them.

The absence of the notch for the tying indicates malice and forethought in the parties who made these things, and indicates that they were not weapons of unsophisticated men, but of those who had refined cruelty, and who had well considered the doctrine of chances in war. In hunting it is rather a benefit that the arrow-shaft should adhere to the arrow-head, as it indicates the position of the arrow-head, and enables the hunter to recover a part of his ammunition; but in war, on the contrary, this benefit would be given to the enemy, which the Irish flint arrow-head was evidently intended to withhold or prevent.

I looked for examples of arrow-heads with notches in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy,

and observed one or two only, which, if not stray American specimens, must be looked upon as exceptions to the general rule, indicated by the vastly greater number of specimens without such notches.

When in Belfast at the Meeting of the British Association, I had no opportunity of carefully considering the typical forms of the many ancient Irish flint arrow-heads in your great joint-stock collection, nor were the arrow-heads of the different exhibitors thrown together into specific or scientific series; nor has any one I know of attempted any such arrangement, except the one already referred to. This was done in the Dublin collection, and it is from it I have chiefly deduced the outline forms, which are, according to my eye, truly typical and characteristic; quite as much, in their way, as other forms found in natural productions by conchologists and botanists, which are considered typical and indicative of order, &c.

The Irish flint arrow-heads divide themselves into two great orders,—barbed and not barbed; and, for a reason which I fear the Danish antiquaries will find it very hard to adopt, I would venture to arrange the barbed arrow-heads first in the series, on the supposition that they are the oldest in form, and copied from still older arrow-heads of the same shape, or as nearly the same shape as could be imitated in flint. This is giving to the flint arrow-head in Ireland a comparatively modern period, and placing it *later* in point of fact than the *imaginary* "Iron period:" an absurdity which is due altogether to this theory, which some authors would compromise by saying that things of this kind were *exceptions* to the law; the fact being that the Danish law is a perfect nullity, and of no use except to set collectors of antiquities astray.

That the barbed flint arrow-heads were not substituted for bronze or copper arrow-heads, I infer from the non-discovery of either in Ireland; and I think it likely that in the olden time the idea of a missile in Ireland was a stone, found everywhere, shaped or not shaped by art, and thrown either by the hand, or by means of some sort of sling made with a stick, with or without a cord. I do not entirely exclude the use of the common sling or *funda* used by the Romans and their auxiliaries; but I think we have no evidence of the use of such things here; and the stories in the old Irish books indicate the use of a species of sling which is not the kind to which the attention of antiquaries and artists has been directed latterly. Indeed the Irish have a name for their sling, the weapon used by Cuchullin, when he killed the lady in the form of the White Swan near Malahide, and the weapon also which killed Maud, queen of Connaught, &c. Now these flint arrow-heads appear to me to be classible with other stone missiles, but originally having shafts attached temporarily to them for the purpose of giving them propulsion; and it is not at all unlikely that in some cases provision may have been made that the shaft itself may not have been shot away, or that the arrow-head itself had been fired from the string without any shaft at all:—thus realising the idea of what a proper Irish missile was, under different circumstances,—a stone of some sort or other.

There is another point of interest in this inquiry, and that is the limited field of discovery of the flint arrow-heads in Ireland. The number found beyond those places where flint abounds naturally,

is very small. The quantity found in other districts is so very limited that we can hardly infer that they were generally used. Yet the great number found in some places, the quantity of imperfect ones, and of the shivers or spauls formed in the process of manufacture, look as if they had been made for sale or exchange by one people or tribe to another—probably by a people who were essentially fishermen and fish-eaters, and had a great deal of leisure on their hands,—for the use of a warrior tribe who supplied the iron models which were imitated in flint by the other. Were this the case it is just likely that the one was a northern tribe in some respects analogous to the Finlanders, and the other a warrior tribe from Africa or Spain. The one is possibly represented by the dried man in the Museum of the Royal Dublin Society, on whose cloke we find, in its stitching, traces of that minute delicacy of taste and finish so common on many of the flint arrow-heads; and the other, possibly represented by those thick headed skulls, of which specimens were found in the tumulus in Phœnix Park, and which are so nearly related in form and perfection of ossification to the heads of the Caffres—who may, for aught we know to the contrary, be the living exponents of the African blacks, said in Irish tradition to have been at one time the masters of Ireland.

No flint arrow-heads were found in the Shannon excavations near Athlone, and very few, if any, in the works of the Drainage Commission, beyond the proper limits of the flint formation of Ulster. I have heard of occasional finds of such things in other parts of Ireland; but I suspect that some of them have been brought from Ulster, and sold by traders in Leinster to collectors who were only too anxious to get them as matters of curiosity. It is in this way that dealers have in some instances surreptitiously passed Canadian arrow-heads on collectors, who (take them as a class) are too unmindful of the truthfulness of those who supply their Museums with what are sold as Irish Antiquities. I recollect seeing a flint arrow-head found near Drogheda in an urn with some burnt bones. In this urn was also a scrap of plate copper, so corroded, however, that one could hardly discover its original form; but enough remained to lead to the supposition that it had been an arrow-head, and originally shaped like a leaf; probably the original type of what I would call the second or barbless order of Irish flint arrow-heads.

In point of time, I consider a copper arrow-head in Ireland as later than an iron one, and its imitations also as later than the imitation of an iron arrow-head; though in fact it is very likely that the imitations of both iron and copper arrow-heads may be synchronous. They would indicate different usages in peoples who had lately met in a common field of battle, or emulation, &c.

It should be observed that very few of the flint arrow-heads that I have seen in the Irish collections are injured at their points, or have any appearance of wear and tear; on the contrary, they look quite modern, actually new, as if they had just passed from the hands of the manufacturer. I have heard that some handy people in the neighbourhood of the Giant's Causeway made excellent imitations of the ancient Irish flint arrow-heads, and sold them as genuine antiquities to collectors. If this has been done, I should incline to the inference that their productions would be rather exceptions to the true typical forms than copies of them; for these last would be by far the more diffi-

cult to make; and even if well made, they would not materially influence our classification, or the case we would endeavour to found upon it.

The Irish flint arrow-heads that I have hitherto examined were made and finished, in every instance but one, by means of blows given with unerring aim and judgment. Their points, which are often remarkably thin and sharp, appear to have been produced by the same operation as the other parts. In no case have I seen any trace of grinding up or sharpening, except in the example above alluded to, in which the whole arrow-head had been ground perfectly smooth. This arrow-head differed also in its proportionate thickness from others of the same class, and might be considered in other respects exceptional to any class of arrow-heads that I could form from those collections which I have hitherto examined in Ireland. The grinding smooth, or the sharpening of an edge or a point, by means of friction against another stone, with or without sand, &c., indicates progress in manufacture; and, in the stone celts or axes, as well as in those of flint found in Ireland and Denmark, we observe it used as the finishing process, succeeding that of spauling, splintering, or hammering; though in many cases the article made was finished and perfected without the polishing process at all; the beauty and perfection of the spauling process indicating the dexterity of the artist who made the weapon. In some of the Danish flint dagger-handles we see this perfection of work, producing an imitation of what ladies call herring-bone stitching, a sort of zig-zag edge; and in some of the Irish arrow-heads we may detect the same ornamentation, but the pattern modified and the angles less acute. In both cases, however, the art is the same. I cannot claim to have any exact knowledge of the real antiquity or date of the several sorts of flint arrow-heads, though I object entirely to the adoption of the Danish rules or theory of arrangement of objects into "stone," "bronze," and "iron" periods, *with innumerable exceptions!*

I had expected to find specimens of the Danish zig-zag edging in Irish flint weapons, but I have given up the idea, for it now appears to me that those who executed it in the north of Europe produced it in connection only with imitations of bronze daggers, which they observed in the hands of their more wealthy or prosperous neighbours, and of which daggers we find specimens in the Danish Museum. We would thus collate certain Danish flint works, in point of time, with bronze daggers of certain forms, in the same way that we would collate certain flint arrow-heads found in Ireland with iron and copper arrow-heads of the same or similar typical forms; in every case inferring that the flint article was *a substitute for a metal one of the same typical form.*

I think we should pay the greatest attention to the circumstances attending the finding not only of implements of flint, but all other articles, else I fear we may be deceiving ourselves both on this and on your side of the Channel, and misleading those who come to us for information or opinions.

Suspecting deceit, I confess I think less of the exceptional forms of the Irish flint arrow-heads than of those more common shapes which indicate true typical forms; and it is for this reason I rejoice that such collectors as Mr. Bell, of Dungannon, have accumulated great numbers of flint

arrow-heads. I understand more by the hundred than by the dozen possessed by ordinary collectors, who look rather for rare forms than those which are known to be common. It is to these I would more particularly call your attention, as their bearing is self-evident on the ethnological character of the vestiges of the ancient people of Ireland.—Yours, &c.,

TREVELYAN.

LETTER V.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

SIR,—As we have distinctly defined our theory, it now remains for us to apply it. In the accompanying plate of outlines, the arrow-heads 1, 2, 3, and 4, are all of iron. The flint arrow-heads 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, may be collated with 1, 2, and 3; and the flint arrow-heads 13 and 14 may be compared with N°. 4.

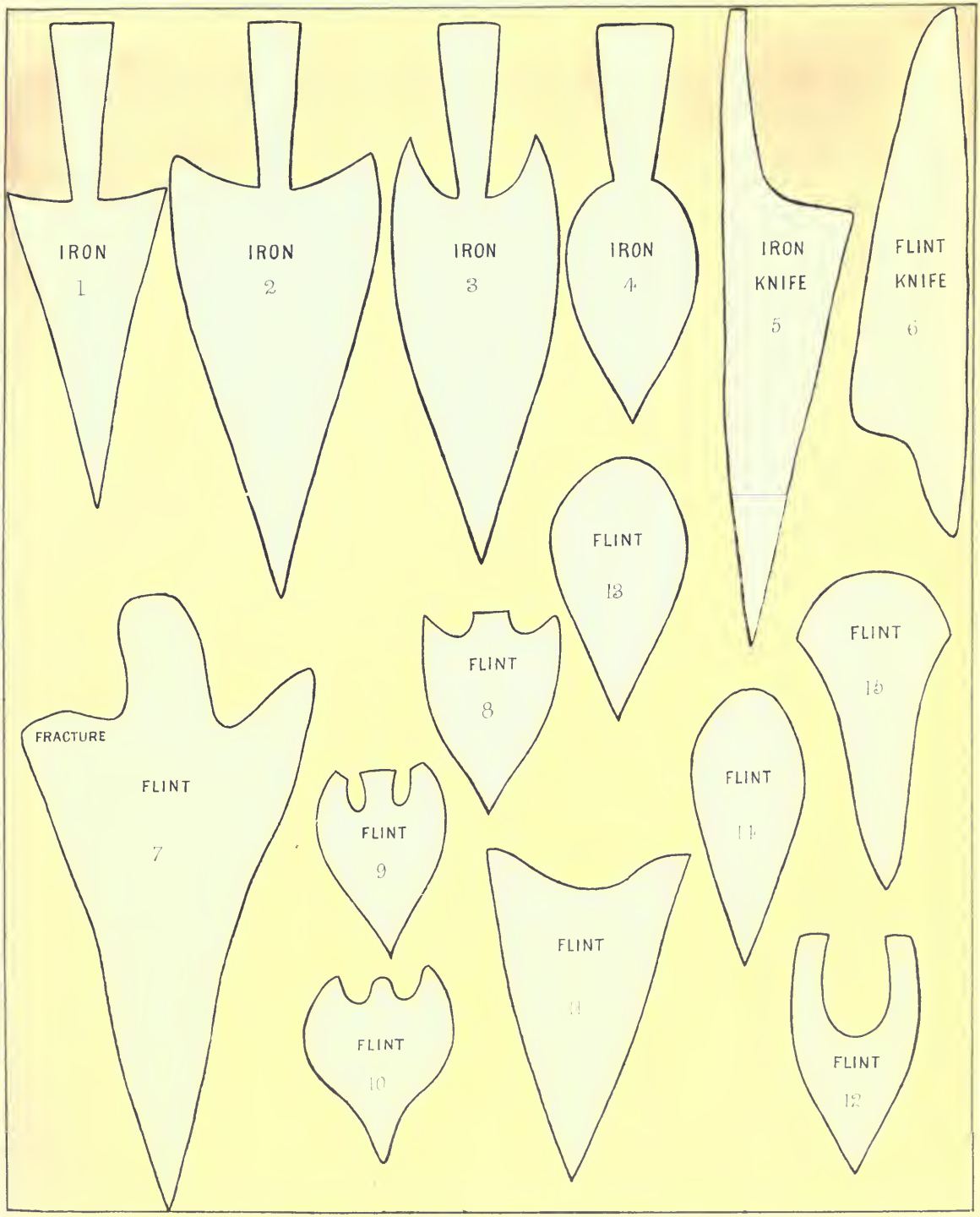
The iron knife N°. 5 may be also collated with the flint knife N°. 6.

The flint arrow-head N°. 15 belongs to a typo indicated by certain brass or impure bronze spear-heads, of which the Royal Irish Academy's museum contains several specimens, more or less perfect. In every instance these spears are ornamented by means of gravers and punches, and are, I think, very recent compared with other bronze weapons; belonging to a time when a mixed and impure metal was substituted for good iron and bronze. The flint arrow and javelin-heads of this type are frequently ground quite flat on both sides, and so are brought to an exact similitude with the blades of the javelins, which are extremely thin; thus economising the imperfect brass or bad bronze to a great degree. It was the principle of economy, or a desire to save a more expensive material, which induced people to make this, as well as the other metallic types, in flint.

In the instance of the knife N°. 6 it is evidently a poor imitation of the iron knife N°. 5; but it is quite clear that it is the flint knife which is the imitation, and not the iron one of the flint.

Knives of this form (N°. 5) are numerous in the Royal Irish Academy's collection. They were found at Dunshaughlin, in the County of Meath, and other places where there is local circumstantial evidence that an iron-smith exercised his calling; using a kind of iron which has a very meteoric character, and may be of the same description as the native African iron, which Dr. Livingstone and other travellers and traders have noticed as so widely diffused in the interior, and on the eastern coasts, of that continent.

As typical forms, N°s. 1, 2, 3 and 4 are pure African. Their exquisite workmanship is African also; and all the beautiful iron spears, knives, brooches, &c., found at Dunshaughlin, and the arrows like 1, 2, 3, and 4, belong to a school of manufacture which still thrives in Africa, and supplies living evidence of a visit of some African iron-working people to Ireland antecedent to the manufacture of the flint arrow-heads.



TYPICAL OUTLINES OF IRON AND FLINT ARROW HEADS, &c. FOUND IN IRELAND

It is to be observed that the four iron arrow-heads have sockets instead of tangs, to connect them with their shafts. I am not aware that any wood has been found in the sockets; nor do I know any kinds of Irish or European wood sufficiently dense to support arrow-heads of these forms, though there are several such very common in Africa. The sockets of the arrow-heads 1, 2, and 3, have not, I believe, any rivet-holes, and would therefore come off their shafts readily. N°. 4 has rivet-holes in it, and being barbless, could be readily drawn out of a wound. This typical peculiarity of N°. 4 is lost in its imitations 13 and 14 altogether. In the forms 1, 2 and 3, we notice certain curves, evidently lines of taste and design, and we detect these more or less developed in the flint arrow-heads. Thus in 1 and 7, 2 and 11, 3 and 8, they are quite manifest; while 9, 10, and 12 are exaggerated developments of the same lines of art. These lines are consistent with those of Greek art, and are found in all the arrow-heads except 15, whose type is neither Greek nor Roman, and is to me unknown. Its locality may probably be indicated by the wood found in the sockets or spears of this type. The wood found in the spear-heads of this form supplies an argument in favour of their modernness.

It has been over and over again remarked that the ideal form of the iron knife N°. 5, is that which extends back to the earliest period of Egyptian art, and is nearly the form of the ideal knife represented in hieroglyphic inscriptions. From this I would infer the extreme antiquity of iron knives of this shape in Africa, and the fixity of typical forms on that continent, rather than consider it evidence, in the first place, of the extreme antiquity of such iron knives; or of their equivalents in flint in Ireland, in the second place; and, in the third place, I would infer that those knives are evidence of an African occupation of this country at some period. A Roman coin in silver (I believe of Diocletian) was found with the iron implements at Dunshaughlin; and this coin may give us a limit for the date of the iron types 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, and so fix the epoch of their flint equivalents rather later in Ireland.

I wish some Irish scholar would take up the Myth of "the Smith" (I believe he was an iron-smith) in ancient Ireland, and collate it with stories and superstitions existing in the south of France and north of Spain; and also ascertain if any old African superstitions still survive analogous to the story of Herodotus, concerning the heads of animals, which in Ireland in some way or other appear to be connected with the office of the iron-smith; for, from the number of heads of animals (probably killed for food) found with iron articles, this artificer appears to have received the head as the wages of his killing the animal, probably by cutting its throat, and not by a blow on the forehead.

The Gipsies of this age are, I believe, the only hereditary workers in iron in Europe. If they were the original introducers of iron-work into Ireland, it is likely that the typical forms of arrows, spears, &c., would be Asiatic, as the Gipsies belong to an Asiatic race. Their coming into Ireland and England was probably much later than the period of the typical forms 1, 2, and 3, which are African.

The few specimens indicated in the plate give us rather abrupt steps or transitions between the iron and flint types, which do not exist in the original series to which, and not to the few isolated specimens here given, my argument applies.

It may be asked,—"Have I forgotten the *Celtic* original of all these iron and flint weapons?" I can find no evidence of these things being Celtic. I must leave that to the school of antiquaries founded by General Vallancey in Ireland and Mr. Thomsen in Copenhagen.

I am not prepared to prove that these iron implements of African type may have come from Getulia; but as the Irish Milesians were, like the Sepoys of India, a military class—mere soldiers, and not tinkers, or smiths, or labourers—I am not disposed to allow them even the credit of making the weapons thus used; which, whether made of iron, brass, or bronze, I would infer they bought from people who made or who traded in weapons of war; and thus I should conclude that very few of the ancient metallic objects found in Ireland are Irish.

I regret very much the great length to which this notice has run; and I shall only add one remark. I feel extremely anxious that people arranging British and Irish antiquities should keep the several "finds" together, so that a judicious antiquary may be able to compare directly the things found in specific localities, which are like or unlike each other; for otherwise the study of antiquities as a stepping-stone to the pre-historic annals of these islands can make no progress.

As a Cornish-man standing up for the ancient British trade in the metals, as preceding the flint manufacture in Ireland, I hope your readers will acquit me of going beyond the limits of legitimate argument. Living at a distance from the fountain-heads of information, I trust any errors or omissions in my case will be pardoned; my whole object being to draw the attention of those having better opportunities than myself to the examination of a theory which has more advocates than it deserves—I mean the doctrine of "progressive development." This I would deny generally, in reference to the extremely early periods of man's sojourn on the surface of this earth; when, as I am led to believe, the use of meteoric iron was universally known, but which material went out of use when the original stock was exhausted.—Yours, &c.,

TREVELYAN.

OLD BELFAST.

In 1789 Lieutenant Lawson published a Survey of Belfast Lough, a copy of which is now before us. On the Antrim side it extends nearly to Black Head, and on the opposite coast to Donaghadee. At the upper part it includes the town, and the district of Crumuck. [*sic.*] It is dedicated to the Earl of Donegall. Two engravings of the town itself, which accompany this Survey, are lithographed here.

An artist of about seventy years ago took upon him to give "A South Perspective View of Belfast, taken from Mr. Joy's Paper-Mill." The result of his labour appeared in a large tinted engraving, copies of which may be occasionally met with; and from it the reduced drawing, which is annexed to Lawson's Survey, and now copied here, has been made. Only two of the objects still familiar to the eyes of the present inhabitants appear in the view,—the steeple to the left being that of the Poor-house, and the next that of the Parish Church. The building with the heavy dome probably represents the Market-house, which then stood at the corner of High-Street and Corn-Market, the site now occupied by Mr. M'Comb's shop. The ancient bell which once repeated the hours, or rung the inhabitants to the market, was lately presented by the present Lord of the Castle to the Harbour Corporation. The old Long Bridge is shown in all its magnitude; but this, as well as Mr. Joy's paper-mill, which our artist selected as his point of sight, are now things of the past. The view, though far from being artistic or even correct, (buildings and objects which must have been in existence at the time, and within the range of vision, seeming to be overlooked,) gives, in a general sense, a very good idea of the appearance of Belfast at that period. The tongue of land, on which the old town originally stood, seems even at this comparatively recent time to have preserved something of its distinctive character, the water appearing to flow up for a great distance behind Ann-Street,—as far, indeed, as Arthur-Street,—and covering what now forms a very considerable portion of the modern town. The profusion of hillocks in the foreground, which may be presumed to represent hay-cocks, prove also that agricultural operations were proceeding in places now occupied by more imposing erections. The glass-houses in Ballymacarrett, if the magnitude of the volumes of smoke issuing from their summits be sufficient evidence, were in full blast; and they were at this time very generally visited by strangers as one of the sights of the town. Among the limited number of buildings here represented, which then composed the town of Belfast, some "old inhabitant" may happen to discover the house of his ancestors, or, peradventure, that near which his own childish footsteps strayed.

About the same time that this perspective view was taken, a ground-plan of the town on a confined scale was also before the public, either preparatory to Williamson's enlarged map, or reduced by some other hand from that more correct and valuable document. Of this also we give a copy. A

very cursory examination of this plan will prove how very inferior it is in minute accuracy to the maps of modern times—those of the Ordnance Survey, for example. The true direction of the streets, in some instances, is not properly laid down, nor their comparative length and breadth at all preserved. The parish church, rather incorrectly marked with reference to adjoining streets, is called St. Mary's; Waring-Street is very unlike itself in width; the streets in connection with North-Street are not laid down as they now are; and places are shown as being built on, which were open for many years after. The Exchange at this time seems to have been in Ann-Street. Most of the other public buildings marked, are still known; but what is the meaning of "Line of Intended Canal," running apparently in front of the Linen Hall, then recently erected? Was it some engineering speculation of the day, in connection with that famous stream called the Blackstaff?*

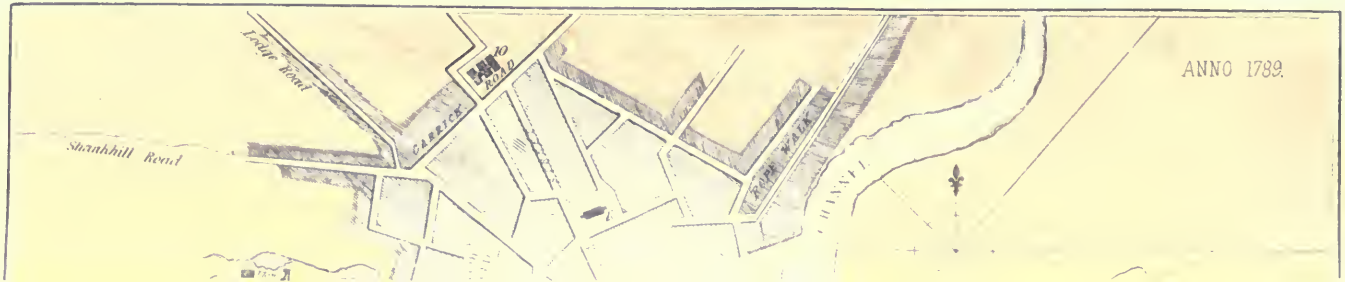
The water surrounding an island in the view is probably the Lagan; if so, the draughtsman has ignored both the Blackstaff and Joy's Dam. The situation of the vessels leads to the supposition that the drawing was made previous to any embankments on the county Down side of the Navigation; and if so, its actual date must have been somewhat previous to 1789.

The view shows the Long Bridge, but does not recognise Ann-Street; and this map of the town we suspect is a transcript in part of a much older Survey carelessly adapted to a more recent general map of the district. It may perhaps be considered a map of about 1789. It shows Joy's Dam and the old course of the Blackstaff falling into the river above the Long Bridge. It also exhibits what in the old maps is called the "Long Bank,"—the barrier which in ancient times protected the land above the bridge from the tidal water. A gentleman, to whom we showed this map a few days ago, recollected having been taken, when a child, along this bank, and having seen the waves breaking against it. The arches, shown on the plan given by the continuator of *Rapin's History*, were most probably about the part where Joy's Dam is here shown as intersected by this bank. That water-work, indeed, seems to have been little more than a confinement of a quantity of water in what had been the old bed of the Blackstaff, before it was directed into its present straight course, when the old course most probably gave vent to the superfluous waters only. A very intelligent contributor suggests, what we suspect is the fact, that all the maps of Belfast, previous to a comparatively recent period, have only been alterations, (not amendments,) of some ancient map, now perhaps lost; unless Captain Philips's is assumed to be the original.

The present plan, though rather incorrect and unsatisfactory, is, as well as other maps of Belfast, both of more ancient and more recent date) well worth bringing under notice, as records of the progress of the town; and their publication in this *Journal* would ensure their preservation for the benefit and gratification of future inquirers into our local history. No apology is necessary to the readers of the *Journal* for presenting them with a plan and view of Belfast less than a century old. The changes have been so rapid and so sweeping, that the Belfast of that day has already passed into the realms of Archæology. G. B.

* Some contributor will, we hope, reply to this query in a future number.

A South Perspective View of Belfast taken from Mr Joys Paper Mill



FALLS ROAD
Barracks
7 HIGH STREET
LONG BRIDGE
to NEWTOWNARDS
LAGAN RIVER
Saintfield
Road from
Long Bank
Road from LISBURN
Mall Fields
Mall
Mr Joys
Mill Dam
1 New Foundry
2 Glass Houses
3 Custom House
4 St Mary's Church
5 Exchange
6 New Meat Market
7 Bank
8 White Linen Hall
9 New Brewery
10 Infirmary & Poor House
11 Line of Intended Canal
Archer & Sons Lith

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

Exclusion of Women.—[Vol. 5, p. 155.]—I extract the following from an old (anonymous) Tour in Ireland. "Near this ferry (at Kilrush, on the Shannon) is the island of Inniscathy, formerly an episcopal see, founded by St. Senan, in the fifth century. The monks of Inniscathy abbey, from its foundation to its demolition, are said never to have permitted a woman to enter the island. There is a passage in the life of one of those monks, relative to a lady, who, having requested to speak to him, he replied:—"What have women to do with monks? we will neither admit you nor any other woman into the island." She said:—"If you believe Christ will receive my soul, why do you turn away my body?" "That," he answered "I verily believe; but we never permit any woman to enter this place. So God preserve you. Return to the world lest you be a scandal to us: for, however chaste you may be, you are a woman." This passage was written in Latin, and is as follows:—

"Cui Præsul, Quid fœminis
Commune est eum monachis?
Nec te, nec ullam aliam
Admittemus in insulam.

Tunc illa ad Episcopum:
Si meum credis spiritum
Posse Christum suscipere,
Quid me repellis corpore?

Credo, inquit, hoc optimè,
Sed nullæ unquam fœminæ
Huc ingressam concedimus;
Esto: salvet te Dominus.

Redi iterum ad sæculum
Ne sis nobis in scandalum:
Et si es casta pectore
Sexum habes in corpore.

Antiquarius.

Exclusion of Women.—This practice is far older than Christianity. Silius Italicus says that they were excluded from the temple of Hercules, at Gades (now Cadiz) in Spain.

"Fœmineos prohibent gressos."

The Romans also excluded women from their temples of Hercules; the reason for which is given by Plutarch (*in Quæst. Rom.*, quæst. 60, and by Macrobius (lib. I., Saturnal, 8.)

Senex.

Ancient Seal at Carrickfergus.—In the office of the Town Clerk, at Carrickfergus, there is a seal bearing the inscription

S FRĪS BER CAM CIVITATIS AQᴸÆ

This has been supposed to mean Sigillum Fratris Bernardi Camerarii Civitatis Aquilæ. The last word, however, is unsatisfactory to me. Why should it not be Aquæ? Surely this interpretation would be more applicable to Carrickfergus, a seaport, than Aquilæ. I shall be glad of any suggestion on the subject. A. T. L.

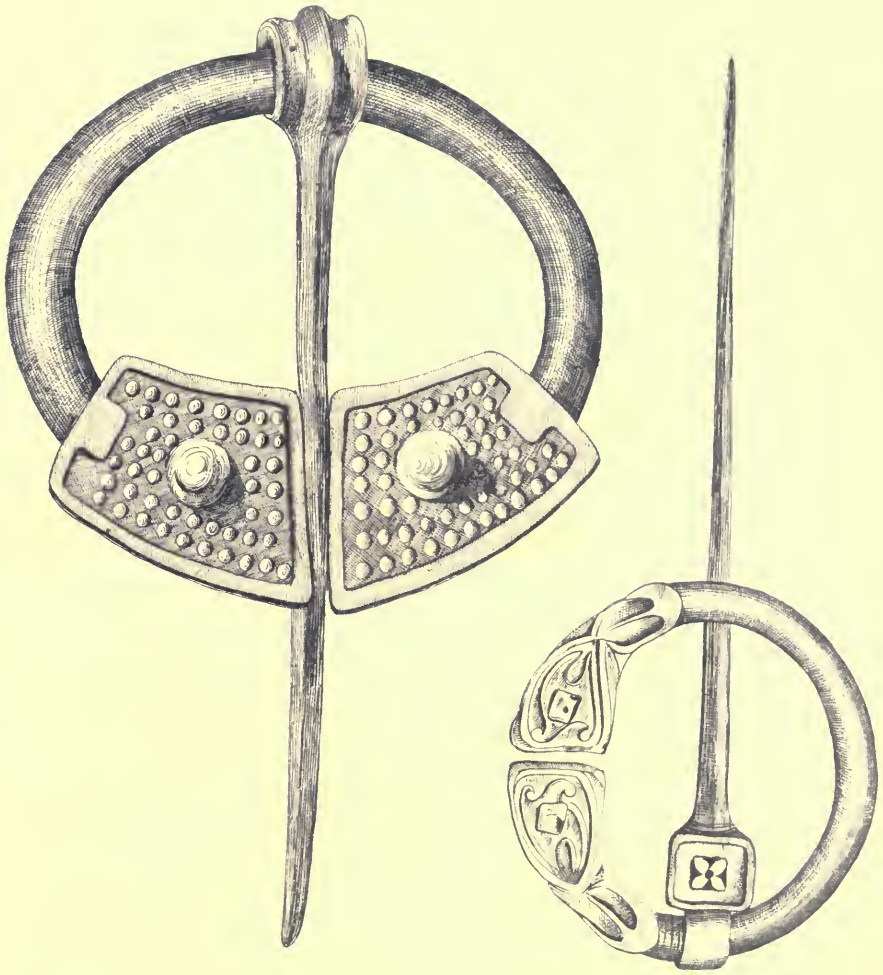
Crosses set up on Festival-Days.—A correspondent gives an extract from an old pamphlet [vol. 5, p. 166] mentioning that it was usual, about two centuries ago, among the native Irish, to set up crosses on *Corpus Christi* day. This is a custom derived from the very earliest times of Christianity, and was rendered necessary among the people by the change from the known and fixed pagan festivals to the new and moveable Christian feast-days. The same took place in the North of Europe; and the following extract from an essay by Professor Munch, on the Ancient Chronology of the Norwegians, will not be inappropriate:—"It was the office of the clergy to keep an account of time, and to calculate when the various holidays would occur. To the laity this was more difficult after the introduction of Christianity than previously; as so many Christian festivals do not fall on any fixed day, but are governed by Easter, and thus occur at one time sooner, at another later. In consequence of this, according to the old Christian laws, the priests were obliged to *cut out Crosses*, that is, to send out through their districts staves of message in the shape of a cross, in good time previous to every festival, and they were responsible for its due notification." [*Om vore Forfædres ældste Tidsregning*, &c., af Prof. P. A. Munch: published in the Norwegian *Folke-Kalender*, for 1848.] Senex.

At the last sitting of the Academy of Sciences of Paris, it was announced that some tombs, which appear to be of Celtic origin, have just been discovered near Djelfa, a place 80 French leagues from Algiers, on the road to Laghouat. In one of these were some of the bones and teeth of a man, and some bones of a child. At a short distance from the tombs was a stone similar to those which in France are supposed to have served for the immolation of human victims. Tombs of a like kind were discovered some years back at Acounater and Biskava; and others, no doubt, exist in different parts of Algeria. It is assumed that all these tombs were the burial-places of the Gaelic or Celtic soldiers, who served in the Roman legions. [*Literary Gazette.*]

Mr. Pinkerton (in vol. 5, p. 158) refers the word "scantling" to a verb "scantle." But I think it answers to the French *échantillon*, and that again to the Italian *ciantellino* (written also *centillino*) which is explained as "piccolo sorso di vino, forse la *centesima* parte d'un biochiere," [A small mouthful of wine, perhaps the hundredth part of a goblet.] It is curious how a name first applied to a liquid sample of wine should have been transferred to the measurement of timber. *Canton*, in French, and *cantine*, in Italian, mean "a corner," and fully explain the Swiss "*canton*." The English "*county*," I have no doubt, is a-kin to the title of "*Count*," from the Latin *comite* (the inflexion of *comes*), in French *comte*, Italian *conte*, in which languages respectively the words *comté* and *contea* signify the dominion of a "count," just as our "duchy" means the territory of a "duke."

T. H. P.

Cross of Cong.—The very curious remarks of Senex (*Journal*, vol. 5, p. 156) on the surname *Dubden* or *Dubdenit*, which occurs in the inscription on the Cross of Cong, set me to work to discover if we have still existing in these countries such a name. The celebrated composer of English sea-songs, *Dibdin*, at once occurred to me. Anglicus.



The two bronze fibulas here figured (of the full size) are remarkable in several respects. The larger specimen, now in the possession of Mr. Bell, of Dungannon, was lately found in the river Bann, at Portna; and its style of ornament, though not complex, is nearly unique. A fibula of silver, about three times its size, and closely resembling it in general form, was sent by Mr. Carruthers, of Belfast, to the Exhibition of Irish Antiquities in 1852 in the Belfast Museum. In the centre of each of the flattened wings was a large round boss, similar to those in the present example, and a row of smaller ones surrounded their edges. In Mr. Bell's fibula the whole of

the flat parts are covered with small bosses.—The smaller of the two fibulas now figured was found in June, 1856, about 200 yards N.E. of the great Fort of Tullaghog, in the County Tyrone, (described in our present volume,) in a boggy hollow, during some draining operations, by the Rev. Dr. Porter; and along with it a bronze celt, a smooth stone like that used by weavers, a rude grind-stone, and part of a stag's antlers. The lozenge crosses (one of which was on the pin, though now effaced) had been filled with black and white enamel, traces of which are still observable; and the depressed spaces between the lines which surround the crosses, with red enamel, which was still more decayed than the others. Dr. Porter, in sending this fibula to us, remarks "that in the collection of Dr. Petrie, in Dublin, is a bronze pin of remarkable shape, having also enamelled ornaments, which was found some years ago in the same neighbourhood;" and he suggests that the hollow in the bronze pin figured in our *Journal* (vol. 5, p. 157) and supposed to have been intended for a gem, may in like manner have been filled with some coloured enamel. [Edit.]

Ploughing by the Horse's Tail.—In the heads of Articles of Peace proposed by the Irish and agreed to by Ormond in 1649, the 22nd is as follows:—"That the Acts for prohibiting *plowing with horses by the tail*, and *burning oats in the straw*, be nulled." This provoked the following just, but severe remark, from Milton:—"That the two-and-twentieth Article, more ridiculous than dangerous, declares in the Irish a disposition not only sottish but indocible, and averse to all civility and amendment; that all hopes of reformation of that people were forbidden by their rejecting the ingenuity of other nations to improve and wax more civil by a civilising conquest, and preferring their own absurd and savage customs before the most convincing evidence of reason and demonstration."—[*Milton's Works*, vol. I., p. 390. Edition of 1753.]

H. P.

The McClean Family.—It is a matter of tradition that the family of McClean were among the first settlers from Scotland on the part of the escheated estates of O'Neill, situated near the present town of Ballyclare. The first of that name (who came from the Isle of Skye) had a grant of the land, hill and dale, from Ballycorr Burn to Glenwherry Water, and from the Ilay-Killy to the Ballyboley Mearings; namely, the entire of Killylane and the present townland of Ballyalbanagh. When McClean entered upon his grant, not a "smoking house," it is said, was to be seen between Carrickfergus and Antrim. McClean built his first small hut on an eminence now called Russel's Craigs, and occupied it until he got a larger and more commodious one erected on the spot now occupied by his descendants, and called McClean's Town. Land, at that time, was of so little value, that one of his sons or grandsons gave away a farm of twelve or fifteen acres *for a single cow;* and, having a large family of daughters, he portioned them all away by dividing among them his land. The same practice was continued among his successors; and the result was, that a fair and large inheritance rapidly dwindled down, among the McCleans, to its present small proportions. I am induced to attach more credit to these traditions, from the fact that the name *Ballyalbanagh* signifies, in the Irish language, the "town of the Scotch."

Belfast. William Millen.

Bonnyclabber.—[Vol. 2, page 283.]—Dean Swift, in one of his ironical articles, entitled "The Answer to the Craftsman," has the following:—"To which employment," [he is speaking of the Irish graziers] "they are turned by nature, as descended from the Scythians, whose diet they are still fond of. So Virgil describeth it:—

'Et lac concretum cum sanguine bibit equino,'

[And he drinks curdled milk with horse's blood.] which in English is *Bonnyclabber*." E. G.

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

The Highland Kilt and old Irish Dress.—[Queries, vol. 5, p. 167.]—Senex inquires respecting the kilt, as part of the Highland dress of Scotland. I think it is generally supposed to have been adopted in imitation of the Roman legionary costume; which would be a sufficient reason for its not having been used in Ireland, where the Romans never penetrated. If I am not mistaken, the Highland chieftains often preferred wearing the "trews," or long tight pantaloons of tartan. These seem to have been the same as the close-fitting trowsers of the ancient Irish. I remember seeing a suit of clothes found on the body of a man, discovered at a considerable depth in a peat bog in the County of Sligo. This suit consisted of a well-cut frock, reaching a little below the knee, and tight pantaloons; of which latter the upper part was made of coarse cloth of a chequered pattern, something like "shepherds' plaid;" and the lower part, from the knee down, of a finer texture and pattern, but also chequered. The frock had a close row of small round buttons along the whole back-seam of the sleeves from the shoulder to the wrist. On the left fore-arm (and on one knee, as well as I can recollect) was an outside piece laid on like a patch. These additional pieces I conjectured to have been intended for the protection of the limbs in the practice of archery. The coarse part of the trowsers was hidden by the skirts of the frock. The entire dress was made of some thick twilled woollen fabric. The colour was in general brown, as might be expected in things so long buried in a bog; but the difference of the colours forming the pattern of the trowsers could plainly be distinguished. This dress was the property of Mr. Walker of Dublin and of the County Sligo, in whose collection it probably still exists.—I have often thought that Virgil's description of the dress of the Gauls applies exactly to the recorded garb of the ancient Irish, as well as the complexion of many of them;—

"*Aurea cæsaries* ollis, atque *aureæ vestes;*
Virgatis lucent *sagulis:* tum lactea colla
Auro innectuntur."

["Golden-coloured were their tresses, and golden-coloured their garments; in small striped mantles they shine; and their milk-white necks are bound with gold."]

Here we have "Erin's *yellow* vesture," together with the *striped* tartan plaid, and the *golden* torquis or collar round the *fair* neck of the "*yellow-haired* laddie." T. H. P.

Owen O'Cork; Derivation of the Name.—Two correspondents [vol. 2, pages 203 and 283] have proposed etymologies of this strange name of a river. Allow me to offer another. I coincide with them, of course, in assuming *Owen* to be the Irish word *abhain*, a river, which in fact

is pronounced as nearly as possible *Owen* by the Irish-speaking peasantry of Ulster, at this moment, though generally *avon* and *awon* in other parts of Ireland. But I entertain a different idea as to the other part of the name. In old leases the whole name is as often (if not oftener) written *Owen Cork Mill*, as *Owen O' Cork;* as for example, in one of the documents quoted in a note to vol. 5, p. 26, of this *Journal*, where in one place it is called the "mill and mill-lands of *Owen Corke Mill*, otherwise *Owen O' Cork;*" and again, "the corn-mill called by the name *Owen Cork Mill.*" The *mill* is almost always associated with the name, either in conjunction with it or in the description accompanying it. Now, the Irish word for "oats" is *coirce* (pronounced *corké);* and as this mill may probably have been the only one in the neighbourhood at an early period, or at least an important one in those days, it seems to me very likely that "Owen Corke mill" signified simply the river of the *Oat-mill.* We know that mills for grinding oatmeal existed in Ulster long previous to those for grinding wheat.

OLLAMH FODHLA.

SURNAMES.—[Notes and Queries, vol. 5, p. 253.]—A correspondent, H. P., suggests that the surname M'Tear may be the Irish *Mac Tire*, a wolf. He is mistaken. The name M'Tear has a much more common-place origin. In its present form it is a contraction for "M'Ateer," which is often heard so pronounced in the North of Ireland: and this again is a contraction for "Mac Anteer," in Irish, *mac an t-saoir*, "the son of the carpenter." The Scotch M'Intyre is the same name, but differently spelled. This explanation renders unnecessary any reply to H. P.'s second query. OLLAMH FODHLA.

QUERIES.

Belfast has one peculiarity in its local names, which I do not remember to have met with elsewhere—viz., that of applying the term "entry" to a narrow lane between two streets, having an arched entrance. Thus we have "Joy's Entry," "Pottinger's Entry," "Sugar-house Entry," &c. I should like to ask your correspondents if they know of the occurrence of this name in any other towns. SENEX.

An Ulster tradition says that the Earl of Tyrone put several of his followers to death for introducing the fashion of wearing beards, in imitation of the English of that time. Now, how did the Irish shave their beards previously, especially during the ages when they were not acquainted with the use of iron or steel? It is hard to conceive that any instrument of brass or bronze could be made with an edge sufficiently sharp for such a purpose. Fancy a modern cutler offering a *brass razor* for sale! CURIOSUS.

Can it be ascertained at what period the Irish letter *B* began to be pronounced *V?* It is singular that the same pronunciation of the Greek *Beta* was introduced in Cambridge University on the authority of the Modern Greek, supposed to have preserved the ancient pronunciation of the language. In Spanish, which is a dialectic form of Latin, we find the same peculiarity even at an ancient period. H. P.

Under the communion-table, in the parish

church of Ballintoy, in the county of Antrim, is a slab with the following inscription :—

"Here lies Nicholas
Stewart who
departed this life
the X of September,
1667.
When tender plants
Such as this childe
By Nature comely,
Courteous, milde,
Have Christian like
Outrun their race
Not earth but Heaven
Have for their place ;
Let us behind
Implore His Grace
That quickly we
May see His face."

The person who accompanied me round the church, which was then in a sadly neglected state (I speak of the year 1855) informed me that this child was an only son, heir to a large property, and was drowned by his nurse, whilst washing him in a tub. Is there any truth in this story? and to what branch of the Stewart family did he belong? A. T. L.

Permit me to ask from Irish scholars, through the medium of your *Journal*, the true meaning of the word *Aesar* or *Aosar*, given in dictionaries as one of the names of God. [See O'Reilly.] Apparently this word signifies "the ancient," from *aes*, *aos*, "age," and recals the Biblical expression applied to the Deity, "ancient of days." But, on the other hand, I find in Shaw's *Gaelic Dictionary* the form *aesfhear*, of which *aesar* would seem to be a contraction. What is this form, which I do not observe in O'Reilly? Is it more ancient or more modern than *aesar*, and from what source are the two words derived? To regard *aesfhear* as composed of *aes* and *fear*, i.e., "the man of age," seems an improbable supposition when the term is applied as an epithet to God. Are there no examples in which *fhear* takes the place of the suffix *mhar* in *aesmhar*, or *aosmhar*, "ancient." The question is interesting to me in reference to the Sanscrit *Içvara*, the name of the Supreme Deity, the Lord, the Master; the *V* in which corresponds regularly to the *F* in Irish, and which I have already compared elsewhere. [*De l'Affinité des Langues Celtiques avec le Sanscrit*, p. 176.] Notwithstanding the approbation which Bopp has bestowed on this comparison, some doubts have since occurred to me on the subject, which I should wish to clear up by the assistance of the questions I have here proposed.

ADOLPHE PICTET,
Geneva.

In the *Statistical Survey of the King's County*, published in 1801, is the following:—"The most remarkable piece of antiquity in this province is that ruin called the *White Obelisk*, or *Temple of the Sun*, erected long before the introduction of Christianity into the island. It is a large pyramid formed of white stones, situate in the Slieve Bloom mountains, and resembles those which have been seen in all the Celtic nations." Can any correspondent inform me whether this monument still exists?

ANTIQUARIUS.

O'NEILL FAMILY.—Where can I find an account of the immediate ancestors of Shane M'Bryan O'Neill, who was killed at the Tyrone rebellion in 1595? Also, whom did he marry, and what children had he? And what relation was he to Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone?

A. T. L.

Can any of your readers give the names of the localities in the North of Ireland where the earliest flax-spinning mills were erected? I do not mean the factories established within the last thirty years for *wet-spinning*, but the earlier establishments on a small scale, before the invention of that process. I have heard Glenavy, Cushendall, and Crossgar specified as the sites of some of the first of these mills. France claims the honour of having first applied machinery to the spinning of flax, in consequence of the prize offered by the Emperor Napoleon I., which was claimed, about the year 1812 or 1813, by M. Girard, and lately awarded to his descendants by the present Emperor. But I think that flax-spinning (dry) by machinery was in full operation in Great Britain and Ireland long before that date. LINUM.

Can you give me any information respecting an old ruin in Coney Island in Lough Neagh, near the mouth of the river Blackwater? A friend of mine has given me a sketch and plan of it. It is circular; nineteen feet in interior diameter, walls seven feet thick. Only two portions remain upright; one of which has plain marks of a door at some height above the original level of the soil; the present surface being much raised by the fallen rubbish of the building. On the north side of the ruins are small mounds resembling the graves of an old burying-ground.—From any notice I have seen of Shane O'Neill's Castle, which was called *Fuath-na-Gall*, I fancy these must be the remains of it.

T. H. P.

Matthew Paris gives the following as the epithets employed by the Emperor Frederick the Second, about the middle of the 13th century, when speaking of the different countries of Europe. Can any one explain the cause of the one he applies to Ireland, and which is far from complimentary? H. P.

"Furens et fervens ad arma Germania;
Strenuæ militiæ genitrix et alumna Francia;
Bellicosa et audax Hispania;
Virtuosa viris et classe munita fertilis Anglia;
Impetuosis bellatoribus referta Alemannia;
Navalis Decia;—indomita Italia;
Pacis ignara Burgundia; inquieta Apuleia;
Cum maris Græci, Adriatici, et Tyrrheni insulis pyraticis et invictis, Cretâ, Cypro, Siciliâ, cum Oceano conterminis insulis et regionibus;
Cruenta Hybernia, cum agili Wallia, palustria Scotia, glacialis Norwegia."

Can any one suggest whence came the vulgar North of Ireland adjective "survendible," with its adverb "survendibly," used for "very great," "excessive?" The only word like it that I know is the French "survendre," which seems to have no connection with it. T. H. P.

PLANTATION OF ULSTER.—I shall be obliged to any of your readers who can give me a list of books relative to the "Plantation of Ulster," especially those relating to the counties of Antrim and Down. A. T. L.

Has the origin of the name "Old Nick," applied to Satan, ever been ascertained?

CURIOSUS.

What is the origin of the common imprecation —"Go to pot?" SHEMUS.

INDEX TO VOL. 5.

A

Abernethy, round tower of, 210; derivation of the name, 210 n; description of, 211; human remains found in, 211
Aesar, meaning of the word, 351
African and Irish fibulæ, remarkable correspondence in the form of, 246
Agricola, the Emperor, prepares for the invasion of Ireland, 32; the remains of his encampment still in existence, 33; his fleet surveys the coasts of the Irish channel, 34; recalled to Rome, 34
Algeria, Celtic tombs discovered in, 346
America known to the Irish in A.D. 793, 173
Anglicus, 165, 166, 346
Answers to Queries, 163, 254, 349
Antiquarian Notes and Queries, 91, 155, 249, 345
Antiquarius, 156, 345, 351
Antiquities, Irish, letters on, by a Cornish man, 150, 185, 336
Antrim, county of, surnames in the, 323
Ardrossan, Sir Fergus of, 5; killed in Bruce's army, 128
Armada, Spanish, ships of the, wrecked on the coast of Ireland, 191 n
Arnold, Lord Power, 128
Arrow-heads, flint, found abundantly in the bed of the river Bann, 123; their relative position, 123; their forms, 123; those found in Ireland have no notches to receive a tying for attaching them to the shaft, 336; inference drawn from their absence, 336; were not substitutes for bronze arrow-heads, 337; those in Irish collections show no appearance of wear and tear, 338; have all evidently been made by repeated blows, not by grinding, 339; confined to certain districts in Ireland, 337, 338; have sometimes a slight ornamentation, 339; are later in date than metallic arrow-heads of the same form, 339
Arrow-heads, Irish, classification of, 337
Arrow-heads, iron, found in Ireland, some of the, are of purely African form, 341; have sockets instead of tangs, 341
Arrow-heads of bronze more recent in Ireland than those of iron, 338
Arthur's "Round Table," 252
Artillery, use of, in Ireland, 300
Assassination of Sir James MacDonnell, 205; suspicious circumstances connected with, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209
Astrological diagrams in the books of the ancient Irish physicians, 39
Athenry, battle of, 132; two accounts of, 132, 133
Athy, Sir John de, constable of Carrickfergus, 10 n; seizes the pirate, Thomas Don, 10 n
A. T. L., 345, 351, 351, 352
Augustinians and Augustine Canons, distinction between, 157
Axes, stone, found in the bed of the river Bann, their relative position, 123; and probable era, 123; not the prototypes of bronze axes, 124

B

Baize, origin of the name, 107
Ballymacarrett, parish of, 26 n; held by the Pottinger family, 26 n; sold to Baron Yelverton (Lord Avonmore), 26 n; sold by him to Lord Donegall, 26 n; devised by will to the ancestors of the present Lord Templemore, 26 n; its increased value, 26 n
Ballymartyr, castle of, besieged by Sidney, 311
Bargain, "to strike a," origin of the expression, 258
Bee-hive shaped churches, 249
Behaes, a Flemish settler in Ireland, 255
Belfast, reminiscences of, 144; old roads and thoroughfares of, 144, 145, 146; old corporation of, 147; sovereign of, 147; first police of, consisted of volunteers, 147; bellman of, 147; change of manners and customs in, 149; supply of water in, at what time first introduced, 149; date of the introduction of flax-spinning in, 149; of cotton-spinning, 149; of sugar-refining, 149; increase of its population, 150; castle of, taken by Shane McBryan in 1597, 189; retaken by Sir John Chichester, 190; old fort of, 257; plan and view of the town in 1789, 343; peculiar name given to covered passages or lanes in, 350; old engravings of, 92, 164; ford of, its position as generally believed forty years ago, 92
Belgæ of Gaul, hypothesis that they were a people of the same race as the Kymry of Wales, 289; were cognate to the Irish tribe of the Fir Bolg, 290
Birt castle, 141
Bisset, John, 130; revolts, 4; brings an invading fleet from Scotland, 4; was probably the progenitor of the Clan Mac-Eoin, 4; Walter, Lord de Say, 130; Hugh, two persons of this name, 130; both summoned as peers in 1610, 130; Sir Hugh, leagues with the Scots, and forfeits his manor of Glenarm, and the island of Rathlin, 4
Boell, a Flemish settler in Ireland, 255
Bogs, peat, rate of their growth, 166; queries as to the circumstances under which trees are found in them, 167
Bole, John, primate of Ireland in 1470, 61
Bonnyclabber, reference to the drink so called, by Dean Swift, 349
Boomerang, the, a weapon used in Australia and Central America, found sculptured at Khorsabad and Thebes, 125; mentioned by St. Isidore, 126
Brechin, round tower of, 212; peculiarity in its masonry, 213; sculptures on several of the stones, 213
Brehon laws, 36; extract from Com-

missioners' Report on, 38; very minute in their provisions, 38; their penal provisions were lenient, 38; prescribed certain ordeals, 38; some portions of them appear to date prior to Christianity, 39; were promulgated orally, 39; were written in ancient and obscure dialect, 41; extracts from the, 42, 43; Spenser's account of the, 44, 45; MSS. of them seized by Sir Geo. Carew, 40; were called in Irish *Feineachus*, 41; the Irish were obstinately attached to them, 47, 50; were adopted by many of the Anglo-Irish, 48, 51; difficulty of abolishing them, 38; at what period finally abolished, 45; as characterised by Lord Coke, 49
Brehons, the judges among the ancient Irish, 38; were often the custodiers of documents relating to property, 39, 40; held their office by hereditary succession, 40; sometimes combined the office of cleric and lawyer, 40; mode in which they were supported, 41; were attached to various clans, 41; their mode of administering justice, 41; were neutral in all affairs of war, 42; some of them executed by the English, 42; as described by Campion, 46; and by Camden, 47; sat in the open air, 47; described by Cox, 47; not known to have ever taken bribes, 49; and administered the laws generally with impartiality, 49; required payment of fees prior to entering on suits, 49
Bronze and stone weapons, the relative antiquity of, 122, 150, 185, 336; Danish theory respecting, 122, 150, 185, 336; their respective positions as found in the river Bann, 123; inferences deduced from this, 123, 124, 125
Bruce, Edward, invades Ireland, 5; deserted by the Gaelic chiefs, 6; reaches Dundalk, 7; crowned king of Ireland, 8, 11; storms Dundalk, 8; retreats towards Tyrone, 9; encounters De Burgh, 9; inveigled by O'Dymsy, 9; reaches Coleraine, 9; establishes his headquarters at Carrickfergus, 10; invited by the Welsh to assist them in expelling the English, 11; and accepts the proposition, 11; urges his brother, King Robert, to join him in Ireland, 11; pushes forward into the English Pale, 12s; engages the English near Athy, 128; retreats towards the North, 128; holds his court at Northburgh castle, 129; ravages Ulster, but is detained a whole year before Carrickfergus, 131
Bruce, King Robert, traces of, in Ireland, 1; his object in invading Ireland, 2; agrees to join his brother in completing the conquest of Ireland, 12; arrives in Ireland, 133; meets his brother at Carrickfergus, 133; marches against Dublin, 134; is foiled in his attempt, 134; encamps at Leixlip, 134; is joined by the Lacys, 134; burns the town of Naas, 134; proceeds to Limerick, 135; to Cashel and Nenagh, 135; anecdote of his humanity, 135; retreats before the English army to a forest on the river Boyne, 136; proceeds into Ulster, 136
Bruces, the, in Ireland, 1, 128
Bruce, The, a poem by Barbour, 1; written in 1375, 1; gives many details of Gaelic warfare, 2
Burgh, Richard de, opposes Edward Bruce, 8; encounters him at Louth, 8; wastes the country near Coleraine to disable Bruce, 9; surprised by a stratagem of Randolph's, 10; finally defeated, 10
Burke, *alias* De Burgo, 312; Sir Richard, nick-named "Richard in Iron," 323
Burial-clothes, remains of, discovered in ancient coffins, 172, 173, 173 n, 174; made of rushes, 174
Burial customs, 252
Butler, Sir Edward, viceroy of Ireland, 128; Sir Edmond, 305

C

C. A, 166
Cailin, 166
Cambrie, origin of the name, 107
Campion, Edward, probably of a Norman family, 46; his account of the Irish Brehons, 46
Canaan, inscription recently discovered in the language of, 287
Cannon, use of, in Ireland, 300
Cantle, meaning of the word, 158, 159, 345
Canvas, derivation of the word, 102
Cards, Manson's, used in teaching, 258
Cards, playing, used for printing shop advertisements on, 257; the Great Mogul, represented on the covers of, 258, probable origin of the "club" on, 16
Carinthia, ancient mode of inaugurating chiefs in, 217, 218
Carolan, the Irish bard, incident during his pilgrimage to Saint Patrick's Purgatory, 61
Carrick, Earl of, a title of Robert Bruce, 5
Carrickfergus, defended by the garrison against repeated attacks of Bruce, 130; meeting there, in 1316, of King Robert Bruce, and his brother Edward, 133; conjecture as to the origin of the name of, 137; supposed traditionally to be derived from King Fergus, 137; a more probable derivation of the name, 138; narration of the "overthrow" of Sir John Chichester at, in 1597, 188; inscription on the ancient seal of, 345
Casting of metals not so ancient as fabrication by the hammer, 90
Castlemartyr, Sydney's account of the siege of, 300
Castles of the Irish unsuited for defence against artillery, 300
Castriota, George, *alias* Scanderbeg, 255
Cateia, the ancient weapon so called, derives its name from the Celtic language, 126
Catigern, etymology of the name, 91
Cauldrons, brazen, 82; one found deep in a bog in the county of Down, 82; excellence of its workmanship, 82, 83; its extreme thinness, 82; some peculiarities in its construction described, 82, 83; its form nearly peculiar to Ireland, 85; these vessels were considered important articles in ancient times, 84; mentioned in old Irish romances, 84; and annals, 84, 85; various superstitions connected with, 85; had also a mysterious importance attached to them in Wales, 85; Shakspeare's mention of them, 86; appear figured on the monuments at Nineveh, 86; highly valued by many ancient nations, 86; never spoken of in Scripture as made of iron, 86; inquiry as to whence the ancient Irish procured these vessels, 86; were not likely to have been manufactured in the country, 86; composition of the metal used in making them, 87; the Sidonians and Phœnicians were

the great metal manufacturers of the ancient world, 87; these people had constant intercourse with the West of Europe, 87; various reasons for supposing that brazen cauldrons were imported here by them, 88; names of, in the Irish language, 88, 89; many found in Ireland made of cast brass, 90; these much more modern, 90; description of a bronze one of enormous size by Herodotus, 90; were used by the ancient Germans for boiling away the flesh of dead bodies, 252
Caulfield, Sir Toby, obtains a grant of all the mountains in Ulster, 251
Celtic occupancy in Central Europe, on vestiges of, 286
Celtic scholars, modern German school of, 288
Ceremonies at the inauguration of Irish chiefs, see *Inauguration*
Chair, stone, used at the inauguration of Irish chiefs, 222, 230, 231; that of the O'Neills destroyed, 235; tradition respecting, 238
Chequers, 92; still common on the continent as the sign of taverns, 92; were used also similarly in Herculaneum and Pompeii, 92; had a mysterious meaning in ancient Egypt and Greece, 92
Chichester, Sir John, narrative of his "overthrow" at Carrickfergus in 1597, 188; the son of Sir Arthur, first Lord Belfast, 189; appointed governor of Carrickfergus, 189, 203; appoints a meeting with MacDonnell for conference, 192; attacks him with his troops, 193; is defeated and killed, 195
Churches, bee-hive shaped, 249
Cimbri, the, probably a people of the same race as the Kymry of Wales, 289
Citeaux, monks of the order of, established in the county of Armagh, 3; and at Ynes, in Ulster, 3
Clancare, the Earl of, submits to Sir Henry Sidney in the most humble manner, 307
Clandeboye, in the county of Down, 315, n
Clanrickard, Earl of, 312, 313; rebellion of his sons, Ulick and John, 313; causes of the rebellion, 299; history of the family of, 319, 320
Clap-trap, the expression, 166
Clock, the English word, whence derived, 165
Clover, see *Trefoil.*
Clubs, stone, found in the bed of the river Bann, 125, 126, 127
Coin, base, issued by Queen Elizabeth, in 1661, 270, n
Colours, anciently employed in dress, 103, 104, 180; confusion in the names used for, 180
Commons, Irish house of, its constitution in 1613, 29; state of parties in, 29; extract from report of debates in, 30, 31, 32
Conan, 258
Condon, the surname, formerly written Canton, or Cauntaton, 318
Coney Island, in Lough Neagh, ruins of a castle in, 352
Confiscated Irish properties, injustice of the Court of Claims with regard to, 277; the unheard petitions relating to, amounted to several thousands, 277
Confiscation of the lands of O'Neill, in 1569, 260
Cong, Cross of, controversy on its inscription, 155, 346
Constable, Captain Robert, one of the garrison of Carrickfergus, in 1597, under Sir John Chichester, 196; taken prisoner by McDonnell, 196, 197; had been page to Burghley, 202; and of good family, 202; after some delay obtains his liberty, 203; is knighted, 203
Constance, Council of, question raised there concerning the precedency of the chief empires of Europe, 166
Cordovan, origin of the name, 107
Cornishman, letters on Irish Antiquities by a, 150, 185, 336
Counties, names of the Irish, whence derived, 166 256
Cravat, origin of the name, 107
Cross, of Cong, controversy on its inscription, 155; remarkable surname occurring in it, 155, 346; ancient, at Ray (county Donegal), 253; and at Moville (same county), 254
Crosses, set up in Ireland on festival-days, 166, 346; the same custom in Norway, 346; its origin, 346; with double transverse arms, are of Spanish origin, 161; traditions respecting them, 162
Curiosus, 166, 350, 352

D

Danish theory of "progressive development" in art disputed, 186, 187, 337
Davells, Henry, 318
Dealg, or pin of bronze, of peculiar form, 157
De Angulo, *alias* Nangle, 312
Deering, Michael, 92
Derenzie, a Flemish settler in Ireland, 255; now De Rinzy, 255
Derry, a considerable depôt for ammunition in 1601, 139
Diaper, origin of the name, 107
Dibdin, the surname of, 346; probably the same as the one appearing in the inscription on the Cross of Cong, 346
Diefenbach, his works on Celtic literature, 228
Dimity, origin of the name, 107
Distaff, the, its name derived from the Anglo-Saxon, 95; mentioned in old English literature as quite commonly in use, 94; still generally used on the continent, 95; and by the Hindoos, 174; old English one described, 175; represented in ancient illuminated MSS, 176, 177; mentioned in the Bible, 177
Don, Thomas, a famous pirate, 10, 10 n
Donegall, antiquities in, 253
Dorchester, probable Gaelic origin of the name of, 91
Downs, the, in Sussex, etymology of the name, 91
Dress, the earliest, was woollen, 170; old Irish, 349
Drumlane, (county Cavan), round tower of, 110; its abbey founded by St. Maidoc, 110; notice of, in the Irish annals, 111, 112; this round tower erroneously supposed to have been an anchorite's cell, 112; peculiarity observable in its masonry, 113; bears some rude marks of sculpture, 114; human remains discovered within the tower, 114
Dufferin (county Down) held by the Whyte family, 27, 27 n; purchased by Sir James Hamilton, 27 n
Dunluce castle, held as a stronghold by the MacDonnells, in 1597, 202
Dutch settlers, in Ireland, 254; a colony of them at Swords, 306; their linen and leather manufactures, 306

E

"Earl's meadows," the name, 163
Early, surname of, how derived, 111
Edenduffearrick, (now Shane's Cas-

tle) taken by Sir John Chichester, in 1597, 190
E. G., 162, 163, 255, 257, 258, 349
Eirionnach, 163
Elagh, near Derry, a Danish fort, 139, 140 n
E. N., 258
Enishowen, or O'Dogherty's country, description of, in 1601, 140
Epitaph in the church of Ballintoy, (county Antrim,) 351
Erigena, 249
Erin, or Eirinn, the ancient name of Ireland, 53; more correctly *Eire*, 53; examples of its use by ancient writers, 53; sometimes takes the form *Eriu*, 53; not a compound word, 55; compared with the forms of the name given by classic writers, 55; erroneously interpreted, *iar-in*, "the west-land," 55; occasionally occurs in the form *Erend*, 55; conjecture of Zeuss respecting this form, 55; how to be explained, 55; must undoubtedly be derived from the most ancient tribe-name of the Irish, 56, 57; its root traced, 59; and its Oriental affinities shown, 60; its extreme antiquity, 60
Eshmunezer, king of Phœnicia, inscription lately discovered on his tomb, 287; account of, 287 n
Essex, the Earl of, his project of colonising the entire North of Ireland, 317

F

Fanat, in Donegall, description of, in 1601, 141, 142, 143
Fedom, a pass near Newry, 7
Fergus, king, legend of his being drowned in the bay of Belfast, 137; and of his having given the name to Carrickfergus, 137; reasons for disbelieving the truth of this story, 137, 138
Fibulæ, African and Irish, remarkable correspondence in the form of, 246; of the circular cleft form, used as ornaments in the British Islands from time immemorial, 247; still worn in the Highlands of Scotland, 247; mentioned by ancient classic authors, 247; found in the tombs of the Etruscans, 248
Fibula, silver, with inscription, discovered at Carrickfergus, 249
Fibulas, description of two bronze, found in the North of Ireland, 347
Fire-places, old, 150
Fire-worship in Ireland before the introduction of Christianity, 13
Fitzgerald, John, first Earl of Kildare, 128
Fitz Waryn, Sir Allan, 130
Flax-spinning mills in Ulster, what were the earliest, 352
Flemish settlers in Ireland, see *Behaes, Boell, Derenzie*
Fleur-de-lis, the French, may be a trefoil, 13; found on ancient Irish ornaments, 14; when first used as the arms of France and Scotland, 14
Flint weapons, were they manufactured in Ireland, 150; are often imitations of metal weapons, 151; fewness of their typical forms, 336
Ford, "mouth of the," an idiomatic term, applied by the Irish to many localities, 252
Foyle, Lough, description of its neighbourhood in 1601, 139
Fustian, origin of the name, 107

G

Galligaskins, origin of the name, 107
Galloglasses, at what period first employed as soldiers by Gaelic lords in Ireland, 319; probably of Scandinavian origin, 140, 319; their arms, 199 n
Gauls, the, hypothesis that they were of the race of Gomer, 290
Gavel-kind, the custom or law of, still influences the Irish people, 37; was long in existence in France, 37; was the chief cause of the protracted poverty of the native Irish, 43
G. B., 150, 343
Geographical features of Ireland and Scotland compared in a military point of view, 131
German topographical names, explained by means of the Irish language, 289; have more affinities with the Irish than with the Welsh, 290; lead to the inference that Celtic tribes occupied large tracts of Germany before the arrival of the Germans, 290
Getty, Edmund, on the Round Towers of Ulster, 110
Gipsies, hereditary workers in iron, 341
Godwin, E. W., (Derry) 158, 164
Grammont's Memoirs of Court Scandal, 276
Grace, Sir Hammond, killed in a battle with Bruce's army, 128
Grana O'Mailley, 314, 322
Grimm, Dr. Jacob, his researches into early Celtic nomenclature, 290

H

Haigh, Daniel Hy, (Erdington, Birmingham) 162
Hamilton, Manuscripts, the, 21; Sir James, copy of his Will, 21; remarks on, 29; sent as a deputy to England from the Irish House of Commons, 29; Mr. Hans Claude, his excellent Calendars or indexes of the Irish State Papers, 260
Hammers, stone, purposes for which they were probably used in Ireland, 187
Harp, question respecting the word, 252
Hatchets, stone, found in the bed of the river Bann, their relative position, 123; and probable era, 123; were not the prototypes of bronze hatchets, 124
Hibernia, one of the ancient names of Ireland, 57; how explained, 57
Hill, Moyses, the founder of the Downshire family, 193 n; becomes connected with the MacDonnell family, 193 n
Hobyuys, a kind of horses, 6
Holywood, Sir Roger, 10
Hore, Herbert F., on the inauguration of Irish chiefs, 216; on a Description of Lough Foyle in 1601, 140; on Irish Brehons and their Laws, 36; his Memoir of Richard, Earl and Duke of Tyrconnell, 274
Hore, Philip, of Kilsalaghan (county Dublin), 279; his property confiscated, 279; hardship of his case, 279
Hospital, great military, at Belfast, in 1691, 161
H. P., 164, 249, 252, 253, 254, 348, 350, 352
Hume, Dr. Abraham, on the influence of Spinning and Weaving upon popular language and literature, 93; his Historical Notices of Spinning and Weaving, 169; on Surnames in the County of Antrim, 323

I

Imprecation of "Go to Pot," query respecting the origin of, 352
Inauguration, of Irish chiefs, 216; Sidney's contemptuous reference to the, 216, 228; account of the, by Giraldus Cambrensis, 219; ceremonies used at, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226; strong analogy observable between these and the ancient ceremonies used on similar occasions in Carinthia, 220, 222, 223; exercise of clerical authority at the, 223, 232, 241; ceremonies as described by Spenser, 229; these ceremonies confined (with some rare exceptions) to chieftains of the native Irish race, 232; places appointed in Ireland for the ceremonial, 231; description of the inauguration of Hugh *Roe* O'Donnell, 232, 233; the ceremonies among the Highlanders of Scotland very similar, 233
Inniskeen (county Monaghan) 116; its round tower, 117; skeleton found within it, 118, 120; notices of, in the Irish annals, 119
Invermullane, a pass near Newry, 7
Ireland, inquiry into the origin of the name of, 52, (see *Erin*); population of, in 1695, 243; in 1731, and in 1851, 243; singular epithet applied to, in the 13th century, 352
Irish language, preserves words which were common to the Semitic and Indo-European families of languages before their separation, 20; valued highly by Continental scholars, 245, 286; erroneously supposed by Vallancey and others to be a branch of the Phœnician, 287; as given in our present dictionaries, is not exclusively Celtic, but a compound of several tribe-languages, 297; present extent of the, 243; number of persons using it in 1672, and 1731, 243; now spoken in various British colonies, 243; and in the large towns of England and Scotland, 243; universally spoken in the Highlands of Scotland, 243; its revival as a learned language, 244; professorships of, 244; its cultivation in America, 244; original letters in the, by Shane O'Neill, 259
Irish MSS., numbers of, still preserved, 245
Irish, or Gaels, said to have been the aborigines of Europe, 165; why is no trace of them found on the Continent at present, 165
Irish, the, in Sweden, 251

J

James II., contrast between his first and his last entry into Dublin, 284
Jennings, Mr. F., (of Cork) his discovery of fibulæ used in Morocco, identical in form with those found in Ireland, 247
John, King, erroneously stated to have visited Saint Patrick's Purgatory, 61
J. W., (Cork), 243
J. W. H., 251, 255

K

Kavanagh, Donnell, 131
"Keltic," reasons for adopting this orthography of the word, in preference to "Celtic," 286 n
Keltic occupancy in Central Europe, vestiges of, [see *Celtic*.]
Kennedy, David, query respecting, 258
Kent, Gaelic origin of the name, 91
Kelburn, in Middlesex, Gaelic etymology of the name, 91
Killyleagh, "Break" of, 163
Kist-vaen, the term, protest against its use, 156
Kilsagart [Kilnasaggart] on the borders of Armagh and Louth, 7
Kilt, the Highland, whence derived, 167, 349; does not appear to have formed a part of the old Irish costume, 168
Kincolgas, the law so called, 43
Knives, iron, found at Dunshaughlin, [county Meath], 340; probably made of meteoric iron, 340; an evidence of an African occupation of Ireland at some period, 341
Kylrose, a wood in Monaghan, 8

L

Lacy, Walter and Hugh, 128
Lacys, the, join the Bruces, 134
Lane, Sir Ralph, 198: served in Ireland in 1588—92, 198; his character, 198; a voluminous letter-writer, 198; said to have obtained a grant of the castle and lands of Belfast, 198, n; forms the project of building a great commercial city on the shore of Strangford Lough, 199 n
Language, the Irish, its present extent, 243; See *Irish Language*
Larne Lough, its ancient Scandinavian name, 250; weapons and a skeleton found near it, bearing marks of Scandinavian origin, 250
Latin, spoken by herdsmen in the county of Kerry, 165
Leather manufacture carried on by Dutch families at Swords, 306
Leo, Heinrich, his works on Celtic literature, 288
Le Strange, Thomas, 314
Letters, in the Irish and Latin languages, by Shane O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, 259; on Irish antiquities, by a Cornishman, 150, 185, 336; the, B and V in Irish, 350
Linen, of ancient Egypt, 170; microscopical examination of, 170; peculiarity in the threads of, 170, 171; checked, 100; description of, called "drugget," 100; another called "Holland," 101; formerly dyed yellow by the Irish and the Scottish Highlanders, 181; how so dyed, 258
Linen trade established at Swords, by Dutch families, 306
Linen yarn, prohibition of its exportation from Ireland, 306
Linsey-woolsey, origin of the name, 107
Linum, 352
Lisnegarvey, etymology of the name, 150
Loegri, the name, 91
Logan, Lord, 5 n; condemned and executed by Edward Bruce, 129
London, Gaelic name of, 91; ancient level of, was much lower formerly, 91
Looms, of ancient Palestine, 171 n; of the Hindoos, 174, 178; of ancient Egypt, 178; of the Greeks, 178; of Iceland, 178; of the Ferro Isles, 178, 179; ancient, delineated in illuminated MSS., 179, 180; were formerly a regular article of house furniture, 181

M

MacAdam, Robert, on ancient brazen Cauldrons, 82
Macaulay's *History of England*, strictures on, 274, 275, 276, 280
Mc,—[for names beginning with Mc see *Mac*.]
MacClean family, the, in the county of Antrim, 348; where settled, 348; [see also *MacLean*.]
MacConnell, the same name as MacDonnell, 191 n
MacDonnell, Alexander, (Mac-Sorley,) attacked and defeated by

the English under Captain Merriman, 194 n; himself slain and his head sent to Dublin, 194 n
MacDonnell, James (Mac Sorley), a frequent visitor at the Scottish court, 192; is knighted, 192; meets Sir John Chichester by appointment, near Carrickfergus, 192; is attacked unexpectedly by Chichester's troops, 193; narrative of the engagement, 193, 194, 195; defeat of the English, 195; other accounts of the battle, 197, 198, 199, 200, 204; his sudden death, 205; suspicious circumstances connected with it, 205; reasons for believing that he was assassinated by instigation of the government, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209
MacDonnells, the, pedigree of, 192; were doubtless descendants of Somerled, a Norwegian chief of the twelfth century, 191 n; of Antrim, 315 n, 316; date of their first settlement in the Glynns, 317; claimed their Irish lands through a connection with the Bysset family, 192
MacEoin, 316; sprung from the Byssets, 316
MacEorish, *alias* Brymicham, 312
MacEviley, *alias* Staunton, 312
MacIntyre, derivation of the name, 350
MacJordan, *alias* De Exeter, 312
MacLeans, the, came from Scotland, 316 [see also *MacClean*]
MacLoughlin, signification of the name, 139
MacMartin, 316; sprung from the Byssets, 316
MacMorris, *alias* Prendergast, 312
MacNeachtain, Seamus, on "Vestiges of Keltic occupancy in Central Europe," 286
MacPhilippin, *alias* Burke, 312
MacSweyne, etymology of the name, 139
MacSwynes, the, of Munster, 318, 319; came originally from the Hebrides, 319; of Donegal, description of their country (Fanat) in 1601, 141, 142, 143
MacTear, the surname, whence derived, 253, 350
MacWilliam *Eughter* [*Iochtar*], *alias* Burke, 212, 321
Malahide, Lord Talbot de, 274
Malby, Sir Nicholas, 315
Mandeville, Sir Thomas, 5 n
Mann, "three legs" of, device of the, 162
Manson's cards, David, 258
Manuscripts, Irish, seized by Sir George Carew and others, 40; great numbers of, still preserved in European libraries, 245; some of them contain accounts of the expeditions of the Northmen, 250
Marcus, a Dutch settler in Ireland, 255
Marlborough, the duke of, his memory still preserved among the French peasantry, 281
Meath, origin of the name, 166, 256
Merriman, Captain, a noted leader in the Irish wars, 149 n; defeats the Scots under Alexander MacDonnell, whom he captures and beheads, 194 n
Metals, the casting of, not so ancient as the art of fabricating them by the hammer, 90
Millen, W., on old fire-places, 160; on trees found in bogs, 167; on the family of MacClean, 348
Mills, stated (in a work quoted) to have been originally invented in Ireland, A.D. 214, 167
Mone, F. J., his works on Celtic literature, 288
Monks of Citeaux established in the county of Armagh, 3; and at Ynes, in Ulster, 3
Monument of the Hamilton family, 22
"Moran's Collar," a golden gorget, said to have miraculous properties, 45
Mortimer, Lord of Meath, 128; endeavours to intercept Bruce, 129; deserted by the Lacys, 129
Moyry Pass, the, near Newry, 7
MSS. Irish, seized by Sir George Carew and others, 40; great numbers of, still preserved, 245; some of them contain accounts of the expeditions of the Northmen, 250
Mummy-clothes of Egypt shown by the microscope to be linen, those of Mexico cotton, 170
Murray, Sir Walter, killed in Bruce's army, 128
Muslin, origin of the name, 107

N

Names, of three of the Irish provinces are Scandinavian in form, 250; of the Irish counties, origin of the, 166, 256
Nangle, *alias* De Angulo, 312
Nick, Old, 352
Notes and Queries, Antiquarian, 91, 155, 249, 345

O

Obelisk, ancient, in the King's County, situated in the Slieve Bloom mountains, 351
O'Carroll, the clan, 318
O'Connor Sligo, 313
O'Conor, Felim, 132; falls in the battle of Athenry, 132
Oculist's stamp, Roman, found in Tipperary, 35
O'Dogherty's country (Enishowen), description of, in the year 1601, 140
O'Donnell, known in Spain by the title of "King of Fish," 140
O'Donovan, Dr. John, on some original letters of Shane O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, in Latin and Irish, 260
O'Hagan, the family of, formerly connected officially with the inauguration ceremonies of the O'Neills, 240
O'Hanlon, a northern chief, 130
Oireachta were parliaments held in the open air, 50
O'Keeffe, C. M., 161, 164, 165, 166
O'Laverty, Rev. James, on the relative antiquity of stone and bronze weapons, 122
Olderfleet Castle, built by the Byssets, 201 n; claimed by the MacDonnells, 201, 201 n; betrayed by the English warden to Sir James MacDonnell, 202
Olfertson, a Dutch settler in Ireland, now Olpherts, 255
Ollamh Fodhla, 257, 257, 350, 350
O'Mailley, Grana, 314, 322
O'Neill family, query respecting the, 351
"O'Neill, The," title of, abolished by Act of Parliament in 1569, 260
O'Neill, Donnell, aids the Bruces, 2, 3; one of the Irish chiefs who sent an address to Pope John, 3; styles himself lawful heir to the kingdom, 3; invites Edward Bruce to Ireland, 4
O'Neill, Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, notice of, in an old pamphlet, 162
O'Neill, Shane, prince of Tyrone, original letters of, in the Irish and Latin languages, 259; proclamation of high treason against him by Queen Elizabeth, 259; his appearance at the English court with a retinue of galloglasses, 259; particulars of his life, 259; his lands confiscated in 1569, 260, 306; expenses occasioned to the crown of England by the war with him, 260
O'Neill, Sir Daniel, was the last who supported the cause of Charles, 275
O'Neill, Turlough *Luineach*, 317;

meeting between him and Sir Henry Sidney, engraved representation of, 317
Orientalis, 155
O'Shaughnessy, 319
Owen O'Cork, derivation of the name, 349
Oxmantown, a part of Dublin so called, derives its name from the Ostmen or Scandinavians, 250

P

Palatinates in Ireland, 318
Pale, the English, 2
Pascal, Sir, of Florentine, in Lombardy, 10
Pearls, Irish, notices of fisheries of, 256
Phœnician language, identical with the Hebrew, 287; recent discovery of an inscription in the, 287, 287 n
Pictet, Professor Adolphe (Geneva), on the origin of the name of Ireland, 52; a query by, 351
Picts, one of the two Round Towers of Scotland situated in the old kingdom of the, 214
Pillar-towers of Scotland, 210
Pin, bronze, of peculiar form, 157; a number found on the shore of Donegal, 254
Pinkerton, William, on Saint Patrick's Purgatory, 61; on ancient Roman intercourse with Ireland, 32; on old engravings of Belfast, 92; on the site of the ford of Belfast, 92; on the "Overthrow" of Sir John Chichester at Carrickfergus in 1597, 188; on the words "cantle" and "scantling," 158
"Plantation" of Ulster, queries respecting the, 258, 352
Ploughing by the horse's tail, 164, 346; practised formerly in the Highlands of Scotland, 257
Poer, Lord, 318
Population of Ireland in 1695, 1731, and 1851, 243
Porter, Rev. Dr., on the Shamrock, 12—16
Power, Baron of Donisle, in Munster, 10
Precedency of the four chief empires of Europe, discussed at the Council of Constance, 166; Ireland decided to be one of them, 166
Prendergast, *alias* MacMorris, 312
Prices, ancient, of articles of clothing, 182, 183
Proclamation of high treason against Shane O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, by Queen Elizabeth, 259
Provinces, Irish, names of three of the, are Scandinavian in form, 250
Purgatory, Saint Patrick's, its modern history, 61; description of a visit to, in 1353, preserved in a MS. in Vienna, 62; visited in 1545 or 1547, by the Bishop of Sens, 62; and later by Dillon, Earl of Roscommon, 69; his description, 70, 72; described by Mr. Coppinger, 70; by Ware, 72; begins to recover its reputation in the beginning of the 16th century, 63; described by Campion, 64; by Stanihurst, 64; by Gabriel Pennotus, 65; by Messingham, 65, 71; visited by great numbers in the reign of Elizabeth, 66; mentioned by Peter Lombard, 66, 71; by O'Sullivan, 66; order for its destruction, in 1632, 66, 67; which was accomplished by the Bishop of Clogher, and described by him in a letter, 69; ceremonies used by pilgrims at, 72, 73; its restoration attempted in 1638, by Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I., 74; but re-established subsequently, 75; described in a work published in Milan in 1686, 76; legends of, published since the invention of printing, 76; excavations made at, by a native of Brittany, in 1693, 76; visited and described in 1701, by the Rev.—— Hewson, 77; condemned in an Irish Act of Parliament in 1704, 78; described in 1727 by the Rev. John Richardson, 78; described in 1775, by a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 79; by Carleton, and other modern writers, 80; its present state, 80, 81

Q

Q. Q. 258, 258
Queries, 165, 257, 350

R

R. 159, 161
Ramsay, of Ouchtre house, 5
Randal, a name of Norwegian origin, 191 n
Randolph, Earl of Murray, 5; surprises the English by a stratagem, 10
Rapparees, what were they, 166; account of them, 255
Rathlin, the island of, 5, 309, 316; forfeited by Bisset, 5; affords shelter to King Robert Bruce in 1306, 5
Ray, church of, near Dunfanaghy (Co. Donegal), 253; ancient cross at, 253
Rings, cleft at one side, used in Africa as money, 246; identical in form with those found in Ireland, 246; sometimes used as bracelets, 246; readily converted into Fibulæ, 247
R. L. 164, 165, 166
R. M. (Athlone), 92
Roche, Sir George, 10
Rocking-stones, used as ordeals, 38
Romans, the, had they any ancient intercourse with Ireland, 32; theory founded on a passage in Juvenal, 34; vestiges of, found in Ireland, 34 n; their commercial intercourse with Ireland, 35; a legion posted by them to protect the estuary of the Dee from Irish pirates, 35; their geographical knowledge of Ireland, 35
Round Towers, [see *Towers.*]
Route, the, a district in the County of Antrim, 309, 315 n
R. T. 258

S

Saffron, if used formerly in Ireland for dying linen yellow, 258
Saint Aidan, 164
Saint Aveog, or Dabeog, a contemporary of St. Patrick, 61
Saint Patrick's Purgatory, [see *Purgatory.*]
Salmon, large export of, by O'Donnell, 140
Sanford, Captain John, obtains great grants of land in Ulster, as a reward for his services in conducting a number of the native Irish soldiery to Sweden, 251
Savage, Lord, 5 n
Scanderbeg, a descendant of, obtained a grant in Ireland, 255
Scandinavia, its ancient connection with Ireland proved by the name of the clover or trefoil plant, 17
Scandinavian antiquities have many analogies with those of Ireland 250
Scantling, derivation of the word, 158, 346
Scots, the, their settlement in the County of Antrim, 317
Scullogues, a kind of peasant tenantry, 37
Scythians over-ran Southern Asia, 2500 years before Christ, 161

Seal, ancient, of the town of Carrickfergus, 345
Sellwood, in Somerset, ancient name of, is probably of Gaelic origin, 91
Senex, 156, 156, 163, 167, 255, 256, 256, 257, 345, 346, 350
Seven Churches, groupes of, in Ireland, their analogy with the Seven Churches of Asia, 254; a legend probably connected with, 254
Shakespeare, Gaelic etymology of some words used by, 92, 156
Shalloon, origin of the name, 107
Shamrock, the, 12; its adoption as an emblem of the Trinity by St. Patriek, 12; may have been previously venerated by the Irish, 13; what plant is the true, 14; supposed to be the *Trifolium repens*, 14; one species of, with four leaves, 14; supposed by others to be the *Medicago lupulina*, 14; the name, given in the South of Ireland to the *Laburnum*, 15; and in the North a kind of *Cytisus* is called Shamrock-tree, 15; asserted by Mr. Bicheno to be the wood-sorrel (*Oxalis acetosella*), 15; his arguments controverted, 15, 16; Dr. Jacob Grimm's speculations on the origin of the name, 17, 18; the word unknown in the Welsh and Armoric dialects, 17; conjecture of Grimm's that it may have been originally the May-flower (*Caltha palustris*), 18; Editor's remarks on the name, 19; corresponding names in Arabic and Hebrew, 19, 20
Shaving, how performed by the ancient Irish, 350
Sheep of Ireland, anciently more commonly black than white, 181
Shemus, 352
Shoes, ceremonies connected with, in the inauguration of chiefs in Ireland, 221, 224, 225, 229; tradition respecting a golden one, 237
Sidney, Sir Henry, his Memoir of his government in Ireland, 229
Sigerson, G. 254
Silk, mentioned in the Bible, 102; period of its introduction into England, 102
Sliabh, the Irish word for a mountain, found in a language in Tartary, 165
Slings, mentioned in the Bible, 154; and by ancient Irish authors, 154; peculiarity of those used in Ireland, 337; may have been employed by the ancient Irish for hurling the stone weapons now known by the name of "celts," 154
Smith, legend of the, in Ireland, ought to be collated with similar legends in France and Spain, 341
Sorley *Buy* (MacDonnell), 309, 315 n, 316
Songs specially sung at the spinning-wheel, 101
Soulis, Sir John, 5
Spain, probably the country which gave rise to the metallic arts, 187
Spindle, kind of, said to have been used by Robin Hood, 255
Spindle-stones, 175
Spinning and Weaving, their influence on popular language and literature, 93; mentioned by Homer, 94; constantly alluded to in old English, Scottish, and Ulster ballads, 95, 95, 97, 99, 101, 103, 108, 109; many words connected with, have been incorporated with our common speech, 94, 100, 104, 105, 106; mentioned frequently in the Bible, 94, 95, 100, 101; by Shakespeare, 98, 101; implements of, introduced in Heraldry, 98, 99; materials used in, 99; historical notices of, 169; Scriptural allusions to, 171, 177; among the Greeks, and Romans, 178; operations of, delineated in ancient illuminated MSS., 179; Norman names of the technical operations in, 183
Spinning-wheel, 175
Spinster, origin of the word, 175, 176
Stanagomar, origin of the name, 257
Statutes, Irish, first printed by Sir Henry Sidney, 306
Staunton, *alias* MacAuley, 312
Stone and bronze weapons, relative antiquity of, 122, 150, 185, 336
Stone axes, or Celts, 122; may have been sling-stones, 154
Stone chair used in the inauguration of Irish chiefs, 212
Stone implements, their relative antiquity as compared with bronze, 122, 150, 185, 336; systematic arrangement of, recommended, 185; types of their forms, 185, 340; often imitations of metal ones, 153, 186; mentioned in the Bible, 154
Stone of Destiny (*Lia Fáil*), on which Irish Kings were inaugurated, 234, 235
Summer, the word, probably meant originally "the sun," 19; corresponding words in Arabic and Hebrew, 19
Surname of McTear, whence derived, 350
Surnames, 253; in the county of Antrim, 323; Map exhibiting them, 323; mode adopted in constructing it, 324, 327, 328, 329; varieties in the spelling of, 324 n; many names now appear to be English which are not so, 325; Irish, prohibited by Act of Parliament, 329 n; greater prevalence of some names than others in the County of Antrim, 326; some confined to one locality, while others are widely distributed, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330; tabular arrangement of, 333; transformation of, 331; mode in which they have sometimes originated, 332; some derived from names of townships, 332; the native Irish names most numerous in the Barony of Carey, 328; the English names chiefly in Upper Massareene and the Valley of the Lagan, 328; the Scoteh names prineipally in Killead, 328
Survendible, meaning of the word, used in Ulster, 352
Sweden, the Irish in, 251
Swords, Dutch families settled at the village of, 306

T

"Table, Round," Arthur's, 252
Talbot, the family of, 274; pedigree of the Malahide branch of, 275 n; John, the first Earl of Shrewsbury, 274
Talbot, Richard, a scion of the Malahide family, 274; was of the Roman Catholic faith, 275; but fought against the Irish party led by Owen *Roe* O'Neill, 275; served in the Duke of Ormond's army, 275; was in Drogheda during its siege by Cromwell, 275; accusation against him refuted of having planned to murder the Duke of Ormond, 276, 277; was extremely active in endeavouring to obtain the restoration of the Irish confiscated estates, 277; committed to the Tower, 278; draws up a remarkable petition in favour of the Irish Roman Catholics, 278; his portrait at Malahide Castle, 280; his personal advantages, 280; his early life, 280; proceeds to the French court, and rises to the rank of colonel, 280; returns to Ireland, 280; his life saved by one of Cromwell's leaders, 280; escapes to Flanders, 280; enters into the service of the Duke of York, afterwards James II, with whom he returns to England, 280; is sworn against by Titus Oates,

280; escapes again to the Continent, 280; on his subsequent return to England, is rewarded by James II. with rank and office, 280; married twice, to ladies of the English court, 281; his second wife was sister to the Duchess of Marlborough, 281; his over-readiness to speak bold offensive truths, 282; examples of this, 282; receives high military command in Ireland, 282; created Earl of Tyrconnell, 282; becomes viceroy of Ireland, 282; created Duke, but subsequently to James's abdication, therefore the title not legal, 285; summary of his character by the Duke of Berwick, 285; and by Lady Morgan, 286; aspersions against his character, in Macaulay's *History of England*, confuted, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 282

Tanist, the successor to a chief, chosen during his life-time, 227, 228

Tenure, Gaelic, instability of, 301, 302; was the cause of almost all the wars and rebellions in Ireland, 301, 302

Tenure of land in common, 37; mode of its apportionment, 37

Thames, ancient British name of the, 91

T. H. P., 346, 349, 352, 352

Topographical names in Germany, explained by means of the Irish language, 289; have more affinities with the Irish than with the Welsh, 290; lead to the inference that Celtic tribes occupied large tracts of Germany before the arrival of the Germans, 290

Tory island (county Donegall), 121; its Round Tower, 121

Tower, Round, instance quoted of a, being burned full of people, 167; remains of one found at Raphoe (county Donegall), 163

Towers, Round, of Ulster, 110; of Drumlane, 110; of Inniskeen, 116; of Tory Island. 121; of Scotland, 210

Towers, Pillar, of Scotland, 210; only two in number, 210; that of Abernethy described, 210; and of Brechin, 212; theories respecting their use, 214, 215; not built by the Picts, 214; nor the Danes, 214; no specific name for them in the Scottish Gaelic, 214

Trefoil, the, mentioned by Herodotus, 12; by Dioscorides, 12 n; by Bonomi, 13; by Rosini, 13; by Homer, 13; by Callimachus, 13; by Pliny, 14; occurs in Icelandic ornaments, 14; and in Irish sculptures, 14; its early veneration in Ireland probably of Oriental origin, 14; may have given rise to the "club" on playing-cards, 16; names of, in Sweden and Norway, 17; in Russian, Servian, Polish, and Bohemian, 18

Trevelyan, Letters by, on Irish antiquities, 155, 185, 336

Trotter, family of, tradition respecting the, 258

Troy, Welsh traditions relative to, 289

Tuirtre, Hy, the ancient tribe of, in the county of Antrim, probably represented at present by the surname of Turtle, 331

Tullaghog, fort of, the place where the chiefs of the O'Neills were inaugurated, 235; description of, 236, 237, 239; historical notices of, in the Irish annals, 242

Tynwald hill, the, in the Isle of Man, 240

Tyrconnell, Richard, Earl and Duke of, memoir of his life, 274

"Tyrone's Bed," a place so called in Lancashire, 253

U

Ulster, as described by Spenser, 2; "Plantation" of, 258, 352

V

Van Dale, a Dutch settler in Ireland, 254

Varveer, a Dutch settler in Ireland, 254

Verhoven, a Dutch settler in Ireland, 254

Vintimiglia, the Prince De, marries a daughter of Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnell, 285

Vortigern, etymology of the name 91

W

Water-mills, of the antique form still used in Ireland, 91; Irish name of, 92; also still used in Norway and the Faroe Isles, 92

Wauchope, a Scotchman, the first titular Primate of Ireland, 63 n; and one of the prelates who attended the Council of Trent, 63 n

W. B., 257

Weapons, stone and bronze, relative antiquity of, 122, 155, 185, 336

Weaving and spinning, (see *Spinning*)

Westminster Abbey, tradition of a pagan temple formerly on its site, 91

Wheat, at what period first cultivated in Ireland, 167

Whyte family were proprietors of the lands of Dufferin (county Down), 27, 27 n

Wines, importation duty established on, by Sir Henry Sidney, 307; certain towns in Ireland appointed to receive cargoes of, 307

Wise, Dr. Thomas A., on the Pillar Towers of Scotland, 210

W. M'C., (London) 91, 164

Wokings-fryth, now Larne Lough, 5 n

Wulvericheford, now Larne Lough, 250

Women, exclusion of, from holy places, 155, 345, 345

Wool, the earliest material used for dress, 170

"Wool-gathering," meaning of the expression "to go," 166; example of its occurrence in an ancient land-tenure, 257

Woollen yarn, exportation of, prohibited in Ireland, 306

Worsaae, extracts from his report of a Tour in Great Britain and Ireland, 250

Worsted, derivation of the name, 107

Y

Yarn, linen and woollen, prohibited to be exported from Ireland, 306

Yellow, how the Irish dyed their linen of this colour, 258

APPENDIX.

(TO THE EDITOR OF THE *ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY.*)

Belfast, 31*st March*, 1857.

DEAR SIR,—When I endeavoured in a former number of the *Archæological Journal* to discuss the question of the position of the ford, from which this town derives its name, I considered it a fit subject of antiquarian research, and in that light only presented it to your notice. Mr. Lowry had already published such information as he had collected, illustrated by a "plan," which, *he says*, "was originally published in Rapin's History of England, but has been subsequently copied into the local histories and almanacs of the town." In your October number, the same writer has objected to my views, without, as far as I can observe, adding any new facts to existing information. As I also have no additional proofs to offer, I do not ask leave to occupy any portion of your limited space with explanations. I feel obliged, however, by being permitted to attach a reply, as an appendix, to the present number of the journal.

There is no doubt that the original harbour or landing-place was in the bed of the stream, which is now covered over, in High-street, and that vessels loaded and unloaded as far up as Skipper-street. It is also perfectly true that in passing to this harbour it was necessary to cross the ford, whose removal I have described. These facts, however, which are not new, do not affect the question under discussion; for it is not difficult to understand that, as vessels could only reach the town when the tide rose, the ford presented no insuperable impediment to their entrance into the Farsat river. A ford in a bay or river so shallow at low-water as this undoubtedly was could be little more than a road-way slightly raised above the natural level, and a proper allowance being made for the fall from Skipper-street to the Lagan, the probability is that the bottom of the river where the vessels lay was at a higher level than the top of the ford. Records as far as they exist, and analogy from natural appearances, shew that at no time could the Lagan have excavated for itself a deep channel, for the quantity of water it discharges being measured by the extent of country drained, must at all times have been limited. In fact, the deep water to the town has been altogether the result of art. In the first place, the erection of weirs and locks in its ancient bed prevented the material from the upper country brought down by freshes being deposited in the bay or river near the town; and consequently the works carried on by different corporate bodies since 1785 not being counteracted by alluvial deposits, have tended to increase the depth, the rush of both tide and river being confined in one channel. This principle was fully recognized by the eminent men under whose control the harbour has been since 1831; for Messrs. Walker and Burges, in making a new channel with deep water, calculated with mathematical accuracy the precise depth and breadth that the natural scour would keep open without artificial means, and succeeded so admirably that the soundings taken for the Admiralty by Commander Hoskyn, in 1856, exhibit the channel unchanged since it was opened. Indeed, the very purchase which has directed Mr. Lowry's attention to the question was made to enable the Harbour Trust to narrow the space between the county Down and Antrim from a broad shallow strand to a deep river of 400 or 450 feet wide.

It is difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty what influenced the acts of parties at remote periods. It is, however, certain that when James I., in 1613, established the Corporation of Belfast, a town which owed its origin to the ford, he granted the conservancy of the harbour to the lord of the castle, and that the sovereign or chief magistrate for the time being held the office of water bailiff, making a yearly acknowledgement to the seneschal. Whether this conservancy extended beyond the harbour in the creek of the small river which passed through the town I have no means of judging. The same king also granted by his charter to the sovereign, free burgesses, and commonalty of the borough, "that hereafter it shall and may be lawful for all and singular, the freemen of the borough and their successors, to erect and establish within the franchises of the said borough a wharf or quay, in some convenient place on the bay or creek of Belfast aforesaid." The quay erected under this clause was most probably that on the south side of the Farsat river, and perhaps the part extending along the Lagan from the custom-house corner to the Long Bridge, for along these quays the corporation and the Chichester family claimed jurisdiction, and it is probable the boundary of the franchise influenced the choice of the site for the quay. It was not till 1769 that the quay on the north side of the Farsat was erected by a Belfast merchant, Mr. Thomas Greg, as a private speculation. The following is the notice of this important event, as it was then considered, found in the *News-Letter*:—

"On Monday (August 21st, 1769), when the agreeable news arrived of Lady Donegall being safely delivered of a son and heir, Mr. Greg laid the corner foundation stone, at the termination next the sea, of the new kay which he is building on the north side of the dock of Belfast. This kay is 320 feet in length, and which, when finished, will give room for the accommodation of a much greater number of ships and deeper water than heretofore; and Mr. Greg, in commemoration of the birth of Lord Chichester, hath called said kay Chichester Kay."

It is probable the corporation books, if procurable, would shew whether or not Mr. Greg's quay was within the franchises of the borough. The return of this quay, fronting the Lagan, was called Merchants'-Quay, and within the memory of many persons now living was the great landing-place of the town,

the access to which was improved by the Harbour Trust removing, soon after its incorporation, a ford. The reclamation of the banks lying between Corporation-street and the navigation is comparatively recent; and the formation by the Tombe family of Donegall-Quay is of still later date, and within the memory of a multitude of persons still living.

As I am compelled to express myself unable to understand, after an anxious examination of his paper, Mr. Lowry's strictures on my notice of the ford, I find it necessary to commence *ab initio* by repeating the substance of what I formerly stated. Natural causes formed the Farsat; and when art was employed to convert it into a road-way, a rude framework of wood, secured by piles, was used to prevent the causeway being injured by a partial shifting of the bank, or by the rushing of the water over its surface. In this view I am borne out by Dr. O'Donovan—(See page 305, Vol. III.) Mr. Lowry seems to consider he has explained most satisfactorily an omission of nearly two lines in a quotation from Dr. Reeves, by insinuating that it was unworthy of regard, as being information supplied by me. It happens, however, that the same objection applies to the entire statement of Dr. Reeves, who had no other evidence with respect to the other portions than myself; and in a note at page 308 I explain how I had unintentionally been the means of leading Dr. Reeves into an error respecting the map of Captain Phillips, an error in which I was confirmed by several parties to whom I exhibited that map, the solicitors included of both parties in the legal proceedings more than once mentioned in the course of this discussion. This map, however, has no connexion with that given by Rapin's Continuator, which is the fruitful cause of all the differences of opinion respecting the ford. It is apparent that in illustrating that work it was only the fortified part that was given, and the map was limited to that object, so that, in fact, it shews a part of the Lagan and a part of the Blackstaff as one stream. If the reader will carefully observe the position of the street now called Ann-street on the plan of 1660, and then from his own local knowledge recollect the course of the Lagan above the bridge, he will see the absurdity of confounding it with the stream delineated as flowing past what is is now called Corn-market. The absurdity will appear still greater when he asks himself what has become of the Blackstaff, and the site of Poultry-square, and the former May's-dock. A still better illustration is found in the maps of the Down Survey, which prove beyond doubt that a passage leading across a river toward the south side of Lord Chichester's house could not be a passage across the Lagan.

Mr. Lowry expends a considerable space in discussing the question of the plan published by him, but without in any degree answering my objection, viz.—that his copy is not as it professes to be and as it should have been—an accurate copy of the map contained in Tindal's Continuation of Rapin. It would have been more candid for Mr. Lowry to have adopted the excuse I furnished than have endeavoured to escape from the charge by referring to other parties who had committed the same mistake. It is quite clear his mistake arose from copying, not from the original work, but from an erroneous copy found in some other book. Every reader of the journal must know that my objection as regarded the question of evidence was that this plan was erroneous, in shewing a solid bank across a river, where the original map, as published in the several editions of Tindal, shew a bridge, and this objection remains unanswered. If your readers will take the trouble, as Mr. Lowry requests, of turning to the maps at pages 249 and 300 of Vol. III., they will not find "that what Mr. Getty describes as 'the latest edition' of the 'so-called' plan of 1660 (which is an exact copy of Benn's) corresponds exactly with his favourite plan of 1688, except that the latter having been taken at a later date, as Mr. Benn himself points out at page 74 of his work:—*There is in it another street or lane leading from North-street, with the addition of several roads or cross-ways, both within and without the ramparts, and that the river also which flows through High-street was furnished at this time with six bridges.*"

Now, is it contrary to fact that I ever produced the plan at page 300, as a map of Belfast in 1688; I merely copied it as the map contained in all the editions I could find of Rapin or his Continuator, to shew that the map at 249 is not a correct copy. It remains for Mr. Lowry to produce the edition of Rapin from which he copied. I have given the references to the copies I consulted, so that if I am in error he has a ready means of detection furnished by myself. I may add that I have doubts if an instance can be given of a ford being represented in any map, by three straight unbroken lines crossing the river like a solid bank, and cutting the stream into two portions, as is shewn in Mr. Lowry's map. Such a road-way, if shewn at all, would be marked by dotted lines only, as any engineer will testify. With respect to Mr. Lowry's opinion, "but if neither plan had been copied by Rapin, that circumstance could in no respect detract from their value, as their being copied by him can add nothing to it," I have only to say, that until I read this paragraph I understood that this historian was the authority relied on. If Mr. Lowry can produce any authority for the map published by him as found in Rapin's history, in the name of common sense let him do so, and thus settle all our conjectures. In thus abandoning Rapin it seems to me he gives up the entire question, and that the remainder of his paper is only to be considered as performing the office of the ink-bag of a cuttle-fish by covering his retreat. As to the map itself, which appears in Tindal, I never expressed a doubt that it represented the state of things in 1660, though what Mr. Lowry publishes at page 249 as a copy does not, and I proved my acceptance of it as evidence by publishing an accurate copy, accompanied by a rough tracing of a map that I have little doubt was the original of this very plan.

The reference to a favourite plan of 1688 (page 257) I cannot understand, but I suspect, from inaccurate reading, Mr. Lowry has in some way applied my strictures on his plan of 1660 to a plan of 1688, to which at the time I was making no reference, and of the existence of which I have no knowledge. Let me again repeat that his plan shews a solid bank across a river in a place in that river where the plan he proposes to give shews a bridge.

I did not attack Mr. Kennedy, indeed I am not much given to make attacks or use unbecoming language, but I did, as I had a right in a question of literary evidence, point out in his case, and in that of persons who preceded him, the danger of altering documents so as to suit their own preconceived ideas of the intention of authors. In the case of General Bainbrigge's

sketch the falsification would have consisted in attempting to restore the sketch to what I chose to assume its original state; in like manner, had I given a copy of Mr. Kennedy's map, I assuredly would have copied it with all, what I considered, its errors, which I could not have considered myself justified in amending, and still calling the copy Mr. Kennedy's map. As to the correctness of my views on this subject I appeal to every one conversant with the rules of textual criticism, and as an example of my meaning I may instance the maps published by Government, with the state papers, the value of which altogether depends on the fact of their being exact copies of the originals.

The history of the composition map is very simple, and just such a one as Arrowsmith or any of the great constructors of maps might be required to give if the world were foolish enough to make the demand. There is no ancient map, shewing on a large scale both sides of the district, under consideration; but there are townland maps in the Hamilton collection of 1625-6, which give the county Down side, and a plan of 1660 in Tindal and other maps, which gives the Antrim side, and I am blamed for avowing that I put them together and made one general map of them.

At page 256 Mr. Lowry condescends to a line of argument that seems unsuited to a discussion where the sole object should be to elicit a historical truth from such evidence as exists. His words are—his own account of the "composition" map is as follows:—"All the county Down side is an exact copy of the same portion of the Hamilton Maps, showing the roads as they then appeared and the ford over Con's Water. A fac-simile (not Mr. Getty's 'exact' copy) of the Hamilton Map of Ballymacarrett in 1625-6 is placed in the hands of the editor of this journal, upon which it will be seen (if he should think it worth publication) that not a single road of any description is laid down. Mr. Getty had admitted this fact at page 302 of Vol. III., but again prefaces the admission by alleging that 'the Hamilton Maps exhibit what we may conclude were the roads existing at that period." At page 310 of Vol. III., however, he had made an admission, which puts an end to the argument based on the non-existence of any road on the Hamilton Map of Ballymacarrett:—"There is no difference of opinion on one point, namely—that on the county Down side the ford commenced in some part of Ballymacarrett."

Now the plain statement of facts is this—I refer to THE HAMILTON MAPS, which consist of a bound collection of townland maps, of which Ballymacarrett is ONE. The reader, by referring to my composition map—I am not ashamed of the expression—will find that it contains part of at least TWO of these maps, so that when I speak of roads I speak of them as shewn on the HAMILTON MAPS, which is true, for they are in Ballyhackamore and Strandtown. If Mr. Lowry does not understand my meaning respecting roads I feel assured every other reader does, and will readily admit that there is no discrepancy in my statement that no roads are shewn as passing through the townland of Ballymacarrett, and that on the county Down side the ford commenced in some part of Ballymacarrett. It would have been a wretched sophism to have quibbled on the question of whether the sand-bank, along which the ford road according to my theory ran truely belonged to Ballymacarrett, or should have been otherwise described. As it was alongside the hard soil of that townland, I did not hesitate to say, nor do I yet, that the ford commenced in Ballymacarrett; and to prevent future quibbles, I may add I now refer to the ford across the Lagan or bay at Belfast, and not to the ford across Con's Water. All evidence on the site of the ford must be confined to a period previous to the erection of the Long Bridge, between 1686 and 1690; for deductions from the direction of later-made roads are, to say the least, puerile. Now, I do affirm that no map has been shewn indicating the existence of any roads, much less the convergence of several at the Gooseberry-corner; but old maps—the Hamilton for example—prove unmistakably that such a convergence did occur at Strandtown, indeed within a few days an eminent Belfast merchant, a native of Newtownards, has informed me that the tradition of the old inhabitants there in his youth was that the original road thence to Belfast came out at Strandtown, a fact fully confirmed by Gillies's Map of the county Down, published in 1755, and by Harris's. I shall reserve my observations on Mr. Ritchie's evidence given in a law court until the conclusion of this letter; but in the meantime it is necessary to refer to other statements attributed to that gentleman With respect to the strand road from Holywood mentioned by me, and referred to by Mr. Lowry, see Vol. IV., page 247, which by his own *ipse dixit* he converts into a foot-path, a foot-path along a hard strand!! I can only say I have known many old persons who had used this road regularly as a driving road, just as the maps shew it; indeed those documents enable an inquirer to trace very accurately the history of the roads leading to Holywood, and to determine that for a long series of years after the Long Bridge was built the only direct road was by the strand. I have little doubt Mr. Ritchie is correct in believing that this road skirted a part of the short strand, above the Long Bridge, for the road from the Gooseberry-corner is turned, so as to fall into it, not abruptly, but with a curve. Mr. Lowry, at page 258, introduces a reference to a record in the Dublin Exchequer Office, to shew that in the time of Henry III. the castle was described as the Castle of the Forde, and then assumes that this would not mean Mr. Getty's ford, which is at least a quarter of a-mile lower down the river, and not commanded by the castle at all, which never would have defended it. The expression "*the ford*," as describing the locality now called Belfast, is common in early Irish history, and needs no explanation; but I confess I was never previously aware that the castle of Belfast stood on the Lagan, which seems implied in the expression "lower down the river." On the military expression, introduced by Mr. Lowry, of commanding the ford, I have only to remind the learned commentator that this expression is used, when used at all, in reference to cannon, an arm certainly not employed in Ireland in the reign of Henry III., as the first use of cannons on record is in the reign of that monarch's great-grandson, who, according to Barbour, used *crakys of war* against the Scots in 1327, and at Cressy, in 1346. In Ireland the introduction was still later for firearms of any kind were not used in this country till 1487, or, according to Anglo-Irish annals, 1489. *Ordanas*, as an Irish term, is used for the first time under the date 1488. The following extract from the "Lives of the Earls of Essex" shews how little effectual artillery was so late as

May, 1599. The reference is to the best appointed army England had up to that date sent to this country. It was commanded by Robert, the Second Earl:—"Having received the cannon and ammunition from Waterford, he next proceeded to attack the Castle of Cahir. This was considered a place of great importance, as commanding the passes into Tipperary, the White Knights country, Clanwilliam, and Muskerry. It was the chief stronghold of the rebels in those parts, situated on an island in the river Suir, whose banks were rocky, and besides made strong by art. Although the Lord Cahir was in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant, his castle was obstinately defended. The artillery of the army, consisting of one cannon and one culverin, which, for want of draught-horses, had been dragged by men from Clonmel, being brought up, 'a trench was cast up within fifty paces of the castle, and gabions set up and filled to cover the gunners. The culverin was placed somewhat further off, where it might see more of the flanks of the castle, and so beat down their sights. The next day, in the morning, as soon the watch was discharged, the cannon and culverin began to play; but the carriage of the former broke at the second shot, and could not be repaired in a day and a-half. The culverin was for sometime clogged up with a bullet, but being cleared, it shot that day some fifty rounds, so that the rebels scarce durst keep in any lower, or fight on that side.'"

It is not necessary to assume that the course of the Blackstaff was changed—this is not denied by any candid inquirer. Benn's words are, speaking of the old fortification, "the entrenchment then passed to the sea, terminating near the place which is now called May's-dock, and where the Blackstaff river formerly discharged itself, the present bed of that stream, from the Paper-mill to the Lagan, being an artificial cut." In a note the same author mentions that this improvement was made by Arthur, Third Earl of Donegal, in the beginning of the last century.

I have no wish to impugn the veracity of the witnesses to whose testimony Mr. Lowry refers, though I do not admit that they proved the site of the ford. Mr. Frazer is quite correct in stating that persons could cross the Lagan between the two bridges, and he would have been equally correct in stating, though he had not seen it, that previous to the reconstruction of the quays boys were in the habit of paddling about below the Long Bridge, in the navigation, searching for ropes, &c., lost from the vessels. This I have frequently witnessed; but this only shews that the Lagan could not keep open a deep channel. It does not appear that Mr. Frazer gave the date of the old roads he refers to, and the fact of their being paved is no proof whatever of their age; for, in consequences of the bad material at command, it was the custom to a late period to pave the centre of the roads in this part of Down. It is not very many years since the road from Strandtown to the turn a little beyond the Glass-house was made, which was paved, and continued to be paved until a recent period.

It is singular that the impossibility of building a bridge opposite High-street did not occur to Mr. Rennie or Mr. Woodhouse, both eminent men in their profession; and it is equally singular that neither they nor the surveyors they employed, nor the practical men they had under them, discovered the ford opposite Watson's-corner, so much relied on. Now this ford, if it had existed at all, which I do not believe, would have been unmistakable, and it does not appear that any party ever had an object in removing it. The Galwally Ford, on a higher part of the Lagan, was well known to the period when it was removed by order of the late Mr. M'Cleery, about ten years ago. The reason for not building a bridge at the foot of High-street was not that believed by Mr. Frazer, but the difficulty of finding funds to reimburse the proprietors of valuable quay property, which would have been rendered of comparatively little value. Unfortunately this gentleman did not continue his borings below High-street, so that his evidence is wanting as regards the ford taken up by the harbour authorities. The evidence "that above the bridge the men employed came upon a solid foundation," may mean anything or nothing. If it is intended to state that an old foundation was found, it must refer to something connected with the old bridge: if it is intended to say that they found a part of the bed of the river sufficiently solid to carry the new bridge, I have no hesitation in believing that Mr. Frazer has been deceived, and that no architect would rest such a heavy structure on such a superficial base. It is evident that the assumption is that the solid foundation found was the old ford; and it is expected that reasonable men will believe that the bridge was built on this ford. Mr. Lanyon, the architect acting under the Board of Works, can say whether or not this is correct. Mr. Ritchie's supposed statements have been already alluded to; his evidence, however, as given by Mr. Lowry, does not throw any light on the question under consideration, for the best reason in the world, that he could not speak from his own personal knowledge as to the site of the ford. Now, my opinion of Mr. Ritchie is such, that I know no person on whose evidence, with regard to matters of which he had a personal knowledge, I would more fully rely, and it will be seen by referring to my article on the ford, page 314, that I have gladly availed myself of his practical information. The evidence of this gentleman, so far from proving a ford at Watson's-corner, goes merely to shew that he observed an artifical kind of causeway above the Long Bridge and opposite May's-dock. What this was he does not pretend to say, nor do I. I am, however, of opinion it was not a ford, and for this reason, that on Mr. Ritchie's shewing it must on the Antrim side have been opposite the mouth of the Blackstaff, not a site likely to be chosen for a ford; and, if I hazarded an opinion, it would be that Mr. Ritchie had met with some of the large stones placed in the river in connexion with the great salmon fishery which once existed here. The lighter loads of stones removed were probably connected with the same business, or dropped in during the erection of the first bridge. Mr. Ritchie's borings throw little light on the subject beyond what already existed, and I have already recorded his views about the bed of the upper part of the river. He is perfectly correct in stating that some of the roads—the one, for instance, leading from Gooseberry-corner to Watson's-corner—*were in existence before he was born*, but what is to the purpose he does not prove by any map or document—at what period it was made We know by the Hamilton Maps this road had no existence in 1625 or 1626, the date of the Hamilton Survey, and to bear out Mr. Lowry's theory it must have been made between that date and 1690. But even to ascertain the year within this limited space of sixty-four years it

which the Gooseberry-corner road was made—I believe, however, its formation was posterior to the opening of the bridge—does not get over the difficnlty how ancient travellers previously reached Watson's-corner, where Mr. Lowry imagines the ford was situate, nor does it get over the other difficulty of how parties who are snpposed to have crossed at this part of the Lagan afterwards made their way across the Blackstaff, no trifling obstacle in itself.

Much is said abont the convergence of roads, but this argument as far as it goes is decidedly in favour of my view; for, as already mentioned, all the maps ancient and modern shew the convergence at Strandtown. Mr. Ritchie's evidence cannot be considercd conclusive with regard to facts occurring in the reign of James I., particularly when it is known that all old maps and other documents prove the inoorrectness of his views—Harris's Map, for example, which does not shew any road coming down towards the river at Watson's-corner. With respect to this gentleman's evidence, I must further say that, as the entire of it depends on the assumption that certain roads which he points ont as now existing approach the river at a certain point, it was imperative to give some evidence that they were old roads, which he has not been able to do, while I am fortified by the negative proof of their non-existence at the time the ford was in use afforded by the Hamilton Maps and all the old maps which can be produced, none of which recognise these roads. I may now add to the list Whitworth's map of 1768, which does not shew the roads referred to, thongh it shews other roads on the county Down side leading towards the Queen's Bridge. It would be most desirable if Mr. Ritchie, who is well acquainted with the county, would search the records at Down, in which he would probably find the order within comparatively modern times for forming the paved roads he lays such stress on. Any old inhabitant will tell him, as already stated, that a few years ago most of the roads leading to Belfast on that side were paved, even those lately opened. Further, I would ask Mr. Ritchie to take his stand, with the Hamilton Maps beside him, at what is now called Strandtown. If I recollect right, these maps shew a village at the place named West Holywood, and then, by a reference to the Ordnance sheets, he will find the following facts to be undoubted:—A road, also shewn on the Hamilton Maps, coming from the direction of Holywood, and at the point named turning suddenly down towards the sea-beach, and there joining a road over the beach leading towards Belfast. By comparing this with the Ordnance Maps, he will be struck with this fact, that the same line is shewn leading from Holywood to Strandtown, and the road also leading to the beach. As I have before said. the road in the strand no longer exists but in maps. He will further see that a line, not in the Hamilton Maps, is shewn leading direct to the present Newtownards-road, which it joins near Con's Water, and this road. I have no doubt, Mr. Ritchie has often heard called the New Holywood-road.

I cannot resist the temptation to add to the length of this article by another quotation from Mr. Lowry. My excuse must be the confirmation it contains of all my views respecting the position of the ford:—

> "Now, if Mr. Getty had filled a whole number of the journal, as no doubt he might do, with copies of resolutions which the Ballast Board has from time to time passed for the removal of the various other fords in the channel, from Chichester-quay to the pool of Garmoyle, how would this have afforded a particle of proof as to the true position of the ford of Belfast? That instead of its being a mere artificial obstruction in the channel or river, constructed of loose stones or timber, it was a great natnral ford, *Farsad*, bar, or hard sand-bank, formed in the Lagan river by the High-street and Blackstaff rivers, as also by the Lagan itself and the reflnent tide, Mr. Getty, with strange inconsistency, as appears to me, prodnces some most valuable authorities in addition to those which I cited from the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and the local histories of Harris, Benn, Berwick, and Reeves."

As to the authorities jnst mentioned it is only necessary to remind the reader that the necessity for the present discussion arises from their not giving any proofs respecting the position of the ford; but if Mr. Lowry has in this paragraph established a position, it is singularly enough the very one I have been contending for, namely—below the Blackstaff and the Farsat, or river now covered over in High-street, and this agrees perfectly with the order for removal given by the Harbour Board, and with the ford taken up under the direction of the present engineer. The Blackstaff, it must be recollected, before its direction was changed by Lord Donegall fell into the Lagan, close to where Queen's Bridge now stands.

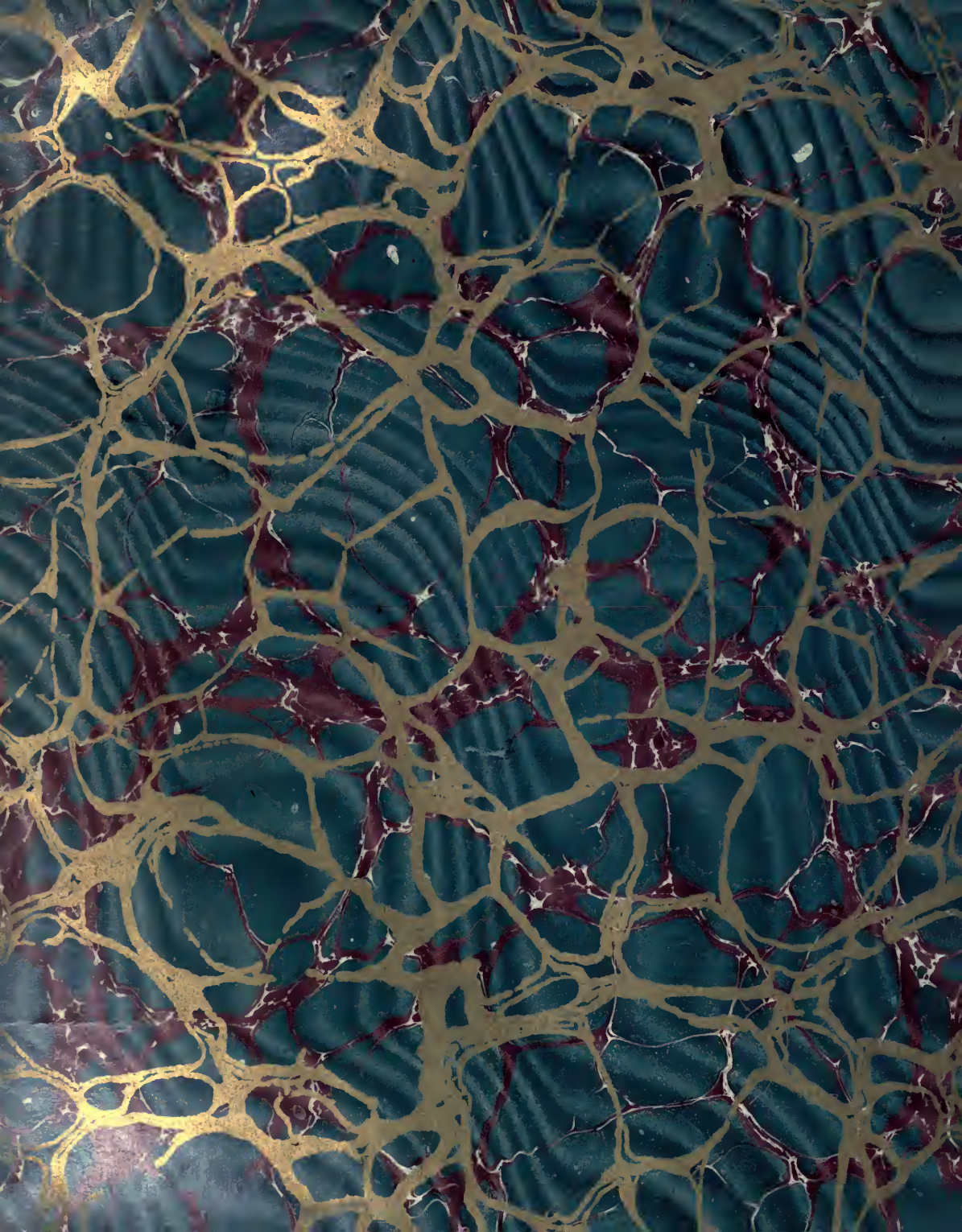
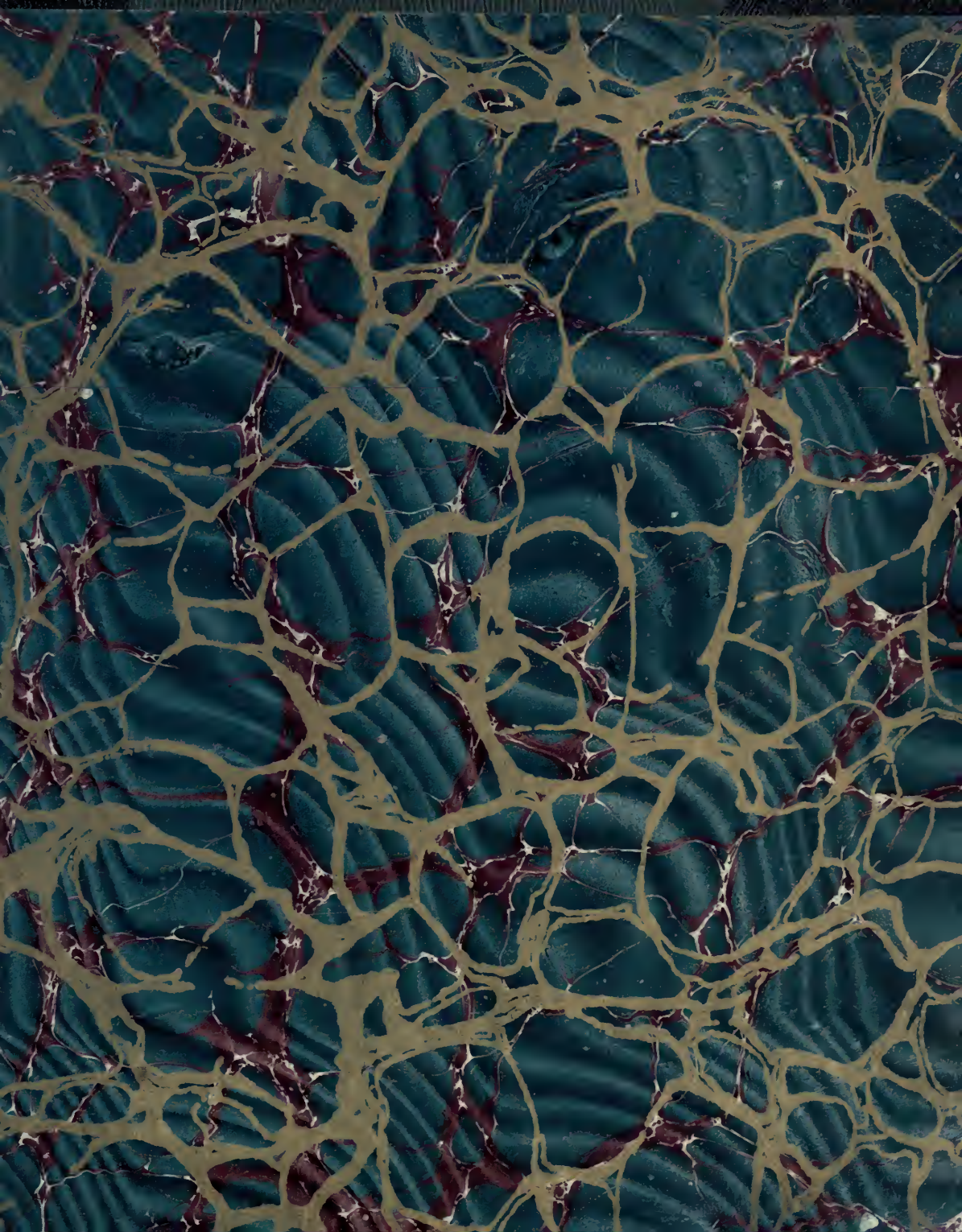
At page 254 of your fourth volume Mr. Lowry has used these words—"and I, therefore, cannot help reminding him that since the publication of Dr. Reeves's book his own evidence on the snbject has been recorded in the proper sense of the word; and that these resolutions have been pronounced by the verdict of a special jury in the cause of *Donegall* v. *Templemore* (before whom Mr. Getty was himself examined as a witness in support of his favourite ford) to have had no referenee whatever to *the* ford of Belfast, which they found to have been situate above the Long Bridge, at the place indicated by the authorities cited in my note to the Hamilton MSS., and not *below* the old harbour or creek of Belfast, which Mr. Getty still maintains to be its true position." I have no hesitation in stating that all these assertions are incorrect. I have, indeed, attended as a witness, summoned by both parties, in the case referred to, principally to produce deeds, but never gave any evidence respecting the ford—indeed it was not the interest of either party to adopt the views I have advocated. It is equally incorrect to state that a jury had expressed any opinion as to the meaning of the Minutes of the Harbour Trust. The case of Donegall v. Templemore still remains undecided, being simply the question of the Marquis of Donegall's legal right to eject Lord Templemore from certain premises; and as far as I understand, from being a spectator at the various trials, the eminent lawyers employed on the part of the noble Marquis have always repudiated the site of the ford as determining the right. But even if the House of Lords decided that the ford was at Watson's-corner, I would not consider such decision as infallible, opposed as it would be to the evidence of those who took up the ford, and of the persons who made borings for Mr. Rennie and Mr. Telford.

I have to beg your indulgence for having trespassed at such length on your time and that of your readers, which I shall not continue to do beyond the space necessary to make the following

statement and proposal. The question at issue depends very much on a decision of the actual position of the passage shewn across a river in all the plans produced on either side, viz.—in Mr. Lowry's plan, Vol. III., page 249; in my copy from Rapin, at page 300; and in General Bainbrigge's sketch, at page 312, who marks it as across the Blackstaff, in this agreeing with my view in the Composition Map, at page 312. Now, my proposal is to submit all the copies of Rapin which the several parties can procure to some competent parties—say, the engineer officer now conducting the Ordnance Survey in this neighbourhood, or to the officer at the Phœnix Park Office, and let him decide which copy is most correct, and whether the thing represented is a ford or a bridge. Second—To ask the same referee to lay down on any map of Belfast—Mr. Kennedy's for example—the plan of 1660, and say whether the ford or bridge, whichever it may be, shewn in that plan, is across any part of the river Lagan or bay of Belfast. The last question I would refer to the decision of the parties named would be—whether, on inspection of any map produced, it appeared that any road existed previous to 1690, about which time the Long Bridge was first opened, leading down to Watson's-corner, and what is the earliest proof found of roads in that direction; also to say whether or not the Hamilton Map of Ballymacarrett shewed the *school-house* which, according to Mr. Lowry, "is plainly marked on the Hamilton map of Ballymacarrett;" and, finally, to decide as professional men whether the road so clearly shewn on all the published maps of the county Down leading along the strand is nothing more than a footway. If neither of the officers named consent to give an opinion, I am equally ready to defer to the joint opinion of the present surveyors of Down and Antrim, both gentlemen of high professional standing and personal honour.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

EDMUND GETTY.

GETTY CENTER LIBRARY
3 3125 00695 4453